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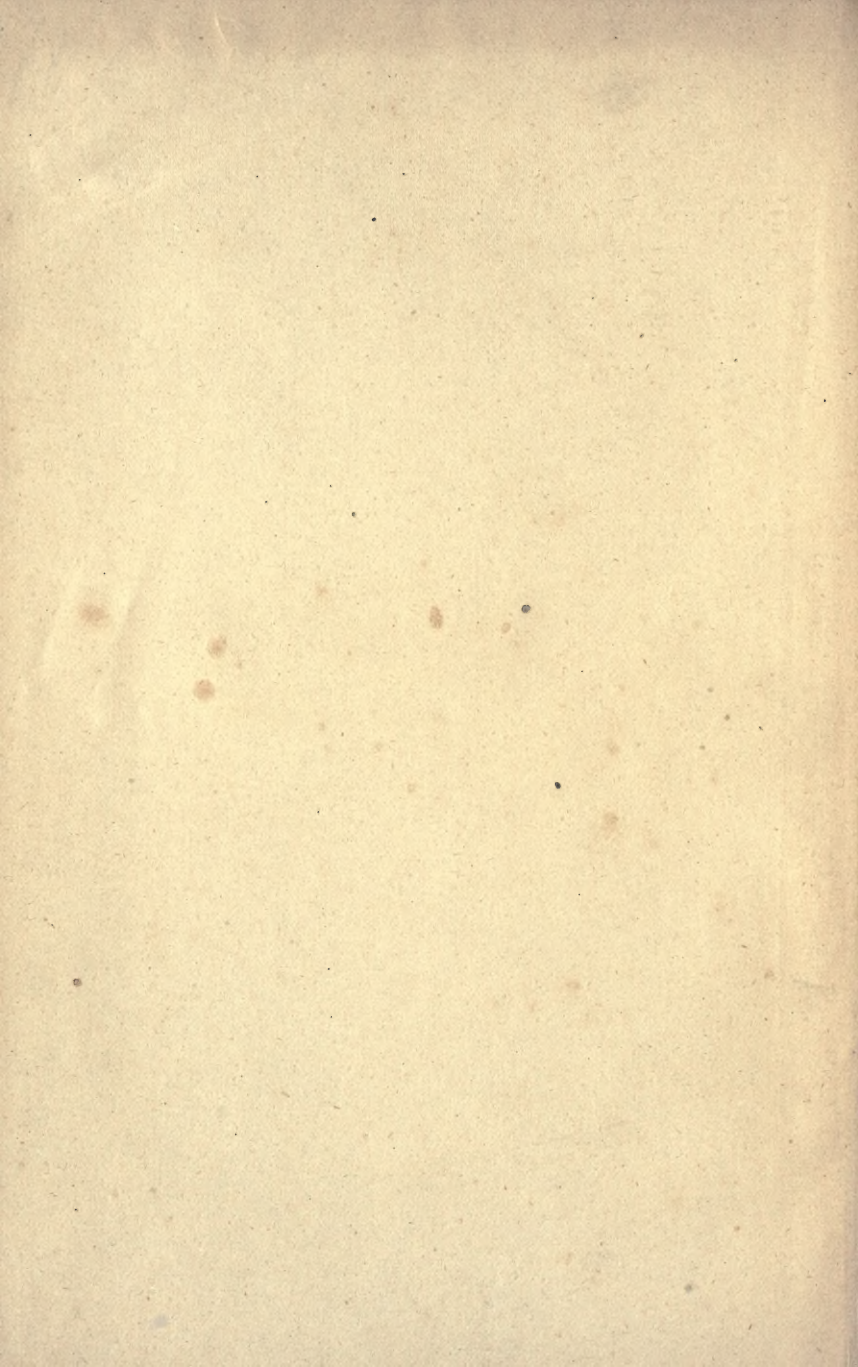


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Frank C. Hardy.

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE HISTORY
OF THE CANON
OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

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BY

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*FOURTH EDITION,
WITH NEW PREFACE.*



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Εὐλόγως ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν ἔλεγεν·

ΓΙΝΕΣΘΕ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΙΤΑΙ ΔΟΚΙΜΟΙ.



MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM KLASSEN
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Elkhart, Indiana

TO THE RIGHT RÉVEREND
JAMES PRINCE LEE D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF MANCHESTER,
AND LATE
HEAD MASTER OF KING EDWARD'S SCHOOL,
BIRMINGHAM,

This Essay is inscribed,

WITH SINCERE AFFECTION AND GRATITUDE,
BY HIS FORMER PUPIL.

July 1855.



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PREFACE.

MY object in the present Essay has been to deal with the New Testament as a whole, and that on purely historical grounds. The separate books of which it is composed are considered not individually, but as claiming to be parts of the Apostolic heritage of Christians. And thus reserving for another occasion the inquiry into their mutual relations and essential unity, I have endeavoured to connect the history of the New Testament Canon with the growth and consolidation of the Catholic Church, and to point out the relation existing between the amount of evidence for the authenticity of its component parts, and the whole mass of Christian literature. However imperfectly this design has been carried out, I cannot but hope that such a method of inquiry will convey both the truest notion of the connexion of the written Word with the living body of Christ, and the surest conviction of its divine authority. Hitherto the co-existence of several types of Apostolic doctrine in the first age and of various parties in Christendom for several generations afterwards has been quoted to prove that our Bible as well as our Faith is a mere compromise. But while I acknowledge most willingly the great merit of the Tübingen School in

pointing out with marked distinctness the characteristics of the different books of the New Testament, and their connexion with special sides of Christian doctrine and with various eras in the Christian Church, it seems to me almost inexplicable that they should not have found in those writings the explanation instead of the result of the divisions which are traceable to the Apostolic times.

To lay claim to candour is only to profess in other words that I have sought to fulfil the part of an historian and not of a controversialist. No one will be more grieved than myself if I have misrepresented or omitted any point of real importance; and those who know the extent and intricacy of the ground to be travelled over will readily pardon less serious errors. But candour will not I trust be mistaken for indifference: for I have no sympathy with those who are prepared to sacrifice with apparent satisfaction each debated position at the first assault. Truth is indeed dearer than early faith, but he can love truth little who knows no other love. If then I have ever spoken coldly of Holy Scripture, it is because I have wished to limit my present statements to the just consequences of the evidence brought forward. But history is not our only guide; for while internal criticism cannot usurp the place of history, it has its proper field; and as feeling cannot decide on facts, so neither can testimony convey that sense of the manifold wisdom of the Apostolic words which is I believe the sure blessing of those who seek rightly to penetrate into their meaning.

Whatever obligations I owe to previous writers are I hope in all cases duly acknowledged. That they are

fewer than might have been expected is a necessary result of the change which was required in the treatment of the subject owing to the form of modern controversy; and the same change will free me from the necessity of discharging the unwelcome office of a critic. Yet it would be ungrateful not to bear witness to the accuracy and fulness of Lardner's 'Credibility'; for, however imperfect it may be in the view which it gives of the earliest period of Christian literature, it is, unless I am mistaken, more complete and trustworthy than any work which has been written since on the same subject.

There is however one great drawback to the study of Christian antiquity, so serious that I cannot but allude to it. The present state of the text, at least of the early Greek fathers, is altogether unworthy of an age which has done so much to restore to classic writers their ancient beauty; and yet even in intellect Origen has few rivals. But it is perhaps as unreasonable as it is easy to complain; and I have done nothing more than follow Manuscript authority as far as I could in giving the different catalogues of the New Testament. I can only regret that I have not done so throughout; for—to take one example—the text of the Canons given in Mansi, as far as my experience goes, is utterly untrustworthy, while the materials for determining a good one are abundant and easily accessible.

During the slow progress of the Essay through the press several works have appeared of which I have been able to make little or no use. All that I wished to say on the Roman and African Churches was printed before I saw Milman's *Latin Christianity*; and of the second

edition of Bunsen's *Hippolytus and his Age* I have only been able to use partially the *Analecta Ante-Nicæna*. It is however a great satisfaction to me to find that Dr Milman maintains that the early Roman Church was essentially Greek; a view which I believe to be as true as it is important, notwithstanding the remarks of his Dublin reviewer.

It only remains for me to acknowledge how much I owe to the kind help of friends in consulting books which were not within reach. And I have further to offer my sincere thanks to the Rev. W. Cureton, Canon of Westminster, to the Rev. Dr Burgess of Blackburn, to Dr Tregelles of Plymouth, and to Mr T. Ellis of the British Museum, for valuable information relative to Syriac Manuscripts; and likewise to the Rev. H. O. Coxe of the Bodleian Library for consulting several Greek Manuscripts of the Canons contained in that collection.

HARROW,

July, 1855.

NOTICE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

DURING the eleven years which have elapsed since the first edition of this *History of the New Testament Canon* was published, the subject with which it deals has been brought under frequent discussion. It is therefore with real thankfulness that I can feel that the positions which I occupied at first have in every case, as far as I can judge, remained unshaken. On the first appearance of the book a favourable critic remarked that I had 'conceded to opponents more than I *need* 'have done' in the conduct of the inquiry. Perhaps it was so then, but I felt sure that I had not conceded more than I *ought*, and therefore no further concessions remain to be made now. The lesson even in this narrow field is not without value. Every one admits that Truth has nothing to fear from the fullest inquiry into each portion of the realm which she claims for her inheritance; but it is hard to carry the admission into practice. And so reticence begets suspicion, and suspicion hardens into distrust and disbelief, which would

never have grown up, if a candid exposition of difficulties and defects in evidence had been made in the first instance by one who did not hold them to be insuperable.

It will be found that the whole Essay has been carefully revised. Very much has been added from sources either new or neglected by me before. By an enlargement of Appendix D I have given the documentary evidence for the Canon of the whole Bible, furnishing in this way the original texts of the principal passages which are given only in a translation in the *Bible in the Church*. In the task of revision I found valuable help in Credner's posthumous *Geschichte der Neutestamentlichen Kanon* (Berlin 1860), though the unfinished work is at best only an inadequate expression of his judgment.

My thanks are due to Dr Tregelles for a fac-simile of his tracing of the Muratorian Canon, and to many other friends for corrections and additions, of whom I may be allowed to name specially the Rev. F. J. A. Hort. To the Rev. Hilton Bothamley my obligations are still greater. He not only revised the proofs and verified almost all the references, but also furnished me with constant and valuable suggestions which have contributed in no small degree to whatever superiority in accuracy and arrangement the new edition has over the old.

B. F. W.

HARROW,

July 9, 1866.

NOTICE TO THIRD EDITION.

THE present edition has been carefully revised throughout, but the changes from the second edition are, I rejoice to be able to say, limited to minute additions and corrections of detail. Once again I can repeat, without the least reserve, that all the fragments of historical evidence which recent researches have brought to bear upon the subject, so far as I am able to interpret them, go to confirm the authenticity and authority of the books of the New Testament in accordance with the view of the Apostolic Scriptures which I have endeavoured to exhibit.

May the results of the inquiry into the history of the records of our Faith lead to a deeper conviction of the historic Truths of our Faith itself!

B. F. W.

BUXTON,

October 3rd, 1870.



PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

I N revising this Edition of my Essay I have had the help of an elaborate and continuous criticism on the earlier part of it by the anonymous author of *Supernatural Religion*¹. It is, I think, impossible to value too highly the privilege of being able to regard a complicated line of evidence from another point of sight: to see difficulties as they are actually experienced and not as they are anticipated, or imagined: to realize the importance of details in a new position which are insignificant in the old one. And before I proceed to offer some necessary remarks upon the arguments of my critic, I wish to acknowledge most fully the obligation under which I lie to him. He has called my attention to several omissions, to one or two errors of detail, to many imperfections of language, which may have misled others, since they have misled him. These various faults and defects

¹ [My references are made to the first edition. This, however, will cause no difficulty. In the second edition Vol. I. coincides (as far as I have observed) page for page with the first edition from p. 217 onwards, 5 being subtracted from the number of the original page. In Vol. II. I have not observed any difference of page or line. The 'revision' must

have been singularly hasty, for numerous misprints are kept unchanged: e.g., "Hegesippus in the second half of the *eleventh* century" (i. 218); '*Dial.* 103, 105, thrice 107' (for 105 thrice,) (i. 291); *Ναξωπαίος*, *Ναξίπαίος* (i. 309 n.), &c.; nor have I noticed that any errors other than clerical have been corrected.]

I have endeavoured to remove or remedy ; and I trust that each objection has been fairly met, as each has certainly been fairly considered.

On two points of some interest, but on two only, I am inclined to modify the statements which I made before. A fresh consideration of the actual circumstances in which Papias was placed, and of the fragmentary notices of his writings which remain, leads me to think that I have conceded too much to the supposition of his anti-Pauline tendencies. I have, however, left what I originally wrote with some very slight changes. On the other hand, I do not now think that the evidence on which I relied before is sufficient to prove beyond reasonable doubt that the Valentinian quotations in the *Treatise against Heresies* can be referred to Valentinus himself. In this case, therefore, I have re-written the paragraph which deals with the debateable facts, though, on the whole, I am still disposed to maintain my former opinion.

So far I am indebted to the criticisms of my learned opponent for many improvements in detail in the course of the Essay ; but my chief obligation is of a different kind. I owe to him a more complete conviction than I could otherwise have had of the soundness of the conclusions which I have maintained. He has stated objections, which I knew before only through foreign books, with the clear, calm vigour of an English-speaking advocate, and the objections, even when thus stated, seem to me to be conclusively answered by the replies which have been given to them by anticipation. As to this, however, each student must judge for himself from the facts which lie before him.

The wide acceptance which the work appears to have met with will also in the end, as I believe, render another

service to the truth. It will lead many to investigate the early history of Christianity for themselves ; and if so, it will serve at once to establish the importance of close historical investigation for the understanding of our faith, and also to illustrate the utter hopelessness of a historical investigation which deals only with literary fragments and leaves out of account the continuity and power of life.

Still, however widely I may differ from my critic both as to method and results, in one thing at least I am wholly at one with him. I heartily accept his proposition (what Christian will not?) that in relation to the present subject, Truth, whatever it may be, 'is the only 'object worthy of desire or capable of satisfying a 'rational mind ;' and, this being so, I do not know that I can make a better return for the service which I have received, than by pointing out some cases, more or less serious, in which he has fallen into error.

In this connexion I may perhaps express my surprise that a writer who is quite capable of thinking for himself should have considered it worth while to burden his pages with lists of names and writings, arranged, for the most part, alphabetically, which have in very many cases no value whatever for a scholar, while they can only oppress the general reader with a vague feeling that all 'profound' critics are on one side. The questions to be discussed must be decided by evidence and by argument and not by authority. Even if it were otherwise, the real authority, in this way of presenting it, bears no exact relation to the apparent authority. Writers are quoted as holding on independent grounds an opinion which is involved in their characteristic assumptions. And more than this, the references are not unfrequently actually misleading. One example will shew that I do

not speak too strongly. The following passage occurs Vol. i. p. 273 :

‘It has been demonstrated that Ignatius was not sent to Rome at all, but suffered martyrdom in Antioch itself on the 20th of December, A.D. 115,⁽³⁾ when he was condemned to be cast to wild beasts in the amphitheatre, in consequence of the fanatical excitement produced by the earthquake which took place on the 13th of that month.⁽⁴⁾’

The references in support of these statements are the following :

⁽³⁾ Baur, *Urspr. d. Episc.* Tüb. Zeitschr. f. Theol. 1838, H. 3, p. 155 anm.; Bretschneider, *Probabilia*, &c. p. 185; Bleek, *Einl. N. T.*, p. 144; Guericke, *H'buch*, K. G. I. p. 148; Hagenbach, *K. G.*, I. p. 113 f.; Davidson, *Introd. N. T.*, I. p. 19; Mayerhoff, *Einl. petr. Schr.*, p. 79; Scholten, *Die ält. Zeugnisse*, p. 40, p. 50 f.; Volkmar, *Der Ursprung*, p. 52; *H'buch Einl. Apocr.*, I. p. 121 f., p. 136.

⁽⁴⁾ Volkmar, *H'buch Einl. Apocr.*, I. p. 121 ff., 136 f.; *Der Ursprung*, p. 52 ff.; Baur, *Urspr. d. Episc.* Tüb. Zeitschr. f. Th. 1838, H. 3, p. 149 f.; *Gesch. chr. Kirche*, 1863, I. p. 440, anm. 1; Davidson, *Introd. N. T.*, I. p. 19; Scholten, *Die ält. Zeugnisse*, p. 51 f.; cf. Francke, *Zur Gesch. Trajans*, u. s. w. 1840, p. 253 f.; Hilgenfeld, *Die ap. Väter*, p. 214.

Such an array of authorities, drawn from different schools, cannot but appear overwhelming; and the fact that about half of them are quoted twice over emphasizes the implied precision of their testimony as to the two points affirmed. I can therefore hardly be wrong in supposing that any ordinary reader would believe that if he could turn to the passages specified, he would find in each some elements, or at least some authoritative confirmation, of the ‘demonstration’ (1) of the place and date of the death of Ignatius [references (3)], and (2) of the circumstances and occasion of it [references (4)]. As very few English readers can be expected to have access to the works in question, it

may be worth while to set down in order what the student would find in place of the 'demonstration,' and the general agreement in its validity which he is led to expect.

i. References (3).

1. Baur, *Urspr. d. Episc.* Tüb. Zeitschr. 1838, ii. 3, p. 155 anm. In this note, which is too long to quote, there is nothing, so far as I see, in any way bearing upon the history except a passing supposition 'wenn.....Ignatius 'im J. 116 an ihn [Polycarp].....schrieb.....'

2. Bretschneider, *Probabilia* x. p. 185. 'Pergamus 'ad Ignatium *qui circa annum cxvi obiisse dicitur.*'

3. Bleek, *Einl. N. T.*, p. 144 [p. 142 ed. 1862]. '..... 'In den Briefen des Ignatius Bischofes von Antiochien, 'der unter Trajan gegen 115 zu Rom als Märtyrer 'starb.'

4. Guericke, *Handb. K. G.* i. p. 148 [p. 177 ed. 3, 1838, the edition which I have used]. 'Ignatius, Bischoff 'von Antiochien (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36), *welcher wegen* 'seines standhaften Bekenntnisses Christi *unter Trajan* '115 *nach Rom geführt, und hier 116 im Colosseum von* 'Löwen zerrissen wurde (vgl. § 23, 1)' [where the same statement is repeated].

5. Hagenbach, *K. G.* i. 113 f. [I have not been able to see the book referred to, but in his Lectures *Die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 1853 (pp. 122 ff.), Hagenbach mentions the difficulty which has been felt as to the execution at Rome, while an execution at Antioch might have been simpler and more impressive, and then quotes Gieseler's solution, and passes on with 'Wie dem auch sei'.]

6. Davidson, *Introd. N. T.* i. p. 19. 'All [the 'Epistles of Ignatius] are posterior to Ignatius himself, 'who was not thrown to the wild beasts in the amphi-

‘theatre at Rome by command of Trajan, but at Antioch
‘on December 20, A.D. 115. The Epistles were written
‘after 150 A.D.’ [For these peremptory statements no
evidence and no authority whatever is adduced.]

7. Mayerhoff, *Einl. Patr. Schr.* p. 79. ‘..... Ignatius,
‘*der spätestens 117 zu Rom den Märtyrertod litt.....*’

8. Scholten, *Die ält. Zeugnisse* p. 40, mentions 115
as the year of Ignatius’ death: p. 50 f. The Ignatian
letters are rejected partly ‘weil sie eine Märtyrer-reise
‘des Ignatius nach Rom melden, deren schon früher
‘erkanntes ungeschichtliches Wesen durch Volkmar’s
‘nicht ungegründete Vermuthung um so wahrschein-
‘licher wird. Darnach scheint nämlich Ignatius nicht zu
‘Rom auf Befehl des sanftmüthigen Trajans, sondern zu
‘Antiochia selbst, in Folge eines am dreizehnten Decem-
‘ber 115 eingetretenen Erdbebens, als Opfer eines aber-
‘gläubischen Volkswahns am zwanzigsten December
‘dieses Jahres im Amphitheater den wilden Thieren zur
‘Beute überliefert worden zu sein.’

9. Volkmar, *Der Ursprung*, p. 52. [p. 52 ff.] [This
book I have not been able to consult, but from secondary
references I gather that it repeats the arguments given
under the next reference.]

10. Volkmar, *Handb. Einl. Apocr.* p. 121 f., p. 136.
‘Ein Haupt der Gemeinde zu Antiochia, Ignatius, wurde
‘während Trajan dortselbst überwinterte, am 20. De-
‘zember den Thieren vorgeworfen, in Folge der durch
‘das Erdbeben vom 13. Dezember 115 gegen die *ἄθεοι*
‘erweckten Volkswuth, ein Opfer zugleich der Siegesfeste
‘des Parthicus, welche die Judith-Erzählung (i. 16) an-
‘deutet, Dio (c. 24 f. vgl. c. 10) voraussetzt...’ [I do not
quote the arguments with which I am not now con-
cerned.]

If now these authorities are placed in connexion with

the statements under (3) which they are naturally supposed to confirm, it will be seen that three only of the nine writers lend any support to them : Volkmar (9, 10) and his two followers, one English, Davidson (6), and one Dutch, Scholten (8) ; and that one only (Volkmar) offers any arguments in support of them. Baur (1) occupies a negative position. Bleek (3), Guericke (4), Hagenbach, doubtfully (5), and Mayerhoff (7) *affirm* the martyrdom at Rome, the fact which the text *denies* ; for it must be remembered that the references are made (apparently) in support of a definite fact which is said to have been ‘demonstrated.’

ii. References (4).

1. Volkmar : see above.

2. Baur, *Ursprung d. Episc.* Tüb. Zeitschr. 1838, ii. H. 3, p. 149 f. In this passage Baur discusses generally the historical character of the Martyrdom, which he considers, as a whole, to be ‘doubtful and incredible.’ To establish this result he notices the relation of Christianity to the Empire in the time of Trajan, which he regards as inconsistent with the condemnation of Ignatius ; and the improbable circumstances of the journey. The personal characteristics, the letters, the history of Ignatius, are, in his opinion, all a mere creation of the imagination. The utmost he allows is that he may have suffered martyrdom (p. 169).

3. Baur, *Gesch. chr. Kirche*, 1863, i. p. 440, anm. 1. ‘Die Verurtheilung ad bestias und die Abführung dazu ‘nach Rom.....mag auch unter Trajan nichts zu ungewöhnliches gewesen sein, aber.....bleibt die Geschichte ‘seines Märtyrerthums auch nach der Vertheidigung ‘derselben von Lipsius.....höchst unwahrscheinlich. Das ‘Factische ist wohl nur dass Ignatius im J. 115, als Trajan ‘in Antiochien überwinterte, in Folge des Erdbebens in

‘diesem Jahr, in Antiochien selbst als ein Opfer der Volkswuth zum Märtyrer wurde.’

4. Davidson: see above.

5. Scholten: see above.

6. Francke, *Zur Gesch. Trajan's*, 1840 [1837] p. 253 f. [A discussion of the date of the beginning of Trajan's Parthian war, which he fixes in A.D. 115, but he decides nothing directly as to the time of Ignatius' martyrdom.]

7. Hilgenfeld, *Die ap. Vater*, p. 214 [pp. 210 ff.]. Hilgenfeld points out the objections to the narrative in the Acts of the Martyrdom, the origin of which he refers to the period between Eusebius and Jerome: setting aside this detailed narrative he considers the historical character of the general statements in the letters. The mode of punishment by a provincial governor causes some difficulty: ‘bedenklicher,’ he continues, ‘ist jedenfalls der andre Punct, die Versendung ‘nach Rom.’ Why was the punishment not carried out at Antioch? Would it be likely that under an Emperor like Trajan a prisoner like Ignatius would be sent to Rome to fight in the amphitheatre? The circumstances of the journey as described are most improbable. The account of the persecution itself is beset by difficulties. Having set out these objections he leaves the question, casting doubt (like Baur) upon the whole history, and gives no support to the bold affirmation of a martyrdom ‘at Antioch, on December 20, A.D. 115.’

In this case, therefore, again, Volkmar alone offers any arguments in support of the statement in the text; and the final result of the references is, that the alleged ‘demonstration’ is, at the most, what Scholten calls ‘a not groundless conjecture’¹.

¹ It may be worth while to add that in spite of the profuse display

It seems quite needless to multiply comments on these results. Any one who will candidly consider this analysis will, I believe, agree with me in thinking that such a style of annotation, which runs through the whole work, is justly characterized as frivolous and misleading. It suggests the notion that the contents of a commonplace book have been emptied into the margin without careful collation and sifting. But it should be remembered in adopting such a process, if I may for once borrow the vigorous language of the author, that 'a good strong assertion becomes a powerful argument, since few readers have the means of verifying its correctness' (ii. 66).

The text of the Essay is not unfrequently deformed by similar blemishes, which I can only refer to haste and impatience of revision. But from whatever source they spring such errors detract greatly from the value of the author's judgment. It is difficult, for example, to see how a writer with any clear views on the principles of textual criticism could either write or allow to stand even at the interval of eight hundred pages the two following statements: (1) 'The episode of the angel 'who was said to descend at certain seasons and trouble 'the water of the pool of Bethesda.....may be mentioned 'here in passing, although the passage is not found in 'the older MSS. of the fourth Gospel (John v. 3, 4) and '*it was certainly* ['probably' p. 113, ed. 2] *a late interpolation*' (i. 103). (2) 'The words which most pointedly 'relate the miraculous phenomena characterizing the 'pool do not appear in the oldest MSS. and are consequently rejected.....[John v. 3, 4, is quoted]. We 'must believe, however, that this passage did originally

of learning in connexion with Ignatius, I do not see even in the second edition any reference to the full and elaborate work of Zahn.

'belong to the text, and has from an early period been 'omitted from MSS. on account of the difficulty it 'presents ; and one of the reasons which points to this 'is the fact that verse 7, which is not questioned and has 'the authority of all the codices, absolutely implies the 'existence of the previous words, without which it has 'no sense' (ii. 421). No contradiction could be more complete or more peremptory. On the other hand no critical problem could be more simple ; yet all principles of solution appear to be lost in the medium through which it is regarded.

It would scarcely be worth while to refer to the startling mistranslations of Greek and Latin which occur from time to time, if the author did not most justly insist on the necessity of rigorous exactness¹. Many of these may be due as much to want of care as to want of scholarship. Sometimes, however, they lead to serious consequences ; and in one place an inattention to grammar has led the author to charge those who do not feel at liberty to disregard the fundamental laws of oblique construction with 'a falsification of the text' (ii. 329, f.).

It follows almost as a necessary consequence that a want of grammatical accuracy leads to a want of accuracy in statement. The author of *Supernatural Religion*

¹ Two examples from Greek and two from Latin will suffice: ii. 31... *ἔφη Ὁ πονηρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πειράζων, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸν πειράσας...* "he said, 'The evil 'one is the tempter, who also tempted 'himself'," as if ὁ καὶ αὐτὸν π. were part of the quotation. ii. 46 *ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔδει ἀποκαλυφθῆναι, φησὶν, ἡμᾶς τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ὧν ἐστέναξεν, φησὶν, ἡ κτίσις καὶ ὠδινεν, ἀπεκδεχομένη τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν...* "when therefore it was necessary to reveal, he 'says, us, who are children of God, in 'expectation of which revelation, he 'says, the creature groaneth and tra-
'vaileth...' ii. 100, Marcion, aufer etiam...' Marcion also *removes...*' ii. 99, Nam ex iis commentatoribus quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse quem læderet. 'For of the *Commentators* whom we possess, Marcion 'seems to have selected Luke, which 'he *mutilates*.' Such blunders ought not to have been made, and certainly not to have been passed over in the most cursory revision of the work. Can any one seriously have supposed that Bp. Thirlwall could have so set grammar at defiance?

strives, I cannot doubt, to be fair, but in spite of an ostentation of justice he falls into errors of fact far more frequently than an accurate scholar (as I believe) could do. Some of these errors I have had occasion to notice in the body of my Essay (*e.g.* pp. 60 n. 1, 70 n. 2, 86 n. 4, 150 n. 4, 166 n. 1, &c.); and not to dwell now on isolated passages, a few continuous sentences will illustrate the fault of which I speak.

We read, i. p. 426, 'Eusebius informs us that Papias 'narrated from the Gospel according to the Hebrews a 'story regarding a woman accused before the Lord of 'many sins. The same writer likewise states that Hege- 'sippus, who came to Rome and commenced his public 'career under Anicetus, quoted from the same Gospel. 'The evidence of this "ancient and apostolic" man is very 'important, and although he evidently attaches great 'value to tradition, knew of no Canonical Scriptures 'of the New Testament, and, like Justin, rejected the 'Apostle Paul, he still regarded the Gospel according to 'the Hebrews with respect, and made use of no other. 'The best critics consider that this Gospel was the 'evangelical work used by the author of the Clementine 'Homilies.'

Now of these seven or eight statements, which are made without any reserve, only one is supported by any direct evidence. One is at direct variance with the authority quoted; and the rest are mere conjectures of a small group of critics who are assumed to have a monopoly of right judgment. It is true that Eusebius says that Hegesippus quoted the Gospel to the Hebrews, and this is all in the paragraph which I can allow to be true. Eusebius does *not* say that Papias narrated the history in question '*from* the Gospel accord- 'ing to the Hebrews' (see p. 71 n. 1). There is absolutely

no evidence to shew that Justin rejected the Apostle Paul, or that Hegesippus rejected him, or that Hegesippus made use of no other Gospel than that according to the Hebrews, or that he knew of no canonical Scriptures of the New Testament (see pp. 167 ff. 205 ff.).

The Gospel according to the Hebrews becomes frequently elsewhere the occasion of remarkable assertions. For example, ii. 167: 'The Gospel according to 'the Hebrews...was made use of by all the Apostolic 'Fathers, by pseudo-Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias, Hege- 'sippus, Justin Martyr, and at least employed along 'with our Gospels by Clement of Alexandria, Origen 'and Jerome, whilst Eusebius is in doubt whether to 'place it in the second class among the Antilegomena 'with the Apocalypse, or, in the first, amongst the 'Homologomena (*sic*)¹.' Here again definite statements are made for which partly I know no foundation of any kind, and partly only precarious conjectures. It is apparently quite an original assertion that Barnabas and Hermas (for if these are not meant, 'all the Apostolic 'Fathers' must be a periphrasis for Clement of Rome) and Polycarp used this Gospel: Papias, as we have shewn, if we may trust Eusebius, certainly did not use it: and there is nothing to shew that Clement of Rome or Justin Martyr did. If it is implied (and nothing less will serve the argument) that 'Clement of Alexandria, 'Origen, and Jerome' placed it on the same footing as the four Gospels, the statement is palpably false. And Eusebius neither states nor implies that he had ever any thoughts of placing it in 'the first class.'

We may take an illustration of another kind. It is

¹ The reference in the next sentence to the Gospel of Peter as used 'in the Church of Rhosse' (*sic*, and again p. 161) seems to be rather a recollection of some French critic than of Eusebius ('Πωσσός, *H. E.* vi. 12).

stated by anticipation (i. 244), as the result to be afterwards established, 'that all the early writers avoid our 'Gospels, if they knew them at all, and systematically 'make use of other works.' Now I submit that even if the author had established all which he afterwards asserts; this statement would convey a perfectly false impression to the reader. Is it true that 'all the early writers' make use of Apocryphal Gospels? We read afterwards: '[The Shepherd of Hermas] has no quotations from the 'Old or New Testament' (i. 262): and again of the evangelic references of Polycarp, 'in no case is there 'any written source indicated from which these passages 'are derived' (i. 286): of the Epistle to Diognetus, 'it is 'admitted that it does not contain a single direct quotation from any evangelical work' (ii. 40): of Dionysius of Corinth, on the supposition that he referred to Gospels, 'we have no indication whatever what evangelic works were in the Bishop's mind' (ii. 167): of Melito, that he might have been 'passed over altogether,' so far as any references to the Gospels are concerned (ii. 172, 181): of the fragments of Claudius Apollinaris, in which the Canonical Gospels are referred to, that 'there is exceedingly slight reason for attributing these fragments to him' (ii. 191). The phrase 'all the early writers' must be considerably modified when six out of the fifteen orthodox patristic authorities are set aside. But still further, is it fair to convey the belief that we are in a position to say anything whatever from the evidence of their writings of the 'systematic' usage of any one of the writers examined except Justin Martyr and (perhaps) the author of the Clementine Homilies? The fragments and fragmentary notices of the other writers, if considered apart from their connexion with the life of the Church, are too

meagre to allow us to draw any conclusion as to their habits of quotation¹.

At first sight it must seem strange that a writer so learned, and in design so just, as the author of *Supernatural Religion* can make such statements as I have quoted, but it is not difficult to see the reason. He is far more familiar, unless I am mistaken, with some modern German and Dutch speculations on the Gospels and early Church history, than with the New Testament itself².

¹ Sometimes the author shews unconsciously that his mode of argument proves too much. Thus when he has noticed the fact that 'the pseudo-Ignatius' does not refer (by name) to St John he adds in a note: 'Indeed in the universally republished Epistles, beyond the fact that two are addressed to John... the only mention of him is...' (ii. 430). But I can hardly suppose that he would argue from this that the writer of these confessedly late Epistles did not know St John as 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' and as the author of the fourth Gospel.

² One or two examples of grave inaccuracy as to the letter of the New Testament may be given to justify my statement:

(a) As to contents. 'The assumption that the disciple thus indicated is John rests principally on the fact that...and also that he *only once* distinguishes John the Baptist by the appellation *ὁ βαπτιστής...*' (ii. 423). St John *never* uses the phrase *John the Baptist*.

'There is no instance whatever that we can remember, in which a writer [of the New Testament] claims to have himself performed a miracle' (i. 191). Can the writer have forgotten Rom. xv. 19; 2 Cor. xii. 12?

(b) As to *text*. 'This census was first made...Luke ii. 2' (i. 311). The true reading is without doubt *αὐτή*

ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο, which cannot be so translated [nor indeed can the common reading]. (Marcion reads in Luke xi. 2) 'ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς instead of *ἀγίασθήτω τὸ ὄνομα σου*. The former is 'recognized to be the true original reading... We are therefore indebted to Marcion for the correct version even of "the Lord's Prayer."' (ii. 126.) The reading of Marcion is most uncertain, and on the other hand it is known that the words in question were substituted (e.g. by Gregory of Nyssa) for *ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεῖα σου*.

(c) As to *interpretation*. The natural fear of Martha (John xi. 39) lends no support whatever to the statement that the Evangelist describes 'the restoration to life of a decomposed human body' (i. 42, cf. 37). 'The reading of Luke, τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ, translated 'that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called...' is said (ii. 67) to 'present an important variation' from the reading of Basilides τὸ γεννώμενον ἐκ σοῦ ἅγιον κληθήσεται, translated 'the thing begotten of thee shall be called 'holy,' as if there were any difficulty in taking ἅγιον as the predicate in St Luke.

The whole discussion on the internal character of the Gospel of St John (ii. 415 ff.) abounds with errors of this kind, and is, I must not shrink from saying, more inaccurate and

and the writings of the Fathers. Hence it is that he gives plausible conjectures as certain facts. Thus, without one word of caution, and (as I think) in direct contradiction to the evidence, he says that 'Ebionitic 'Gnosticism' was 'once the purest form of primitive 'Christianity' (ii. 4), that 'John as well as Peter belonged 'to the Ebionitic party' (ii. 407), that Justin Martyr 'became a convert to Christianity strongly tinged with 'Judaism' (i. 289), that 'it is clear that Paul is referred to 'in *Apoc.* ii. 2' (ii. 408), and so on. He has consequently little patience even to attempt to understand the position of those from whom he differs. Their opinions are set down in perfect sincerity as 'absurd' and 'preposterous,' when, as I must still believe, the 'absurdity' lies in the attempt to construct a history of the Christian Church out of a few isolated fragments interpreted by a false assumption as to the character of the Gospel of Christ¹.

This fault appears to me to characterize the fatal defect—for so I must call it—of the critical investigations of the author of *Supernatural Religion*. They are, to sum up all in a word, wholly unhistorical. They are conducted without any regard to the specific nature of the evidence which is available; without any realization of the facts of the Christian life; and, I will venture to add, without any clear recognition of the historical problem which is under discussion. I will now en-

superficial (if possible) even than Scholten's, on which it seems to be based. Any one who will examine the paragraphs on the 'great many 'geographical errors' supposed to be committed by St John (pp. 419—422) with the help of such a *Commentary* as Meyer's; or the entire chapter side by side with Mr Sanday's singularly calm and convincing discussion of *The authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, will see, I think, that I have not spoken too strongly.

¹ Much that is boldly said to be 'impossible,' as to the structure of a historical document, appears to me to be quite natural: *e.g.* ii. pp. 439 f.; 459.

deavour to justify, as briefly as I can, these three general counts of accusation.

I. It is obvious that nothing can be more precarious than an argument drawn from silence, unless there is a very strong presumption that the witness would have mentioned the fact, which he fails to notice, if he had been acquainted with it. This presumption must arise, in the case under consideration, from what is known of the circumstances of the several early Fathers and of the occasions on which they wrote. When, for example, it is said that 'it is a significant fact that Justin Martyr, 'who attacks Marcion's system, never brings any accusation against him of mutilating or falsifying any 'Gospel.....' (ii. 143), it is clear that the 'significance' of the fact depends wholly upon the nature and frequency of Justin's references to Marcion. Now I do not think that any reader of this passage would obtain a just impression of the fact from it; or that he would rate the significance of the fact very highly if he was aware that Justin refers to Marcion (if I am correct) twice only, and then in such a way that he could not, without a total disregard of the subject in hand, have made any allusion to his views on the written Gospels. Or, again, when we read that the variation of Justin's Evangelic references from the readings of our Gospels is 'a phenomenon elsewhere 'unparalleled in those times' (i. 374), I am obliged to ask where, outside of Justin's own works, can we find a parallel either in point of time, or in point of style and substance: I can think of none. Once more: when it is asserted that Justin 'knows nothing of the star guiding '[the magi]...' because he says simply that 'a star rose 'in heaven at the time of Christ's birth.....' (i. 319), I can hardly believe that the same conclusion would hold of the writer of the well-known Epiphany hymn, 'Earth

'hath many a noble city,' who, in describing at length the visit of the wise men, tells us no more than Justin as to the phenomenon of the star¹.

The argument in favour of a negative conclusion from the absence of positive evidence is invalid when this absence is directly or reasonably explained by the scope or usage of the writer; or by the character of the passage from which the conclusion is drawn. When the explanation is direct the controversy is at an end: in the other cases the issue remains more or less in suspense. Not to dwell on these doubtful cases I will notice two instructive examples in which our author has neglected to take account of the usage and the scope of the writer, from whose evidence he consequently deduces results which are (as I believe) false, and which certainly are not established as he supposes.

1. It is unquestionable that the Evangelic references of Justin are anonymous, and that they do not agree verbally with the text of our Gospels. The conclusions to be drawn from these two facts must depend upon the character of Justin's writing. From the first the author of *Supernatural Religion* affirms (i. 303) 'that the inference can not only be (*sic*) that [Justin] attached small importance to the Memoirs, but also, that he was 'actually ignorant of the author's name, and that his 'Gospel had no more definite superscription.' But I have shewn (pp. 17, ff.) that anonymous citation is the constant rule of Apologists. The silence of Justin as to the names of the Evangelists suggests no more that he

¹ The phrase 'knows nothing of' appears to be used as synonymous with 'does not mention' (i. 168, 313, 335, 337, ii. 450, 455, 464). The usage is open to serious misconception, for I can hardly suppose that the author would argue that the writer of the Fourth Gospel was ignorant of Christian Baptism, though in his sense he 'knows nothing' of the Sacraments.

was ignorant of them than does the like silence of Origen and Eusebius in corresponding works. As to the second fact it is argued, that the supposition that these variations spring from a free handling of Evangelic materials is to imagine 'a phenomenon which is elsewhere unparalleled in those times' (i. 374)¹. But as I

¹ While these pages have been passing through the press I have had occasion to collect the references to the New Testament in Chrysostom's treatise *On the Priesthood*. The result is an instructive illustration of the phenomena of free quotation in all times. Speaking roughly, about one half of Chrysostom's quotations contain variations from the Apostolic texts; and these variations include cases (1) of repeated variation, (2) of the combination of distinct passages, and (3) of coincidence with 'the Ebionitic Gospel.' It will be worth while to set these down as an illustrative commentary on the corresponding variations of Justin Martyr.

1. *Repeated variations.* John xxi. 15 (16, 17). Lib. II. i § 82 [ὁ χριστός]... διαλεγόμενος Πέτρε, φησίν, φιλεῖς με; and again § 90 Πέτρε γὰρ φησι φιλεῖς με πλείον τούτων; This substitution of Πέτρε for Σίμων Ἰωάννου (Ἰωάν) is (as far as I know) quite unsupported by other authorities. The φιλεῖς too (in § 90 at least) is an error for ἀγαπᾷς derived from v. 17.

I Cor. ii. 11. Lib. II. 2 § 102 οὐδεὶς γὰρ οἶδε τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰ μὴ... Lib. III. 14 § 267 ἐπειδὴ τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ... This substitution of οὐδεὶς for τίς γὰρ or τίς γὰρ ἀνθρώπων is again (as far as I know) peculiar to Chrysostom.

Hebr. xiii. 17. Lib. III. 18 § 338 πείθεσθε... καὶ ὑπέκτετε, ὅτι αὐτοὶ... ἀποδώσονται. Lib. VI. i § 497 τὸ γὰρ Πείθεσθε... καὶ ὑπέκτετε, ὅτι αὐτοὶ... ἀποδώσονται. The substitution of ὅτι αὐτοὶ for αὐτοὶ γὰρ is not noticed in Tischendorf's last edition of the New Testament.

2. *Combinations.* Lib. II. 2 § 98 ... ὑποδεικνύει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὡς πῶς λέγων· φανερὰ δέ ἐστι τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἔργα, ἀτινά ἐστι, πορνεία, μοιχεία, ἀκαθαρσία, ... θυμοί, ἐριθείαι (Gal. v. 19), καταλαλῖαι, ψιθυρισμοί, φησισμοί, ἀκαταστασίαι (2 Cor. xii. 20), καὶ ἕτερα τούτων πλείονα. The words of one Epistle are added to the words of another without any mark of separation, the words common to both forming the transition.

Lib. II. 5 § 141 ἐν τούτῳ, φησίν [ὁ χριστός], γινώσκονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅτι ἐμοὶ ἐστε μαθηταί, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους. The words are a free combination of John xiii. 35 and xv. 12.

Lib. IV. i § 361... ἀκούσας τοῦ χριστοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἦλθον καὶ ἐλάλησα αὐτοῖς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ εἶχον· καὶ εἰ μὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐποίουν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἐποίησεν ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ εἶχον. John xvi. 22, 24. Perhaps the second verse is a distinct quotation, but even in that case the variations in text are most striking.

3. *Ebionitic readings.* By a most singular accident (shall I say?) Chrysostom refers to John iii. 5, using both the characteristic words which are found in Justin and the Clementines: Εἰ γὰρ οὐ δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐὰν μὴ δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἀναγεννηθῇ (Lib. III. 5 § 187). Comp. p. 150 and note.

The parallels between the forms of variation in Chrysostom and Justin are thus seen to be complete in crucial instances. No one can doubt that Chrysostom used the Gospels and the Epistles of St Paul as having

have already said, Justin stands alone ; and the only possible parallel must be from his procedure in a similar case. Such a parallel is actually found. Justin's quotations from the LXX. exhibit exactly the same kind of variations as his Evangelic references. This parallelism of manner (see pp. 172 f.) has been carefully exhibited by Prof. Norton and Semisch, and not overlooked by Credner, but I do not see that the author of *Supernatural Religion* has given any attention to it.

2. The conclusions which the author builds on the evidence of Eusebius are even less warranted by an exact consideration of the design of the historian than the deductions which he makes from the method of Justin. Eusebius states distinctly¹ that he proposes to record any use of *controverted* books—books on which opinion had been once divided—but he makes no such promise as to the use of the *acknowledged* books. As to these he proposes only to notice any details of special interest. It follows as a natural consequence that he has recorded every trace known to him of the use of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*—as a ‘controverted’ book in the larger sense—while he does not, and could not, according to his plan, record the simple quotation of the Canonical Gospels as universally ‘acknowledged’ (comp. pp. 229 f.). As far as this fact is apprehended—and it seems to me to be quite undeniable—the whole fabric of the argument, or rather assertion, which the author of *Supernatural Religion* makes as to the ‘exclusive’ and ‘earlier’ use of the Apocryphal Gospels by the first Fathers at once collapses. We meet with distinct mention of the ‘*Gospel according to the Hebrews*’ long before we hear any-

that exclusive divine authority which we attribute to them now. His freedom, therefore, more than justifies the freedom which we have claimed for Justin.
¹ See pp. 229 f.

‘thing of our Gospels’ from the nature of the case, because the use of it by a Christian Father was something exceptional and to be noted¹. Such statements, therefore, as ‘Eusebius who never fails to enumerate the works of ‘the New Testament to which the Fathers refer...’ (i. 483); and ‘Eusebius [makes no mention] of any reference [to ‘any writing of the New Testament] in the Epistles [of ‘Dionysius of Corinth] which have perished, which he ‘certainly would not have omitted to do had they contained any’ (ii. 164); and ‘it is certain that had ‘Dionysius mentioned books of the New Testament, ‘Eusebius would as usual have stated the fact’ (ii. 166); and, once again, ‘the care with which Eusebius searches ‘for every trace of the use of the books of the New ‘Testament in early writers, and his anxiety to produce ‘any evidence concerning the authenticity, render his ‘silence upon the subject almost as important as his ‘distinct utterance when speaking of such a man as ‘Hegesippus’ (i. 437 f.), are wholly incorrect. Eusebius neither does nor was likely to do anything of the kind here supposed. He definitely promised to do and does something very different. He collects notices of the use of *disputed* books. It necessarily follows that the conclusions which are based upon the complete misunderstanding of his evidence that ‘Hegesippus made exclusive ‘use of the Gospel according to the Hebrews’ (i. 419: cf. 438 ff.); and that ‘it is certain that had he [Hegesippus] ‘mentioned our Gospels, and we may say particularly ‘the fourth, the fact would have been recorded by Eusebius’ (ii. 320); and that ‘many (?) Apocryphal Gospels ‘are known to have been exclusively used by dis-

¹ The same remark applies to scholars like Hilgenfeld and Volkmar, historical relation of Marcion’s Gospel to St Luke (ii. 134, 139). The author justly points out (ii. 86 f.) that scholars like Hilgenfeld and Volkmar, whom he generally follows, decide that Marcion’s Gospel was dependent on St Luke.

'tinguished contemporaries of Justin' (i. 299), are mere assertions not justified in the least degree by the only evidence brought forward in support of them, nor, as far as I know, by any evidence that anywhere exists.

II. That such assertions can be made without conscious unfairness, which I do not for a moment believe to exist in the writer whom I have quoted, springs from persistent forgetfulness of the fact that Christian literature is from the first one product of the Christian life: that the Christian Society, the Church, has lived continuously since the great day of Pentecost: that fragmentary writings must be always referred to this central truth for their due appreciation. Just those details which are most original and most singular will always occupy undue prominence among literary monuments. The work of an isolated thinker, such as was the author of the Clementines, may occupy perhaps more space than all the remains of earlier and contemporary Christian literature, but it would be idle to suppose that it therefore reflects the current belief. The great stream flows on, but what we observe and portray is that which varies its wide and even surface. The example of Eusebius which we have just noticed shews most instructively how exceptional phenomena naturally occupy a chief place in a history. No one thinks it necessary to chronicle what is the normal state of things.

Now when we bear this obvious fact in mind and take account of the extent and character of Christian literature up to the last quarter of the second century (comp. pp. 19 ff., 63 ff.), it becomes at once clear that we cannot hope to construct out of this by itself or primarily an idea of the contemporary Christian Society. But on the contrary if there is at that later date a fairly wide-spread and clear view of the constitution and opinions of the

Church, it is reasonable to examine the earlier and fragmentary records with this view as the standard of reference, unless it can be shewn that some convulsion interrupted the continuity of the development. If, then, there can be no doubt that at this time our Gospels were regarded as we regard them now, that there is no trace of any conflict after which they gained the position which they then occupied; if their acceptance and use adequately explain the varieties of opinion which are found: then nothing short of the most certain facts can be sufficient to justify us in believing that suddenly, in a space of about five-and-twenty years, the old Gospels were set aside and new books, actually unknown before, completely and permanently usurped their place in the estimation of Christian teachers. I find it quite impossible to realize how such a revolution could have been accomplished simultaneously, as far as we can tell, throughout Christendom. I have indeed endeavoured to shew how and why the idea of a New Testament, co-ordinate with the Old Testament, was slowly fashioned: how tradition and writings based on tradition were for some time current: how one or other book, which was afterwards accepted as canonical, had at first only a partial acceptance; but I see no evidence to shew that the universal consent which acknowledged the four Gospels as possessed of unique authority, when from the character of Christian literature such a consent could first be shewn, can be otherwise explained, as a historical fact, than by a general coincidence of traditional usage.

It is perhaps due to the natural temperament of German scholars, and still more to the circumstances of their civil life, that they should neglect what I may venture to call the vital relations of literature. They treat books, for the most part, as if they belonged wholly to

the region of speculation, and were not products and reflections of social activity. In place of the full variety and manifold conflicts of life, in place of the inconsistencies, the imperfections, the inconsequences of opinions, they offer us an almost endless variety of ingenious and complete theories. They have, I will be bold to say, if I may speak generally, and with a full recognition of compensating merit, an inadequate sense of proportion, and very little power of realizing the actual course of events. In this respect I am surprised that the author of *Supernatural Religion* has completely surrendered himself to their guidance. St Paul's doctrine of the Person and Work of the Lord—the Catholic Church in Europe, Asia, Africa, in the last quarter of the second century, are facts. We must so interpret the century between as to give a full account of both¹.

III. There is, however, great danger lest we should lose sight of the real point at issue by diverging to a discussion on the canonicity of the four Gospels. For Christians the Gospels have their special religious significance; but for others they are simply records of particular facts. The truth of the facts is in this latter case the one question to be settled, and not any theory which may be or may have been held as to any books in which the facts are narrated. Historic testimony is limited to proving the existence of a belief that such and such events took place. The extent, the character, the effects of this belief influence those who consider it, and turn them to belief more or less definite as the case may be.

¹ Perhaps I may remark here how little the author has apprehended what Christianity professes to be. For example: 'It is quite true that a decided step beyond the doctrine of Philo is made when the Logos is represented as *σὰρξ ἐγένετο* in the person of Jesus, but this argument is equally applicable to the Jewish doctrine of Wisdom, and that step had already been taken before the composition of the Gospel' (ii. 415).

In this respect, then, the first three (Synoptic) Gospels are much more than three isolated histories. They represent, as is shewn by their structure, a common basis, common materials, treated in special ways. They evidently contain only a very small selection from the words and works of Christ, and yet their contents are included broadly in one outline. Their substance is evidently much older than their form.

Nor is this all. The common contents of the Synoptic Gospels include, to speak generally, all that is known from other sources of the Life of the Lord. The most careful search is not able to produce more than very few and unimportant additions to the sayings of Christ and to the details of His work from uncanonical records. On the other hand, any one who will examine the summary which I have given of the Evangelic references in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr will be struck by the extent and variety of the correspondences which they offer with the facts of the canonical history.

The phenomenon is most remarkable and contrary to all that might have been expected. The Lord was attended during His ministry by numerous disciples who must have retained lively recollections of countless scenes of His manifold labours. It would have been natural, to judge from common experience, that these should have spoken to others of what they had seen and heard, and that in this way a great variety of distinct accounts should have been formed. The only explanation of the narrow and definite limit within which the Evangelic history (exclusive of St John's Gospel) is confined seems to be that a collection of representative words and works was made by an authoritative body, such as the Twelve, at a very early date, and that this, which

formed the basis of popular teaching, gained exclusive currency, receiving only subordinate additions and modifications.

This Apostolic Gospel—the oral basis, as I have endeavoured to shew elsewhere, of the Synoptic narratives—dates unquestionably from the very beginning of the Christian Society. One argument alone is sufficient to establish the fact. There can be no doubt that there existed in the Church from the first a Jewish party, which gradually became isolated as the organization of the faith advanced. The Church was never Ebionitic, but in the first stage of its formation that which was potentially Ebionitic was not distinguished from that which was potentially Catholic. As soon as these differences were developed common action became impossible. The selection of Evangelic memorials which found general acceptance among all sections of Christians in the second stage of the history of the Church, must therefore have been formed in the first. And, in fact, universal tradition affirms the closest resemblance between the Ebionitic Gospel, by whatever name it was called owing to later revisions, and the Canonical St Matthew. In this way the substance of the Synoptic records is clearly carried up to the age of the Apostles.

If, therefore, it were admitted that the author of *Supernatural Religion* is right in supposing that Justin derived his knowledge of the words and works of Christ from *the Gospel according to the Hebrews*, I cannot see that his particular object would be furthered by the concession. He allows—it would be impossible to do otherwise—that this Gospel bore the closest resemblance in contents and language to our Synoptic Gospels. We read, that is, substantially what Justin believed. His record and ours alike reflect the primitive Apostolic

message. The history which we have received is that on which the Christian Church was founded, and which was universally held by Christians as true from the first.

There is yet another point of great importance which requires to be noticed. The Synoptic narratives present the common materials in the simplest and most original form. Any one who has carefully examined Justin's parallels with the texts of our Gospels cannot fail to have noticed that the peculiarities of Justin often bear the marks of paraphrase and interpretation. No writer would say that, as a whole, from whatever source they may be derived, they exhibit an older recension of (for example) the Gospel of St Matthew, which still in its present form is probably the latest of the three Synoptic Gospels. So again, the few fragments of the 'Ebionitic' Gospels which remain offer obvious marks of a later revision and embellishment of common narratives. Our first three canonical Gospels, in a word, not only give the Apostolic Gospel, but give it in a form which is certainly purer than that in which it was found in other documents of very early date. Exactly in proportion as it can be shewn that *the Gospel to the Hebrews* is early, it is shewn by a comparison of their texts that our Gospels are earlier.

This argument receives a striking illustration from the history of the text of the Gospels. It will probably have been observed by the reader that a small group of very ancient authorities, D (codex Bezae), several manuscripts of the Old Latin (*e.g.* *e*, *k*) and the Old (Cureton's) Syriac, offer frequent coincidences with readings found (or supposed to be found) in uncanonical Gospels. These readings, from their wide distribution, cannot be later than the last quarter of the second century; and

when they are examined together they are found certainly to be not genuine, but interpolations of the original texts. In other words, the readings in MSS. of the Canonical Gospels which offer the most striking coincidences with the apocryphal narratives are proved to be both later than the true readings, and intrinsically less likely to be authentic. Thus the history of the canonical texts themselves enables us to realize, at least on one side, the history of the apocryphal Gospels, and establishes the superior antiquity of the Synoptists.

The Gospel of St John stands on an entirely different footing. It is not a recension of the common Apostolic Gospel, but a distinct personal record, an individual testimony added to the collective testimony, a review of the historic work of Christ made in the light of individual experience and with a full knowledge of the contents of the general message. St John could not indeed have been ignorant of what I have called (as I believe rightly) the Apostolic Gospel; but, while this is so, it is uncertain whether he had seen the Synoptic representations of this oral Gospel; and, in spite of confident assertions to the contrary, I know of no evidence whatever sufficient to raise even a fair presumption that he used either these or any other documents in the composition of his own record. This, however, is not the place to enter on a discussion of the apostolicity of the fourth Gospel, though it was necessary to indicate sharply the peculiar position which it occupies in the history of the Gospels; for the apprehension of the fact goes far to explain the character of the external evidence by which it is attested.

There is still one other feature in *Supernatural Religion* which I feel bound to notice. The author, expressing in this respect the general spirit of the school

which he represents, assumes for himself and those who think with him a monopoly of 'profound' learning, of critical sagacity, and of the love of truth. Scholars who maintain the Apostolic authority of the Gospels are represented as advocates often insincere and constantly unscrupulous. It is either insinuated or stated that their object is simply to obtain a verdict, and not to assist in bringing to light the real facts of the case. If they state anything which appears to tell against them, the confession is extorted from unwilling witnesses. They are 'obliged to admit' (i. pp. 339 n., 421) what apparently they would gladly conceal: '...for dogmatic and other foregone conclusions [they] profess 'belief in the Apostolic authorship of [St Matthew's] 'Gospel, although in doing so they wilfully ignore the 'facts...' (i. 485): views which appear to me to be reasonable and obvious 'are adopted simply from the 'necessities of a divine defending an unsubstantial 'theory' (i. 394): they 'attempt to exclude,' with singular short-sightedness as it must be allowed, instances which they know there is 'great inconvenience 'in producing' (i. 395): and sometimes (how could such men do otherwise?) they fall before 'temptations which 'are too strong for an apologist' (ii. 45): unfairness is so truly their characteristic that it wins for them the credit of 'cleverness' and 'discretion' (i. 474 n.).

'Apologists' are no doubt liable to error. They have sometimes (to their sorrow) to confess that they have overrated the strict force of the evidence by which their views are supported in detail. But this is not an exceptional fault into which they only fall. Moreover they hold a position as definite as that of sceptics. They interpret doubtful passages in accordance with the general facts of the life of the Church. They do

not think that it is necessary to cease to be Christians in order to judge of the meaning of Christian documents. On the other hand, and this is a fact which is usually overlooked, a critic who starts with the affirmation that miracles are incredible, an affirmation which can only be logically defended on the assumption either that there is no God, or that it is not to be believed that He reveals Himself, cannot approach the examination of records, which are records of miracles, with an unbiassed mind. He has to explain away the staple of their contents. He has decided beforehand that whatever else they may be they are not true. Such an antecedent decision is obviously more fatal to a dispassionate inquiry than the 'orthodox' belief that miracles are credible, and that the accounts which the Evangelists have given may, so far as they are histories, be examined by the ordinary laws of historical investigation. And not to insist further on this fundamental difference of standing between the 'apologist' and the sceptic, which appears to me to be wholly in favour of the 'apologist,' if such an acquaintance as I have been able to make of the literature of the special subject of my Essay justifies me in expressing an opinion, I cannot say that sceptics are more free from 'foregone conclusions' than apologists, more patient in seeking to understand adverse positions, more accurate in scholarship, more guarded in inference, more modest in assertion. It would indeed be grievous if they were. For the Christian, Light and Truth, from whatever source they seem to flow, are identified with the Lord whom he is pledged to serve. To watch the Light as it slowly spreads over the sky till the day dawns—to gather reverently each fragment of Truth till the whole sum is completed in perfect knowledge—is the office to which

he is called. So far as he yields to the desire of obtaining at any cost a temporary advantage, he violates the law of his personal devotion. He has all to gain by a clearer and deeper insight into the foundations and structure of his faith, unless he has believed in vain.

It only remains for me to return my hearty thanks to many friends for corrections and suggestions. I desire especially to acknowledge the great kindness of Dr Ceriani, of Milan, who placed at my disposal the results of a fresh collation of the Muratorian Canon which he made, comparing the original manuscript twice, letter by letter, with the facsimile of Dr Tregelles.

B. F. W.

HUNSTANTON,

September 1, 1874.

CONTENTS.

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1—15
A general view of the difficulties which affected the formation and proof of the Canon	1—4
i. The <i>Formation</i> of the Canon was impeded by :	
1. Defective means of communication	4
2. The existence of a traditional Rule of doctrine	5
But the Canon was generally recognized at the close of the second century	6
ii. The <i>Proof</i> of the Canon is affected by :	
1. The uncritical character of the early Fathers	8
2. The casual nature of their evidence	10
3. The fragmentary state of early Christian literature	11
The Canon rests on the combined judgment of the Churches	12

FIRST PERIOD. A.D. 70—170.

CHAPTER I.

THE AGE OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

A.D. 70—120.

The general character of the Sub-Apostolic age conservative and yet transitional	19
The epistolary character of its literature	20
Its relation to the history of the Canon	ib.

SECTION I. *The relation of the Apostolic Fathers to the teaching of the Apostles.*

	Page
§ 1. <i>CLEMENT of Rome.</i>	
His legendary history and office	21
His <i>first Epistle</i> in relation to St PAUL, St JAMES, and St JOHN	25
The view which it gives of the position of the Christian Church	26
§ 2. <i>IGNATIUS.</i>	
The general characteristics of the Ignatian Epistles common to all the shorter Epistles and consistent with the position of Ignatius	28
Their connexion with the teaching of St PAUL as to <i>Judaism</i> (p. 33), and to the <i>Church</i> (p. 34); and with St JOHN . .	35
§ 3. <i>POLYCARP.</i>	
His Epistle eminently Scriptural (p. 36). Its connexion with St PETER, and with the <i>Pastoral Epistles</i>	37
The special value of Polycarp's testimony	39
§ 4. <i>BARNABAS.</i>	
The <i>Epistle of Barnabas</i> genuine, but not Apostolic or Canonical	40
Its relation to the Epistle to the Hebrews, in regard to the mystical interpretation of Scripture (p. 42), and to the Mosaic Dispensation	44

SECTION II. *The relation of the Apostolic Fathers to the Canon of the New Testament.*

How far their testimony was limited by their position	46
Their testimony to	
(a) The Books of the New Testament, both explicit and incidental	47
Peculiar value of this anonymous evidence	48
Free references of CLEMENT and POLYCARP	49
They do not witness so much to written Gospels (p. 51), as to the great facts of Christ's Life	51
(β) The authority of the Apostolic Writings	54
Modified both by their position and by the gradual recognition of the Doctrine of Inspiration	ib.
Still they all definitely place themselves below the Apostles	56
Note. <i>On the Evangelic Words contained in the Apostolic Fathers</i>	59

CHAPTER II.

THE AGE OF THE GREEK APOLOGISTS.

A.D. 120—170.

	Page
The wide range of Christian literature during this period	63
Justin Martyr the true representative of the age	64
The work of the Apologists twofold, to determine the relations of Christianity to Heathendom, and to Judaism	65
This latter work to be distinguished from the conflicts of the Apostolic age	66
Christian literature still wholly Greek; the effect of this	67
§ 1. <i>PAPIAS</i> .	
His date (p. 68). The character of Hierapolis (p. 69).	
The true purpose of his <i>Enarrations</i> (p. 70).	
His testimony to the Gospels of St MATTHEW (p. 72), St MARK (p. 73), St JOHN; to the <i>Catholic Epistles</i> , and to the <i>Apo-</i> <i>calypse</i>	76
How it is that he does not allude to the Pauline writings	77
[The <i>Martyrdom of Ignatius</i> , p. 79, n. 1.]	
§ 2. <i>The Elders quoted by Irenæus</i>	79
§ 3. <i>The Evangelists in the reign of Trajan</i>	81
§ 4. <i>The Athenian Apologists</i>	82
<i>QUADRATUS</i> (p. 83) and <i>ARISTIDES</i>	84
§ 5. <i>The Letter to Diognetus</i> .	
Its authorship (p. 85), compound character (p. 86), and date . .	87
Its testimony to the teaching of St PAUL and St JOHN (p. 89), to the <i>Synoptic Gospels</i> , and to other parts of the New Tes- tament	90
The 'Gnostic' element in the concluding fragment	91
§ 6. <i>The Jewish Apologists</i>	92
<i>The Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus</i> : <i>ARISTO</i> of Pella its supposed author	93
<i>AGRIPPA CASTOR</i>	94

§ 7. JUSTIN MARTYR.

Page

Some account of the studies, labours, and writings of Justin . . .	95
A general account of the relation of his books to the Gospels . . .	98
I. The general coincidence of Justin's Evangelic quotations with our Gospels, (1) in facts (p. 100): <i>e.g.</i> (a) The Infancy (p. 101), (β) the Mission of John Baptist (p. 102); (γ) the Passion (p. 103); and (2) in the account of our Lord's teaching (p. 105), both in language and in substance . . .	106
II. Justin's special quotations from the <i>Memoirs of the Apostles</i> . . .	108
The quotations in the Apology (p. 110), and in the Dialogue . . .	111
Coincidences with St MATTHEW, St MARK, and St LUKE . . .	112
Justin's description of the Memoirs compared with Tertullian's description of the Gospels (p. 114); the substance of what he quotes from, and says of them . . .	115
Objections to the identification of the Memoirs with the Gospels:	
1. No mention of their writers' names . . .	116
Yet the Gospels are often referred to anonymously (p. 116), as are also the Prophets . . .	119
2. The quotations differ from the Canonical text . . .	120
Yet their character agrees with that of Justin's Old Testament quotations (p. 121); in which he both combines (p. 122) and adapts Texts [Note A, p. 172] . . .	123
Probable reasons for many of these variations [Note B, p. 173] . . .	125
Justin's quotations often made from memory . . .	126
His repeated quotations . . .	127
The identification justified by an examination	
(a) Of the express quotations from the Memoirs . . .	130
(β) Of the repetitions of the same peculiar reading . . .	136
These various readings may be classed as synonymous phrases (p. 137), glosses (p. 142), and combinations, whether of words (p. 144), or of forms (p. 145); and are illustrated by the text of certain Manuscripts, <i>e.g.</i>	
Codex D [Note C, p. 174] . . .	147
(γ) Of the coincidences with Heretical Gospels . . .	149
The differences from them are far more numerous and striking [Note D, p. 177] . . .	156
3. The coincidences of Justin's narrative with Apocryphal Traditions . . .	157

	Page
The <i>Voice</i> (p. 157), and <i>Fire</i> at the Baptism (p. 158); and other facts and words (p. 159), which are to be explained as exaggerations or glosses	161
Summary of Justin's testimony (p. 163), in connexion with the Muratorian Canon and Irenæus (p. 165). How far he wit- nesses to the <i>Gospel of St John</i> and to the <i>Apocalypse</i> (p. 166); and to the writings of St Paul (p. 167), especially in quota- tions from the Old Testament	168
The testimony of the doubtful works attributed to Justin	169
§ 8. <i>The Second Epistle of Clement.</i>	
Probably a Homily	177
A Gentile writing	178
The peculiarity of its use of Scripture	179
Apocryphal quotations	181
[The two <i>Epistles to Virgins</i> , p. 183 n.]	
§ 9. <i>DIONYSIUS</i> of Corinth, and <i>PINYTUS</i> .	
What Dionysius says of the preservation of Christian writings; and how it bears on the New Testament	185
His direct reference to the New Testament Scriptures (p. 188), and coincidences of language with different parts	189
Pinytus refers to the Epistle to the Hebrews	ib.
§ 10. <i>HERMAS</i> .	
The condition of the Church of Rome at the middle of the second century	191
Its character represented by the <i>Shepherd</i>	193
The history of the book (p. 193), its character (p. 195), in rela- tion to St JAMES (p. 197); and its connexion with other books of Scripture	198
The Christology of Hermas in connexion with that of St JOHN (p. 200). He is falsely accused of Ebionism	201
§ 11. <i>HEGESIPPUS</i> .	
The supposed Ebionism of Hegesippus (p. 202), opposed to the testimony of Eusebius	203
The character of his Memoirs in connexion with the Gospels (p. 204), and with Apocryphal books	206
§ 12. <i>The Muratorian Fragment—</i> <i>MELITO—CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS.</i>	
The date of the Muratorian Canon (p. 209), its character (p. 210), and its testimony to the Gospels (p. 211), to the Acts (p. 214), to the Epistles of St Paul (<i>ib.</i>), and to the disputed	

	Page
Catholic Epistles (p. 215). Its omissions, which however admit of an explanation	216
<i>Melito</i> implies the existence of a New Testament, and illustrates the extent of early Christian thought	218
His Treatise on Faith [His <i>Clavis</i> , 223 n.]	221
<i>Claudius Apollinaris</i> shews that the Gospels were generally recognized	224
<i>THEOPHILUS</i>	225
<i>ATHENAGORAS</i>	226
Summary	227
Note. On the Patristic references to books of the New Testament collected by <i>Eusebius</i>	229

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

How far they help to determine the Canon	232
§ 1. <i>The Peshito.</i>	
Its language, and probable origin (p. 234). Syrian traditions on the subject	235
The difficulty of deciding these questions from the want of an early Syriac literature (p. 237). Other Syriac Versions (p. 239 n.). The Syrian Canon	241
§ 2. <i>The Old Latin Version.</i>	
The Roman Church originally Greek (p. 244), while Africa was the home of Latin Christian literature (p. 246), of which the <i>Vetus Latina</i> is the oldest specimen	247
The existence of such a version proved from Tertullian (p. 247). Augustine's testimony on the subject (p. 250), supported by existing documents	251
The quotations in the Latin Version of Irenæus (p. 253). The Canon of the <i>Vetus Latina</i> coincides with that of Muratori	254
The Manuscripts in which it is now found	255
How far its influence can be traced in the present Vulgate	259
Application of this argument to the language of 2 Peter (p. 260), St James (p. 261), the Epistle to the Hebrews	262
The importance of the combined testimony of these early Versions	263

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLY HERETICS.

	Page
The early heretics made no attack on the New Testament (p. 267) on historical grounds, as their adversaries remarked (p. 268), and though their testimony is partial it is progressive	269
§ 1. <i>The Heretical teachers of the Apostolic Age.</i>	
<i>SIMON MAGUS</i> , and the <i>Great Announcement</i>	271
<i>MENANDER</i> (p. 273), and <i>CERINTHUS</i> (<i>ib.</i>). Cerinthus acquainted with the writings of the New Testament (<i>ib.</i>). How the <i>Apocalypse</i> came to be ascribed to him (p. 274), and thence the other writings of St John	276
The importance of early heretical teaching in relation to the New Testament as a link between it and later speculations	277
§ 2. <i>The Ophites and Ebionites.</i>	
The rise of early sects (p. 279). The Ophites (<i>ib.</i>), the Peratici and Sethiani (p. 280), of Hippolytus. What writings the Ebionites received (p. 281). The testimony of the Clementines	282
Note. <i>The corresponding quotations of Justin Martyr and the Clementines</i>	285
§ 3. <i>BASILIDES and ISIDORUS.</i>	
The position (p. 288) and date of Basilides (p. 289). What books he used (p. 290); what he is said to have rejected	292
§ 4. <i>CARPOCRATES</i>	293
§ 5. <i>VALENTINUS.</i>	
He received the same books as Catholic Christians (p. 295); but is said to have introduced verbal alterations (p. 296), and to have used another Gospel	297
Other Gnostic Gospels	298
§ 6. <i>HERACLEON.</i>	
His Commentaries; the books they recognize	300
§ 7. <i>PTOLEMÆUS</i>	303
§ 8. <i>The Marcosians.</i>	
They used Apocryphal writings (p. 305), but also the Gospels (<i>ib.</i>), and the writings of St Paul	307

	Page
§ 9. <i>MARCION.</i>	
The Canon of Marcion the earliest known	308
His position (p. 308), and date (p. 309). What books he received [Note, p. 314]	310
The text of his edition (p. 311), and the principles by which he was guided ,	313
§ 10. <i>TATIAN.</i>	
The relation of Tatian to Marcion (p. 315). His importance.	
What Scriptures he recognizes	316
An account of his <i>Diatessaron</i>	318

General Summary of the First Part.

i. The direct evidence fragmentary; but wide, unaffected, uniform, and comprehensive ,	312
ii. The authenticity of the Canon a key to the history of the early Church	324
Still (1) partial doubts remained as to certain books, (2) the evidence is mainly anonymous, and (3) the idea of a Canon was implied rather than expressed	325

SECOND PERIOD. A.D. 170—303.

CHAPTER I.

THE CANON OF THE ACKNOWLEDGED BOOKS.

Three stages in the advance of Christianity (p. 331). How they are connected (p. 332), and the bearing of this on the history of the Canon	333
On what grounds the Canon of acknowledged Books rests	334
The testimony of (i) the <i>Gallican Church</i> , The <i>Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons</i> (p. 335), <i>IRENÆUS</i>	336
ii. The <i>Alexandrine Church</i> , <i>PANTÆNUS</i> (p. 338), <i>CLEMENT</i>	339
iii. The <i>African Church</i> ,— <i>TERTULLIAN</i>	341
All these writers appeal to antiquity (p. 342), and recognize a collection of sacred books	344
The Canon of the acknowledged Books formed by general consent	345

CHAPTER II.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE CHURCHES TO THE
DISPUTED BOOKS.

	Page
The question of the disputed books essentially historical (p. 347), a Deutero-Canon no solution of the problem	348
A summary of the evidence up to this point	349
§ 1. <i>The Alexandrine Church</i> ,— <i>CLEMENT</i> (p. 350). <i>ORIGEN</i> (p. 354): his catalogues (<i>ib.</i>), and isolated testimonies in Greek (p. 358) and in Latin texts (p. 359). <i>DIONYSIUS</i> (p. 361). Later Alexandrine writers	363
The Egyptian Versions	365
§ 2. <i>The Latin Churches of Africa</i> . As to the Epistle to the Hebrews (p. 367), the Catholic Epistles (p. 369), the Apocalypse	370
The Latin Canon defective, yet free from Apocryphal addi- tions	371
§ 3. <i>The Church of Rome</i> . i. Latin writers,— <i>MINUCIUS FELIX</i> , <i>NOVATUS</i>	373
ii. Greek writers,— <i>DIONYSIUS</i> , <i>CAIUS</i> (p. 374), <i>HIPPO- LYTUS</i>	376
§ 4. <i>The Churches of Asia Minor</i> . 1. <i>Ephesus</i> . <i>POLYCRATES</i> (p. 377), <i>APOLLONIUS</i>	378
2. <i>Smyrna</i> . <i>IRENÆUS</i>	379
3. <i>Pontus</i> . <i>GREGORY</i> of Neo-Cæsarea (p. 381). <i>FIRMILIAN</i> , <i>METHODIUS</i>	382
The Asiatic Canon defective	384
§ 5. <i>The Churches of Syria</i> . 1. <i>Antioch</i> . <i>THEOPHILUS</i> (p. 385), <i>SERAPION</i> (<i>ib.</i>), <i>PAUL</i> of Samosata (p. 387), <i>MALCHION</i> (<i>ib.</i>), <i>DO- ROTHEUS</i> and <i>LUCIAN</i>	388
2. <i>Cæsarea</i> . <i>PAMPHILUS</i>	389

CHAPTER III.

THE TESTIMONY OF HERETICAL AND
APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS.

	Page
General connexion of the forms of heresy with the New Testament	393
1. Controversies on the person of Christ	394
2. <i>Montanism</i>	395
3. <i>Manichæism</i> (p. 396). Use of Apocryphal Books by the Manichees	398
The testimony of Apocryphal writings. The <i>Sibylline Oracles</i> , and the <i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	<i>ib.</i>
The testimony of heathen writers. CELSUS, PORPHYRY	400
<i>General Summary of the Second Part.</i>	
The work of this period to construct, not define	401
The results of the former period confirmed by it	403

THIRD PERIOD. A.D. 303—397.

CHAPTER I.

THE AGE OF DIOCLETIAN.

The persecution of Diocletian directed against the Christian books (p. 407), its results	408
i. In <i>Africa</i> . The <i>Donatists</i>	409
ii. In <i>Syria</i> . <i>EUSEBIUS</i>	410
The importance of his testimony	419

CHAPTER II.

THE AGE OF COUNCILS.

CONSTANTINE'S zeal for Holy Scripture (p. 422). The Scripture as a rule of controversy accepted on all sides	424
The use of Scripture at the Council of Nicæa	425
[ULFILAS, 425 n.]	
[Greek MSS. AB 8, 426 n.]	

The Synods which followed this Council :

Page

i.	The <i>Synod of Laodicea</i>	427
	The last Laodicean Canon (p. 427). Evidence as to its authenticity from (1) Greek manuscripts (p. 430), (2) Versions—Latin (p. 431), and Syriac (p. 432), (3) Systematic Arrangements of the Canons (<i>ib.</i>). Result	433
ii.	The third <i>Council of Carthage</i> .	
	The Canon of the New Testament ratified there	436
	How this Canon is supported by the testimony of Churches.	
i.	The Churches of <i>Syria</i> .	
1.	<i>Antioch</i> . CHRYSOSTOM (p. 437). THEODORE of Mop-suestia (p. 438). THEODORET	439
2.	<i>Nisibis</i> . JUNILIUS. EBED JESU	<i>ib.</i>
3.	<i>Edessa</i> . EPHREM SYRUS	440
	JOHANNES DAMASCENUS	<i>ib.</i>
ii.	The Churches of <i>Asia Minor</i> .	
	GREGORY of Nazianzus. AMPHILOCHIU	441
	GREGORY of Nyssa and BASIL	442
	ANDREW and ARETHAS	443
iii.	The Church of <i>Jerusalem</i> .	
	CYRIL. EPIPHANIUS	<i>ib.</i>
iv.	The Church of <i>Alexandria</i> .	
	ATHANASIUS. CYRIL. ISIDORE. DIDYMUS (p. 444). COSMAS. EUTHALIUS. PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS	445
v.	The Church of <i>Constantinople</i> .	
	CASSIAN. LEONTIUS.	<i>ib.</i>
	NICEPHORUS. PHOTIUS. ŒCUMENIUS. THEOPHYLACT	446
vi.	The Churches of the West.	
	Doubts as to the Epistle to the Hebrews	447
	The Canon of JEROME	<i>ib.</i>
	AMBROSE. RUFINUS. PHILASTRIUS. AUGUSTINE.	450
	The mediæval view of the Canon.	
	ALFRIC (p. 452). The <i>Epistle to the Laodiceans</i> (p. 454). HUGO of St Victor (p. 450). JOHN of Salisbury	459
	[R. Pecock, 461 n.]	

CHAPTER III.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

	Page
Various elements combined in the discussions on the Bible	463
The debate guided by feeling more than criticism	464
§ 1. <i>The Roman Church.</i>	
Cardinal XIMENES (p. 466). ERASMUS (p. 467). Cardinal CAI- ETAN (p. 471). CATHARINUS (p. 472). <i>The Council of</i> <i>Trent</i> (ib.). Its decree on the Canon of Scripture (p. 473). SIXTUS SENENSIS	475
§ 2. <i>The Saxon School of Reformers.</i>	
LUTHER (p. 476). KARLSTADT	480
§ 3. <i>The Swiss School of Reformers.</i>	
ZWINGLI (p. 483). ŒCOLAMPADIUS (ib.). CALVIN (p. 484). BEZA (p. 486). <i>The Reformed Confessions</i> (p. 487). <i>The</i> <i>Swiss Declaration of 1675</i>	490
§ 4. <i>The Arminian School.</i>	
GROTIUS	491
§ 5. <i>The English Church.</i>	
TYNDALE (p. 492). <i>The English Articles</i> (p. 494). <i>The</i> <i>opinions of the English Reformers</i> : JEWEL; BULLINGER; WHITAKER; FULKE	495
Conclusion	496

APPENDICES.

App. A. <i>On the history of the word</i> <i>Καὶὼν</i>	499
App. B. <i>On the use of Apocryphal Writings in the early Church</i>	507
App. C. <i>The Muratorian Fragment on the Canon</i>	514
App. D. <i>The chief Catalogues of the books of the Bible during the</i> <i>first Eight Centuries</i>	531
App. E. <i>The Apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans</i>	572
Addenda	577
INDEX I. <i>List of the authorities quoted in reference to the Canon of</i> <i>the New Testament</i>	579
INDEX II. <i>A Synopsis of the Historical Evidence for the Books of</i> <i>the New Testament</i>	582

The truth of our Religion, like the truth of common matters, is to be judged by all the evidence taken together.

Bp. BUTLER.

Introduc-
tion.

*A general
History of
the Canon
distinct
from a par-
ticular his-
tory of the
Books.*

A GENERAL survey of the History of the Canon forms a necessary part of an Introduction to the writings of the New Testament. A full examination of the objections which have been raised against particular Books, a detailed account of the external evidence by which they are severally supported, an accurate estimate of the internal proofs of their authenticity, are indeed most needful ; but, besides all this, it seems no less important to gain a wide and connected prospect of the history of the whole collection of the New Testament Scriptures, to trace the gradual recognition of a written Apostolic rule as authoritative and divine, to observe the gradual equalization of 'the Gospel and Epistles' with 'the Law and the Prophets,' to notice the predominance of partial, though not exclusive, views in different Churches, till they were all harmonized in a universal Creed, and witnessed by a completed Canon¹. For this purpose we must frequently assume results which have been obtained elsewhere ; but what is lost in fulness will be gained in clearness. A continuous though rapid survey of the field on which we are engaged will bring out more prominently some of its great features, whose true effect is lost in the details of a minute investigation.

¹ By 'the Canon' I understand the collection of books which constitute the original written Rule of the Christian Faith. For the history of the word see Appendix A.

Introduc-
tion.

*Range of the
inquiry.*

With this view it will be necessary to take into account the intellectual and doctrinal development which was realized in the early Church. The books which are the divine record of Apostolic doctrine cannot be fitly considered apart from the societies in which the doctrine was embodied. A mere series of quotations can convey only an inadequate notion of the real extent and importance of the early testimonies to the genuineness and authority of the New Testament. Something must be known of the nature and object of the first Christian literature—of the possible frequency of Scriptural references in such fragments of it as survive—of the circumstances and relations of the primitive Churches, before it is fair to assign any negative value to the silence or ignorance of individual witnesses, or to decide on the positive worth of the evidence which can be brought forward.

*Especially
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The question of the Canon of Holy Scripture has assumed at the present day a new position in Theology. The Bible can no longer be regarded merely as a common storehouse of controversial weapons, or an acknowledged exception to the rules of literary criticism. Modern scholars, from various motives, have distinguished its constituent parts, and shewn in what way each was related to the peculiar circumstances of its origin. Christianity has gained by the issue; for it is an unspeakable advantage that the Books of the New Testament are now seen to be organically united with the lives of the Apostles: that they are recognized as living monuments, reared in the midst of struggles within and without by men who had seen Christ, stamped with the character of their age, and inscribed with the dialect which they spoke: that they are felt to be a *product* as well as a *source* of spiritual life. Their true harmony can only be realized after a perception of their distinct pecu-

liarities. It cannot be too often repeated, that the history of the formation of the whole Canon involves little less than the history of the building of the Catholic Church.

The common difficulties which beset any inquiry into remote and intricate events are in this case unusually great, since they are strengthened by the most familiar influences of our daily life. It is always a hard matter to lay aside the habits of thought and observation which are suggested by present circumstances; and yet this is as essential to a just idea of any period as a full view of its external characteristics. It is not enough to have the facts before us unless we regard them from the right point of sight; otherwise the prospect, however wide, must at least be confused. Our powers are indeed admirably suited to criticise whatever falls within their immediate range; but they need a careful adjustment when they are directed to a more distant field. Moreover, remote objects are often surrounded by an atmosphere different from our own, and it is possible that they may be grouped together according to peculiar laws and subject to special influences. This is certainly true of the primitive Church; and the differences which separate modern Christendom from ancient Jerusalem or Alexandria or Rome, morally and materially, are only the more important, because they are frequently concealed by the transference of old words to new ideas.

A little reflection will shew how seriously these difficulties have influenced our notions of early Christendom; for the negative conclusions of some modern schools of criticism have found acceptance chiefly through a general forgetfulness of the conditions of its history. These must be determined by the characteristics of the age, which necessarily modify the form of our inquiry, and limit the extent of our resources. The results which are obtained

Introduc-
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*It is hard to
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of the
problem.*

Introduction.

i. The Formation of the Canon was impeded by

(1) defective means of communication,

from an examination of the records of the ante-Nicene Church, as long as they are compared with what might be expected at present, appear meagre and inadequate; but in relation to their proper sources they are singularly fertile. This will appear clearer by the examination of one or two particulars, which bear directly upon the *formation* and *proof* of the Canon.

I. It cannot be denied that the Canon was fixed gradually. The condition of society and the internal relations of the Church presented obstacles to the immediate and absolute determination of the question, which are disregarded now, only because they have ceased to exist. The tradition which represents St John as fixing the contents of the New Testament betrays the spirit of a later age¹.

I. It is almost impossible for any one whose ideas of communication are suggested by the railway and the printing-press to understand how far mere material hindrances must have prevented a speedy and unanimous settlement of the Canon. The means of intercourse were slow and precarious. The multiplication of manuscripts in remote provinces was tedious and costly². The common meeting-point of Christians was destroyed by the fall of Jerusalem, and from that time national Churches

¹ This tradition rests upon a misunderstanding of what Eusebius says of the relation of St John's Gospel to the former three (*Hist. Eccl.* III. 24; cf. VI. 14. Hieron. *De Virr.* III. 9). The earliest trace of the narrative of Eusebius occurs in the Muratorian fragment (see App. C).

² This fact however has been frequently exaggerated. The circulation of the New Testament Scriptures was probably far greater than is commonly supposed. Mr Norton has made some interesting calculations, which tend to

shew that as many as 60,000 copies of the Gospels were circulated among Christians at the end of the second century. *Genuineness of the Gospels*, I. pp. 28—34 (Ed. 2, 1847). Whether the data on which this conclusion rests are sound or not, it is certain that the production of large and cheap editions of books at Rome was usual. Compare W. A. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Denk- und Glaubensfreiheit im ersten Jahrhundert...des Christenthums* (Berlin, 1847), c. v.

grew up around their separate centres, enjoying in a great measure the freedom of individual development, and exhibiting, often in exaggerated forms, peculiar tendencies of doctrine or ritual. As a natural consequence, the circulation of different parts of the New Testament for a while depended, more or less, on their supposed connexion with specific forms of Christianity.

This fact, which has been frequently neglected in Church histories, has given some colour to the pictures which have been drawn of the early divisions of Christians. Yet the separation was not the result of fundamental differences in doctrine, but rather of temporary influences. It was not widened by time, but gradually disappeared. It did not cut off mutual intercourse, but vanished as intercourse grew more easy and frequent. The common Creed is not a compromise of principles, but a combination of the essential types of Christian truth which were preserved in different Churches¹. The New Testament is not an incongruous collection of writings of the Apostolic age, but the sum of the treasures of Apostolic teaching stored up in various places. The same circumstances at first retarded the formation, and then confirmed the claims of the Catholic Church and of the Canon of Scripture.

2. The formal declaration of the Canon was not by any means an immediate and necessary consequence of its practical settlement. As long as the traditional Rule of Apostolic doctrine was generally held in the Church, there was no need to confirm it by the written Rule. The dogmatic and constant use of the New Testament was not made necessary by the terms of controversy or the wants of the congregation. Most of the first heretics impugned the authority of Apostles, and for them their writings had

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*though not
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traditional
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trine,*

¹ A faint sense of this is shewn in the late tradition which assigned the different Clauses in the Creed to separate Apostles.

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way to a
written
Rule,

at least to-
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close of the
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tury.

no weight. Most of the first Christians felt so practically the depth and fulness of the Old Testament Scriptures, that they continued to seek and find in them that comfort and instruction of which popular rules of interpretation have deprived us.

But in the course of time a change came over the condition of the Church. As soon as the immediate disciples of the Apostles had passed away, it was felt that their traditional teaching had lost its direct authority. Heretics arose who claimed to be possessed of other traditional rules derived in succession from St Peter or St Paul¹, and it was only possible to try their authenticity by documents beyond the reach of change or corruption. Dissensions arose within the Church itself, and the appeal to the written word of the Apostles became natural and decisive. And thus the practical belief of the primitive age was first definitely expressed when the Church had gained a permanent position, and a fixed literature.

From the close of the second century the history of the Canon is simple, and its proof clear. It is allowed even by those who have reduced the genuine Apostolic works to the narrowest limits, that from the time of Irenæus the New Testament was composed essentially of the same books which we receive at present, and that they were regarded with the same reverence as is now shewn to them². Before that time there is more or less

¹ Clem. Alex. *Str.* VII. 17, § 106, *Μαθθίου* (Clem. AL. *Str.* VII. 17, § 108).

² It will be well once for all to give a general view of the opinion of the most advanced critics of Tübingen on the canonical books of the New Testament, and their relation to early Christian literature. According to Schweglar they may be arranged as follows:
i. Genuine and Apostolic.
1. Ebionitic:

κάτω δὲ περὶ τοὺς Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασι-
λέως χρόνους οἱ τὰς αἱρέσεις ἐπινοή-
σαντες γεγονάσι καὶ μέχρι γε τῆς
Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου διέτειναν
ἡλικίας καθάπερ ὁ Βασιλεῖδης, κὰν
Γλαυκίαν ἐπιγράφηται διδάσκαλον, ὡς
αὐχοῦσιν αὐτοί, τὸν Πέτρου ἐρμηνέα.
ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ Οὐαλεντίνον Θεοδόδι
ἀκηκοέναι φέρουσιν, γνώριμος δ' οὗτος
γεγόνει Παῦλον. Cf. [Hipp.] *adv.*
Hereses, VII. 20, where we must read

difficulty in making out the details of the question, and the critic's chief endeavour must be to shew how much can be determined from the first, and how exactly that coincides with the clearer view which is afterwards gained.

II. Here however we are again beset with peculiar difficulties. The proof of the Canon is embarrassed both

ii. *The Proof of the Canon is rendered more difficult*

The APOCALYPSE.

2. Pauline:

Epp. to the CORINTHIANS

i. ii.

Ep. to ROMANS (capp. i.—xiv.)

Ep. to GALATIANS.

ii. Original sources of the Gospels:

1. Ebionitic. *The Gospel according to the Hebrews.*

St MATTHEW, a revision of this (A.C. 130—134. Baur, *Kan. Evv.* s. 609, anm.).

2. Pauline. *The Gospel adopted by Marcion.* (Probably: Schwegler, *Nachap. Zeit.* i. 284.)

St LUKE.

iii. Supposititious writings forged for party purposes.

1. Ebionitic:

(a) Conciliatory:

Ep. of St JAMES (c. 150 A.C. Schwegler, I. s. 443).

The Clementine Homilies.

The Apostolical Constitutions.

Clement, Ep. ii.

(β) Neutral:

St MARK (late; after St Matthew: Baur, 561).

2 Ep. St PETER (c. 200 A.C. Schwegler, I. 495).

Ep. St JUDE (late, *id.* 521). *Clementine Recognitions.*

2. Pauline:

(a) Apologetic:

1 Ep. PETER (c. 115. Schwegler, II. 3).

Κήρυγμα Πέτρον.

(β) Conciliatory:

St LUKE (c. 100 A.C. Schwegler, II. 72).

The ACTS (same date, *id.* s. 115).

Ep. to ROMANS, capp. xv., xvi. (same date, *id.* s. 123).

Ep. to PHILIPPIANS (c. 130? *id.* s. 133).

Clement, Ep. i.

(γ) Constructive (Katholisir- end):

The PASTORAL Epistles (130—150 A.C. Schwegler, II. 138).

Ep. of Polycarp.

Epp. of Ignatius.

3. A peculiar Asiatic development:

Ep. to HEBREWS (c. 100 A.C. Schwegler, II. 309).

Ep. to COLOSSIANS (a little later, *id.* s. 289).

Ep. to EPHESIANS (a little later, *id.* s. 291).

Gospel and Epistles (?) of St JOHN (c. 150. Schwegler, *id.* s. 169; Baur, 350 ff.).

It will be at once evident how much critical sagacity lies at the base of this arrangement, apart from its historic impossibility.

The Epistles to the THESSALONIANS and to PHILEMON are rejected, but Schwegler does not give any explanation of their origin.

[Schwegler's theory has been variously modified by later writers of the Tübingen school, but it still remains the most complete embodiment of the spirit of the school, in which relation alone we have to deal with it.]

Introduc-
tion.

(1) by the un-
critical cha-
racter of the
first two cen-
turies,

shown in the
use of Apo-
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books,

by the general characteristics of the age in which it was fixed, and by the particular form of the evidence on which it first depends.

I. The spirit of the ancient world was essentially uncritical. It is unfair to speak as if Christian writers were in any way specially distinguished by a want of sagacity or research. The science of history is altogether of modern date; and the Fathers do not seem to have been more or less credulous or uninformed than their pagan contemporaries¹. Their testimony must be tried according to the standard of their age. We must be content to ground our conclusions on such evidence as the case admits, and to interpret it according to its proper laws.

One important example will illustrate the application of these principles. As soon as the Christian Church had gained a firm footing in the Roman Empire it required what might be called an educational literature; and an attempt was made at an early period to supply the want by books which received in a certain degree the sanction of the Church. When this sanction was once granted, it became necessarily difficult to define its extent and duration. The ecclesiastical writings of the Old Testament furnished a precedent and an excuse for a similar appendix to the Christian Scriptures. Both classes seem to have been formed from the same motive: both found their readiest acceptance at Alexandria. 'Apocryphal' writings were added to manuscripts of the New Testament, and read in churches; and the practice thus begun continued for a long time. The *Epistle of Barnabas* was still read among the 'Apocryphal Scriptures' in the time

¹ *E.g.* Clement's name is invariably coupled with the legend of the Phoenix (c. xxv.), but it does not appear that Tacitus' credit is weakened by the fact that he introduces the same story among the most tragic incidents (*An.* vi. 28).

of Jerome; a translation of the *Shepherd* of Hermas is found in a MS. of the Latin Bible as late as the fifteenth century¹; the spurious *Epistle to the Laodiceans* is found very commonly in English copies of the Vulgate from the ninth century downwards; and an important catalogue of the Apocrypha of the New Testament is added to the Canon of Scripture subjoined to the *Chronographia* of Nicephorus, published in the ninth century.

At first sight this mixture of different classes of books appears startling; but the Church of England follows the same principle with regard to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. They are allowed to have an ecclesiastical use, but not a canonical authority. They are profitable for instruction—for elementary teaching (στοιχείωσις εἰσαγωγικῇ) as is said² of the *Shepherd* of Hermas—but not for the proof of doctrine. And it was in this spirit that Apocrypha of the New Testament were admitted with reserve in many Christian Churches. ‘They ought to be ‘read,’ it was said, ‘though they cannot be regarded as apostolic or prophetic³.’ And evidence is not wanting to shew that the ancient Church exercised a jealous watch lest supposititious writings should usurp undue influence. The presbyter who sought to recommend the story of Thecla by the name of St Paul was degraded from his office⁴.

But the first Christian writers—and here again the parallel with our own divines still holds—did not always shew individually the caution and judgment of the Church. They quote ecclesiastical books from time to time as if they were canonical: the analogy of the faith was to them

Introduc-
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Church, but

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writers, till

¹ Anger, *Synopsis Evangg.* p. xxiv. the *Epistle to the Hebrews*.

In this MS. it stands between the Psalms and Proverbs. In the very remarkable Latin MS. known in the New Testament as g¹ (Bibl. Imp. Paris. S. Germ. Lat. 86) it follows

² Euseb. *H. E.* III. 3.

³ *Fragm. Murat. de Canone*, s. f., speaking of Hermas.

⁴ Tertull. *de Bapt.* c. 15.

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*the question
assumed a
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importance:*

*(2) by the ca-
sual nature
of our evi-
dence,*

a sufficient warrant for their immediate use. As soon however as a practical interest attached to the question of the Canon their judgment was clear and unanimous. When it became necessary to determine what 'super-fluous' books might be yielded to the Roman inquisitor¹ without the charge of apostasy, the Apocryphal writings sunk at once into their proper place. There was no change of opinion here; but that definite enunciation of it which was not called forth by any critical feeling within was conceded at last to a necessity from without. The true meaning of the earliest witnesses is brought out by the later comment².

2. This fact suggests a second difficulty by which the subject is affected: the earliest testimonies to the Canon are simply incidental. Now even if the ante-Nicene Fathers had been gifted with an active spirit of criticism—if their works had been left to us entire—if the custom of formal reference had prevailed from the first—it would still be impossible to determine the contents of the New Testament absolutely on merely casual evidence. Antecedently there is no reason to suppose that we shall be able to obtain a perfect view of the judgment of the Church on the Canon from the scriptural references contained in the current theological literature of any particular period. The experience of our own day teaches us that books of Holy Scripture, if not whole classes of books, may be suffered to fall into disuse from having little connexion with the popular views of religion. As a general rule, quotations have a value positively, but not negatively: they may shew that a writing was received as authoritative, but it cannot fairly be argued

¹ In the persecution of Diocletian. See below, Part iii. c. i.

² See Appendix B. *On the use of Apocryphal writings in the early Church.*

from this fact alone that another which is not quoted was unknown or rejected as apocryphal.

Still, though the use of Scripture is in a great degree dependent on the character of the controversies of the day, the argument from quotations obtains a new weight in connexion with formal catalogues of the New Testament. It is impossible not to admit that a general coincidence of the range of patristic references with the limits elsewhere assigned to the Canon confirms and settles them. And in this way the history of the Canon can be carried up to times when catalogues could not have been published, but existed only implicitly in the practice of the Churches.

3. The track however which we have to follow is often obscure and broken. The evidence of the earliest Christian writers is not only uncritical and casual, but is also fragmentary. A few letters of consolation and warning, two or three Apologies addressed to Heathen, a controversy with a Jew, a Vision, and a scanty glean- ing of fragments of lost works, comprise all Christian literature¹ up to the middle of the second century. And the Fathers of the next age were little fitted by their work to collect the records of their times. Christianity had not yet become a history, but was still a life. In such a case it is obviously unreasonable to expect that multiplicity of evidence and circumstantial detail which may be brought to bear upon questions of modern date. With our present resources there must be many unoccupied spots in the history of the Church, which give room for the erection of hypotheses, plausible though false. But this follows from the nature of the ground: and the hypotheses are tenable only so long as they are viewed

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¹ To these may perhaps be added the original elements of the *Clementines* and the *Apostolical Canons and Constitutions*.

Introduction.
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But the formation and proof of the Canon must be referred to the judgment of the whole Christian body,

shewn in the testimony of individuals,

and popular language and rites.

without relation to the great lines of our defence. The strength of negative criticism lies in ignoring the existence of a Christian society from the apostolic age, strong in discipline, clear in faith, and jealous of innovation.

It is then to the Church, as 'a witness and keeper of 'holy writ,' that we must look both for the formation and the proof of the Canon. The written Rule of Christendom must rest finally on the general confession of the Church, and not on the independent opinions of its members. Private testimony in itself is only of secondary importance: its chief value lies in the fact that it is a natural expression of the current opinion of the time.

It is impossible to insist on this too often or too earnestly. Isolated quotations may be in themselves unsatisfactory, but as embodying the tradition of the Church, generally known and acknowledged, they are of inestimable worth. To make use of a book as authoritative, to assume that it is apostolic, to quote it as inspired, without preface or comment, is not to hazard a new or independent opinion, but to follow an unquestioned judgment. It is unreasonable to treat our authorities as mere pieces or weights, which may be skilfully manœuvred or combined, and to forget that they are Christian men speaking to fellow Christians, as members of one body, and believers in one Creed¹. The extent of the Canon, like the order of the Sacraments, was settled by common usage, and thus the testimony of Christians becomes the testimony of the Church.

There is however still another way in which we may discern from the earliest time the general belief of Christians respecting the Canon. The practical convictions

¹ This is very well argued by ss. 305 ff.; and in his answer to Thiersch in his *Versuch zur Her-* Baur, *Einige Worte über die Aech-*
stellung des historischen Standpuncts *theit der N. T. Schriften.* Erlangen,
für die Kritik der N. T. Schriften, 1846.

of great masses find their peculiar expression in popular language and customs. Words and rites thus possess a weight and authority quite distinct from the casual references or deliberate judgments of individuals, so far as they convey the judgment of the many. If then it can be shewn that the earliest forms of Christian doctrine and phraseology exactly correspond with the different elements preserved in the Canonical writings, and that tradition preserves no trace of opinions not recognized in the Scriptures, and that the Scriptures consecrate no belief which is not seen embodied in Christian life; it will be reasonable to conclude that the coincidence implies a common source: that the written books and the traditional words equally represent the general sum of essential apostolic teaching: and in proportion as the correspondences are more subtle and intricate, this proof of the authenticity of our books will be more convincing¹.

Such appear to be the characteristics and conditions of the evidence by which the Canon must be determined. When these are clearly seen and impartially taken into account, it will be possible, and possible only then, to arrive at a fair conclusion upon it. It is equally unreasonable to prejudge the question either way, for it ought to be submitted to a just and searching criticism. But if it can be shewn that the Epistles were first recognized exactly in those districts in which they would naturally be first known; that from the earliest mention of them they are assumed to be received by Churches, and not

¹ This will explain how much by Apostolic tradition. The Canon truth there is in the common statement that doctrine was the test of Canonicity. It is just as incorrect to say that the doctrine of the Church was originally drawn from Scripture, as to say that Scripture was limited by Apostolic tradition. The Canon of Scripture and the 'Canon of Truth' were alike independent, but necessarily coincided in their contents as long as they both retained their original purity.

Introduc-
tion.

recommended only by private authority; that the Canon as we receive it now was fixed in a period of strife and controversy; that it was generally received on all sides; that even those who separated from the Church and cast aside the authority of the New Testament Scriptures did not deny their authenticity: if it can be shewn that the four Gospels include, with the most trifling exceptions¹, all that has been preserved of the Life and Teaching of Christ, and that they adequately explain what is known of the other forms in which these were represented: if it can be shewn that the first references to the Canonical Books are perfectly accordant with the express decisions of a later period; and that there is no trace of the general reception of any other books: if it can be shewn that the earliest forms of Christian doctrine and phraseology exactly correspond with the different elements preserved in the New Testament; it will surely follow that a belief in the authority of the books of the New Testament so widely spread throughout the Christian body, so deeply rooted in the inmost consciousness of the Christian Church, so perfectly accordant with all the facts which we do know, can only be explained by admitting that they are genuine and Apostolic, a written Rule of Christian Faith and Life.

The whole history of the formation of the Canon of the New Testament may be divided into three periods. Of these the first extends to the time of Hegesippus (A.D. 70—170); the second to the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 170—303); and the last to the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 303—397). Later speculations on the question in part belong more properly to special introductions to the different books, and in part are merely

¹ These are collected in the *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Ap. C.

the perpetuation of old doubts. But each of these periods marks some real step in the progress of the work. The first includes the area of the separate circulation and gradual collection of the Sacred Writings: the second completes the history of their separation from the mass of ecclesiastical literature: the third comprises the formal ratification of the current belief by the authority of councils.

Something has been already said of the various difficulties which beset the inquiry, especially during the first period. An examination of the testimony of Fathers, Heretics, and Biblical Versions, will next shew how far it can be brought to a satisfactory issue.



FIRST PERIOD.

HISTORY OF THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
TO THE TIME OF HEGESIPPUS.

A.D. 70—170.

Φόβος νόμου ἄδεται καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γινώσκεται καὶ
εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἱδρύται καὶ ἀποστόλων παράδοσις φυλάσ-
σεται καὶ ἐκκλησίας χάρις σκιρτᾷ

EP. AD DIOGNETUM.

CHAPTER I.

THE AGE OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

A.D. 70—120.

Heaven lies about us in our infancy.

WORDSWORTH.

THE condition of the Church immediately after the Apostolic age was not such as to create or require a literature of its own. Men were full of that anxious expectation which always betokens some critical change in the world; but the elements of the new life were not yet combined and brought into vigorous operation¹. There was nothing either within or without to call into premature activity the powers and resources which were still latent in the depths of Christian truth. The authoritative teaching of Apostles was fresh in the memories of their hearers. That first era of controversy, in which words are fitted to the ideas for which they are afterwards substituted, had not yet passed by. The struggle between Christianity and Paganism had not yet assumed the form of an internecine war². The times were conservative, not creative.

Chap. i.

The sub-apostolic age conservative,

¹ The well-known passages of Virgil (*Ecl.* iv.), Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 13), and Suetonius (*Vesp.* c. 4), express this feeling in memorable words. *Percrebuerat Oriente toto*, says the last writer, *vetus et constans opinio esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur*. The year of which he speaks is A.D. 67, the most probable date of the martyrdom of St Paul.

² Christianity as yet appeared to strangers only as a form of Judaism, even where St Paul preached, and consequently was a *religio licita*. Cf. Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, I. 106, and his references.

Chap. i.
and transi-
tional.

But in virtue of this conservatism the sub-apostolic age, though distinguished, was not divided from that which preceded it. It was natural that a break should intervene between the inspired Scriptures and the spontaneous literature of Christianity, between the teaching of Apostles and the teaching of philosophers; but it was no less natural that the interval should not be one of total silence. Some echoes of the last age still lived: some voices of the next already found expression. In this way the writings of the Apostolic Fathers are at once a tradition and a prophecy. By tone and manner they are united to the Scriptures; for their authors seem to instruct, and not to argue; and at the same time they prepare us by frequent exaggerations for the one-sided systems of the following age.

*Its litera-
ture all
epistolary.*

The form of the earliest Christian literature explains its origin and object. The writings of the first Fathers are not essays, or histories, or apologies, but letters¹. They were not impelled to write by any literary motive, nor even by the pious desire of shielding their faith from the attacks of its enemies. An intense feeling of a new fellowship in Christ overpowered all other claims. As members of a great household—as fathers or brethren—they spoke to one another words of counsel and warning, and so found a natural utterance for the faith and hope and love which seemed to them the sum of Christian life.

*The evidence
of the Apo-
stolic Fa-
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Canon*

direct and

With regard to the History of the Canon the Apostolic Fathers occupy an important place, undesignedly it may be, but not therefore the less surely. Their evidence indeed is stamped with the characteristics of their position, and implies more than it expresses; but even directly they say much. Within the compass of a few brief letters they

¹ Cf. Möhler, *Patrologie*, s. 50.

shew that the writings of the Apostles were regarded from the first as invested with singular authority, as the true expression, if not the original source, of Christian doctrine and Christian practice. And more than this: they prove that it is unnecessary to have recourse to later influences to explain the existence of peculiar forms of Christianity which were coeval with its reception in the world. In a word, they mark the beginnings of a written Canon, and establish the permanence of the elements of the Catholic faith.

The latter point must be examined with care; for it is very needful to notice the proofs of the continuity of the representative forms of Christian doctrine at a time when it has been supposed to have undergone strange changes. Many have rightly perceived that the reception of the Canon implies the existence of one Catholic Church; and conversely, if we can shew that the distinct constituents of Catholicity were found in Christendom from the first age, we confirm the authenticity of those books which severally suggest and sanction them. It is true that these different types of teaching are at times arbitrarily expanded in the uncanonical writings without any regard to their relative importance, but still they are essentially unchanged; and by the help of patristic deductions we may see in what way the natural tendencies which give rise to opposing heresies are always intrinsically recognized in the teaching of the universal Church. The elements of Holy Scripture are so tempered that though truly distinct they combine harmoniously; elsewhere the same elements are disproportionately developed, and in the end mutually exclude each other¹.

¹ In studying the writings of the early Fathers much help may be gained from the following works (in addition to the Church histories), by which I have sought to try and to correct my own views: ROTHE (R.) *Die Anfänge d. Christlichen Kirche* ... 1837. MÖHLER (J. A.) *Patrologie*,

indirect,

in their preservation of the Apostolic types of doctrine

though often in an exaggerated form.

Chap. i.

SECT. I. THE RELATION OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS
TO THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES.§ 1. *Clement of Rome.*

*The legend-
ary history
of Clement.*

The history of Clement of Rome is invested with a mythic dignity, which is without example in the ante-Nicene Church¹. The events of his life have become so strangely involved in consequence of the religious romances which bear his name, that they must remain in inextricable confusion; and even apart from this, there can be little doubt that traditions which belong to very different men were soon united to confirm the dignity of the successor of St Peter². There is however no reason to question the belief that he was an immediate disciple of the Apostles, and overseer of the Church of Rome³; but beyond this all is doubtful⁴. It is uncertain whether he was of Jewish or heathen descent⁵: he is called at one

Regensburg, 1840. SCHLIEMANN (A.) *Die Clementinen*, Hamburg, 1844. DORNER (J. A.) *Die Lehre von der Person Christi*, Stuttgart, 1845—53. SCHWEGLER (A.) *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Tübingen, 1846. LECHLER (G. V.) *Das apostolische und nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Haarlem, 1851, 2te Aufl. 1857. RITSCHL, *Die Entstehung der alt-katholischen Kirche*, 2te Aufl., Bonn. 1857. HILGENFELD (A.) *Die apostolischen Väter*, Halle, 1853. REUSS (E.) *Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne au Siècle Apostolique*, 2me Ed. 1860. LANGE (J. P.) *Das apostolische Zeitalter* ... 1854. DONALDSON (J.) *A Critical History of Christian Literature and Doctrine*... Vol. I. 1865.

¹ Cf. Schliemann, 118 ff.

² For instance, he was identified with Flavius Clemens, a cousin of Domitian, who was martyred at Rome. Schliemann, 109.

³ *Iren. c. Hær.* III. 3 (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 6), τρίτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν (of the Roman Church) κληροῦται Κλήμης, ὁ καὶ ἑωρακὼς τοὺς μακαρίους ἀποστόλους καὶ συμβεβληκὼς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐτι ἑναυλον τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων οὐ μόνος, ἐτι γὰρ πολλοὶ ὑπελείποντο τότε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων δεδιδαγμένοι. The passage is a singular testimony to the intense vividness of the impression produced by the Apostolic preaching and to the multiplicity of personal evidence by which it was attested.

⁴ The various traditions are discussed with great candour in Donaldson, I. pp. 90 ff.

⁵ The former alternative seems to be supported by his Epistle in which he speaks of the Patriarchs as 'our Fathers' (cc. 4, 31, 55): the latter is adopted in the Clementines, and maintained by Hefele, *Patr. App.* xix. ff.

time the disciple of St Paul, and again of St Peter¹: the order of his episcopate at Rome is disputed²; and yet, notwithstanding these ambiguities, it is evident that he exercised a powerful and lasting influence. In fact, he lost his individuality through the general acknowledgment of his representative character in the history of the Church.

Writings which were assigned to the authorship of Clement gained a wide circulation in the East and West. Two Syriac Epistles were published under his name by Wetstein³. The Clementines, in spite of their tendency, remain entire, to represent the unorthodox literature of the first ages⁴. The Canons and Constitutions which claim his authority became part of the law-book of Christians⁵. Two Greek epistles, claiming to be his, are appended to one of the earliest manuscripts of the Bible in existence⁶.

The historical position of Clement is illustrated by the early traditions which fixed upon him as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews⁷, and of the Acts of the Apostles⁸. Subsequently he is charged with a two-fold office: he

Chap. i.

*Writings
assigned to
him.*

*His tradi-
tional office.*

¹ The former opinion is grounded on Phil. iv. 3 (cf. Jacobson, *ad Clem. vit.* not. b); the latter is found in the Clementines, and, from them, in Origen, *Philoc.* c. 23, and later writers. Schliemann, 120.

² The chief authorities are quoted by Hefele, *l. c.*

³ Cf. Jacobson, *ad Clem. R. vit.* note l. Möhler, ss. 67 sqq. Möhler defends their authenticity, which Neander thinks possible (*Ch. H.* II. 441). The quotations from the New Testament which they contain shew that they were certainly written early, but considerably after Clement's genuine Epistle. Cf. ch. II. § 8 f.

⁴ Schliemann gives a very full account of them: 50 ff. (the *Homilies*); 265 ff. (the *Recognitions*).

⁵ Cf. Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, III. 145

sqq. (the *Canons*); II. 220 sqq., and App. (the *Constitutions*).

⁶ See App. B. In addition to the letters of Clement, the *Cod. Alex.* contains also three beautiful Christian hymns, one of which is the Greek original of the *Gloria in excelsis* of our own Liturgy. Cf. Bunsen, *Hippolytus*, III. 133 sqq. Their existence in the MS. proves no more than their *ecclesiastical* use. It should be added that the two epistles of Clement precede the addition of the books contained in the MS. while the Psalms of Solomon follow this total. See App. D, xii.

⁷ On the authority of Origen ap. Euseb. *H.E.* VI. 25.

⁸ Photius (quoted by Credner, *Einleit.* 271) mentions this tradition.

Chap. i.

*The relation
of the first
Epistle to
the Canonical
Books,*

(a) *in style,*

appears as the mediator between the followers of St Paul and St Peter, and as the lawgiver of the Church. Thus his testimony becomes of singular value, as that of a man to whom the first Christian society assigned its organization and its catholicity.

The first Greek Epistle alone can be confidently pronounced genuine¹. The relation of this to our Canonical Books is full of interest. In its style, in its doctrine, and in its theory of Church government, it confirms the genuineness of disputed books of the New Testament².

The language of the Epistle of St Peter has been supposed to be inconsistent with the distinctive characteristics of the Apostle. Now, according to the most probable accounts, Clement was a follower of St Peter; and the tone of his Epistle agrees with that of his master in exhibiting the influence of St Paul. This influence extends to peculiarities of language. Sometimes Clement uses words found only in St Peter's Epistles: more frequently those common to St Peter and St Paul; while his verbal coincidences with St Paul are both numerous and striking³.

¹ Schwegler—following some earlier writers—has called in question the genuineness of the letter without any good ground (*Nachap. Zeit.* II. 125 sqq.). He has been answered by Bunsen, Ritschl, and others. Cf. Lechler, *Apost. Zeit.* 309 n.

Its integrity appears to be as unquestionable as its genuineness. Few critics of any school would endorse the statement: 'there can be no doubt that the Epistle is much interpolated.' (*Supernat. Rel.* I. 227.) At the close of c. 57 a lacuna occurs in the MS. 'One leaf, and one leaf 'only of the MS. has disappeared.' (Lightfoot, *The Epistles of Clement*, pp. 166, 23.)

The second *Epistle* is probably part of a homily, but this writing will be examined afterwards.

² The date of Clement's letter is disputed, for it depends on the order of his Episcopate. Hefele (p. xxxv.) places it at the close of the persecution of Nero (A.D. 68—70). The later date (circ. 95) seems more probable.

³ The following examples, which are taken from among many that I have noticed, will illustrate the extent and character of this connexion:

(a) Coincidence with St Peter in words not elsewhere found in the Epp. or PP. App.:
ἀγαθοποιῶν—ἀδελφότης—πομνιον. (Perhaps no more.)

(β) With St Peter and St Paul:
ἀγαθὴ συνειδήσις—ἀγιασμός—εὐκλικρινής—εὐσέβεια—εὐπρόσδεκτος—ταπεινοφροσύνη—ὑπακοή—ὑποφέρειν—φιλαδελφία—φιλοξενία, φιλόξενος.

Again, the Epistle of Clement takes up a catholic position in the statement of doctrine, which shews that the supplementary views contained in the New Testament had in his time been placed in contrast, and now required to be combined. The theory of justification is stated in its antithetical fulness. The same examples are used as in the Canonical Epistles, and the teaching of St Paul and St James is coincidentally affirmed. 'Through faith and hospitality (διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν) a son was given to Abraham in old age, and by obedience (δι' ὑπακοῆς) he offered him a sacrifice to God.' 'Through faith and hospitality Rahab was saved (ἐσώθη¹).' 'We are not justified by ourselves (δι' ἑαυτῶν)...nor by works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but by our faith (διὰ τῆς πίστεως), by which Almighty God justified all from the beginning of the world².' Shortly afterwards Clement adds in the spirit of St James 'Let us then work from our whole heart the work of righteousness³.' And the same tenor of thought reappears in the continual reference to the fear of God as instrumental in the accomplishment of these good works⁴.

In other passages it is possible to trace the beginnings of modes of thought which are characteristic of St John. 'The blood of Christ gained for the whole world the offer of the grace of repentance⁵.' 'Through Him

Chap. i.

(B) in doctrine,

influence of
St PAUL—

St JAMES—

St JOHN—

(γ) With St Paul :

ἀμεταμέλητος—ἐγκρατεῦσθαι
—λειτουργός, λειτουργία, λει-
τουργεῖν—μακαρισμός—οἰκτιρ-
μοί—πολιτεία, πολιτεῦειν (used
by Polyc.)—σεμνός, σεμνότης—
χρηστεύεσθαι.

(δ) Peculiar to Clement :

αἰκία—ἀλλοιοῦν—ἀπόνοια—
βούλησις—ικετεῦειν—καλλονή
—μαρὸς—μυσαρὸς—παμμεγε-
θής—πανάγιος—πανάρετος.

Galatians, pp. 151 ff.

² c. xxxii. The distinction suggested between the *final cause* and the *instrument* by the double use of διὰ is very interesting.

³ c. xxxiii. 1 John ii. 2.

⁴ cc. iii., xix., xxi., &c. Cf. Schlie-
mann, s. 414. Herm. *Past.* Mand.
vii. (p. 363).

⁵ c. vii. ὑπήνεγκεν the use of the word is remarkable. Cf. Lightfoot *in loc.*

¹ cc. x., xii. Cf. Lightfoot, *Ep. to*

Chap. i.

*Epistle to
the He-
brews—*

*(γ) in disci-
pline,*

*in matters
of govern-
ment, and of*

ritual.

'we look steadfastly on the heights of heaven; through Him we view as in a glass (ἐν ὀπτηζόμεθα) His spotless and most excellent visage; through Him the eyes of our heart were opened; through Him our dull and darkened understanding is quickened with new vigour on turning to His marvellous light¹.' The allusions to the Epistle to the Hebrews are numerous though silent, and such as to shew that the language of the Epistle was transfused into Clement's mind².

And yet more than this: the Epistle of Clement proves the existence of a definite constitution and a fixed service in the Church. And this will explain why he was selected as the representative of that principle of organization which seems to have been naturally developed in every Roman society. A systematic constitution, as well as a Catholic Creed, had a necessary connexion with that form of mind whose whole life was law. Thus Clement refers to 'episcopal' jurisdiction as an institution of the Apostles, who are said to have appointed those 'who were the firstfruits of their labours in each state as officers (ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους) for the ordering of the future Church³.' At the same time earnest warnings are given against 'division and parties⁴,' which, as we see from the Pastoral Epistles, arose as soon as the rules of ecclesiastical discipline were drawn closer. But this is not all; for the times of the 'offerings and services' of Christians are

¹ c. xxxvi. Nothing but the original can fully convey the exquisite beauty of the last words: ἡ ἀσύνετος καὶ ἐσκοτωμένη διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀναθάλλει εἰς τὸ θαύμαστον αὐτοῦ φῶς. Our understanding is like a flower in a sunless cavern till the light of God falls on it.

² The most remarkable of these allusions occurs directly after the passage just quoted (c. xxxvi.): ὅς

(Christ) ὡν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς μεγαλοσύνης αὐτοῦ τοσοῦτω μείζων ἐστὶν ἀγγέλων ὅσῳ διαφορώτερον ὄνομα κεκληρονόμηκεν, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Hebr. i. 3 ff. Other unquestionable parallels occur in c. xvii. (Hebr. xi. 37), c. xliii. (Hebr. iii. 5), &c. On Clement's references to the Lord's words, see

p. 47, n. 3.

³ c. xlii.

⁴ c. xlv.

referred to the authority of the Lord Himself, who 'commanded that they should not be made at random, or in a 'disorderly manner, but at fixed seasons and hours'. It is possible that this is only a transference of the laws of the Jewish synagogue, which were sanctioned by the observance of our Saviour, to the Christian Church; as is indeed made probable by the parallel which Clement institutes between the Levitical and Christian priesthood²; but all that needs to be particularly remarked is that such phraseology is clearly of a date subsequent to the Pastoral Epistles. The polity recognized by St Paul had advanced to a further stage of development at the time when Clement wrote.

The kind of testimony to the New Testament which is thus obtained is beyond all suspicion of design; and, admitting the genuineness of the record, above all contradiction. The Christian Church, as Clement describes it, exhibits a fusion of elements which must have existed separately at no distant period. Tradition ascribes to him expressly the task of definitely combining what was left still disunited by the Apostles; and we find that the very elements which he recognized are exactly those, without any omission or increase, which are preserved to us in the New Testament as stamped with Apostolic authority³. The other Fathers of the first age, as will be seen, represent more or less clearly some special form of Christian teaching; but Clement places them all side by side. They witness to the independent weight of parts of the Canon: he ratifies generally the claims of the whole.

The peculiar value of this kind of testimony.

¹ c. xl.

² Id.

³ The Apostles were charged with the enunciation of principles, and not with their combination. They had to do with essence, and not with

form. But after the destruction of Jerusalem an outward framework was required for Christian truth: and the arranging of this according to Apostolic rules was left to the successors of the Apostles.

Chap. i.

§ 2. Ignatius.

The peculiarities of the Ignatian letters

The letters which bear the name of Ignatius are distinguished among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers by a character of which no exact type can be found in the New Testament. They bear the stamp of a mind fully imbued with the doctrine of St Paul, but at the same time exhibit a spirit of order and organization foreign to the first stage of Christian society. In them 'the Catholic Church' is recognized as an outward body

¹ The phrase occurs for the first time in Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.* viii. *ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω, ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.* The context deals with the principle of unity centred in the bishop in each Church. What the bishop is to the individual Church, that is Christ to the 'universal' Church. Where 'Christ Jesus' is (and the fulness of the title is not without significance) there is the 'universal' Church. His Presence is the one test of Catholicity.

In the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, which was written in the name of the Church of *Smyrna* (A.D. 167), the phrase is found with somewhat greater latitude of meaning. This appears in the Salutation: *ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἀγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις ἔλεος εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη* and again in the combination...*τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας* (cc. viii., xix.); and still more in the title given to Polycarp as *ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας* (c. xvi.), where the word *καθολικῆς* is exchanged for *sanctæ* in the old Latin Version.

In these passages there is a tendency towards two distinct conceptions of that Catholicity of which the Presence of Christ is the essential sign, the one external and regarding

the extension of the Church throughout the whole world, the other internal and marking a characteristic of each part of the Society in itself. Speaking broadly, we may say that we can find in them the germs of the *local* and *dogmatic* ideas of catholicity which at a later time were well explained by Cyril of Jerusalem: *καθολικὴ μὲν οὖν καλεῖται [ἡ ἐκκλησία] διὰ τὸ κατὰ πάσης εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς ἕως περάτων καὶ διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν καθολικῶς καὶ ἀνελλιπῶς ἅπαντα τὰ εἰς γνῶσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐλθεῖν ὀφείλοντα δόγματα...* (*Catech.* xviii. § 11).

These two ideas though finally divergent are capable of being traced back to the same source; or rather they were necessarily evolved in due succession by the historic progress of Christianity, through its claim to universality. At first the Christian Church was contemplated in contrast with the Jewish Church: a society with no limits of race or nation in contrast with one confined to a chosen people. And next a contrast arose between Christian societies themselves, as this claimed to follow the teaching of one Apostle and that of another, while a third treasured up with equal reverence all the various forms of Apostolic teaching. The true Church was Catholic as opposed equally to what was special and to what was partial.

As the opposition between Chris-

of Christ made up of many members. The image which St Paul had sketched is there realized and filled up with startling boldness. The Church polity of the Pastoral Epistles seems dim and uncertain when compared with the rigid definitions of these later writings. But in this lies their force as witnesses to our Canon. They presuppose those Epistles of St Paul which have seemed most liable to attack; and on the other hand they exhibit exactly that form of doctrine into which the principles of St Paul would naturally be reduced by a vigorous and logical teacher presiding over the central Church of Gentile Christendom, 'the anti-pole of Jerusalem,' and there brought into contact with the two rival parties within the Church, as well as with the different heresies which had been detected and condemned by St John¹.

It is unnecessary to enter here into the controversy which has been raised about the Ignatian Epistles². If

tianity and Judaism became less keen, the universal extension of the Christian Church was interpreted in a merely local sense, and 'catholic' became practically synonymous with locally universal, in which sense the title is constantly interpreted by Augustine, as for instance: *Ipsa est enim ecclesia catholica; unde καθολική* Græce appellatur, quod per totum orbem terrarum diffunditur. *Epist.* lii. i. Comp. cxi. 43.

But it is in the sense of universal as opposed to partial that the term 'Catholic' is of vital importance in the history of the Church. In this respect Catholicity is the ecclesiastical correlative to the whole sum of the Holy Scriptures, Old and New, and the protest against all exclusiveness, whether of Ebionites, or Marcionites, or Donatists—the earliest types of legalism, rationalism, and puritanism, if we may venture to

translate the names into general terms.

It may be added that it is remarkable that the epithet 'Catholic,' which in later times the Latin Church has appropriated to herself, is not applied to the Church in the Western Creeds till the 7th (or perhaps the 6th) century. On the other hand it is found almost universally in the Eastern Creeds (Heurtley, *Harm. Symbol.* p. 143). Pearson has given a very rich collection of passages illustrating the usage of the word: *On the Creed*, Art. ix.

¹ Cf. Dorner, I. 144 sqq.

² Hefele gives a fair summary of the controversy. It is but right to confess that the more carefully I have studied the shorter recension the more firmly I am convinced that it proceeds entirely from one mind and one pen. The most startling peculiarities are those which spring most directly from the position of

Chap. i.

explicable by the image which St Paul applies to the Church (Eph. vi.),

and suitable to the position of Ignatius.

One general character marks all the shorter Epistles,

Chap. i.

*and it could
not easily
have been
invented in
a later age,*

*however
easily imi-
tated.*

any part of them be accepted as genuine, our argument holds good; for it is drawn from their general character. After they have been reduced within the narrowest limits which are justified by historical criticism, they still shew a clear and vivid individuality, a character which, however different from the popular idea of a disciple of St John, appears to be not unsuited to the early Bishop of Antioch. Its very distinctness has suggested doubts of its authenticity; but even at the first view it seems to be one far more likely to have been imitated than invented. The exaggerations of the copy bring out more clearly the traits of the original. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, for a later writer to have imagined Ignatius, as he appears in the letters, zealous against Docetic heresies, Jewish traditions, and individual schism: keenly alive to the very dangers, and those only, with which he must have contended at Antioch. But when the character was once portrayed it offered a tempting model for imitation. The style and opinions of Ignatius are clear and trenchant. He was at an early time looked upon as the representative of ecclesiastical order and doctrine in its technical details, differing in this from Clement, whose name, as we have seen, symbolized the union of the different elements contained in the Apostolic teaching. The one appears in tradition as systematizing the Catholic Church which the other had constructed¹.

Ignatius. A careful and minute examination of the language of all the Epistles would I believe bring the question of their unity at least to a satisfactory close. But this would carry us far beyond the limits of our Essay. In the following pages I shall refer to the seven Epistles, marking the passages found also in the Syriac Version.

¹ Popular traditions frequently embody a character with singular beauty in some one trait. Thus Ignatius is said to have instituted the custom of singing hymns antiphonally 'from a vision of angels whom he saw thus singing to the Holy Trinity' (Socr. *H. E.* vi. 8). Cf. Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* iv. 434.

The traditional aspect of these two great teachers harmonizes with their real historical position. The letter of Clement falls within the Apostolic age; and Ignatius was martyred in the reign of Trajan¹. So that his letters probably come next in date among the remains of the earliest Christian literature. A comparison of the writings themselves would lead to the same conclusion. The letters of Ignatius could not naturally have preceded that of Clement, while they follow it in a legitimate sequence, and form a new stage, so to speak, in the building of the Christian Church. This may be clearly seen in the different modes by which they enforce the necessity of an organized ministry. Clement appeals to the analogy of the Levitical priesthood; Ignatius insists on the idea of a Christian body.

The circumstances under which Ignatius wrote, on his way from Antioch to Rome, necessarily impressed his letters with a peculiar character. It has been argued that they are unlike the last words of a Christian martyr, written on the very road to death: it should be said that they are unlike the words of any other martyr than Ignatius. They are indeed the parting charge of one who was conscious that he was called away at a crisis in the history of the Church. As long as an Apostle lived *old things had not yet passed away*; but on the death of St John it seemed that the 'last times'² were at hand, though in one sense, according to his promise, Christ had then come, and a new age of the world had begun.

Chap. i.

This character moreover suits the historical position of Ignatius; and
A. D. 107.

his letters, though marked by influences of his time,

¹ Pearson, followed by many later writers, fixed Ignatius' martyrdom in 116. Hefele and Möhler prefer the earlier date. The latest and most thorough investigation of the question by Zahn (*Ignatius von Antiochien*, Gotha, 1873), shews that if the date of the Acta (107 A.D.) be set aside (so Zahn), there is absolutely no evidence to determine at what point between 107—117 A.D. the martyrdom is to be placed. On an assertion that he was martyred at Antioch, Dec. 20, 115, A.D., see the Preface.

² *Ad Eph.* xi.

Chap. i.

form a last
step in the
development
of the doc-
trine of the
Church.

The perils which beset this transition from Apostolic to Episcopal government, in the midst of heresies within and persecutions without, might well explain warmer language than that of Ignatius. He wrote with earnest vehemence because he believed that episcopacy was the bond of unity, and unity the safety of the Church¹.

In this way the letters of Ignatius complete the history of one feature of Christianity. The Epistles of St Paul to the Ephesians, his Pastoral Epistles, and the Epistles of Clement and Ignatius, when taken together, mark a harmonious progression in the development of the idea of a Church. The first are creative, and the last constructive. In the Epistle to the Ephesians the great mystery of the Christian Society is set forth under two images, which include the essential truths of all later speculations. It is the Body of Christ in virtue of the one life which it derives from *Him who is its Head*; and it is the Temple of God, so far as it is built up in various ages and of various elements on the foundations which Christ laid, and of which He is *the corner-stone*. In the Pastoral Epistles this teaching is realized in the outlines of a visible society. In the later writings the great principles of Scripture are reduced to a system, and expanded with logical ingenuity. But when this connexion is traced by the help of an undesigned commentary in writings fragmentary, occasional, and inartificial, it surely follows that a series of books so intimately united must indeed have been the original expressions of the successive forms of Christian thought which they exhibit.

The con-
nexion of

Though the Ignatian letters witness to three chief

¹ This feeling is expressed with touching simplicity in the Epistle to the Romans, which, as is well known, is most free from hierarchical views. *Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ἣτις ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ποιμένη τῷ Θεῷ χρήται. Μόνος αὐτὴν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐπισκοπῇσιν καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγάπη* (c. ix.). The passage is omitted in the Syriac Version.

Chap. i.

the Ignatian letters with the New Testament, and especially with St PAUL, in reference to Judaism,

the Old Testament, and

types of Apostolic teaching, one type stands forth in them with peculiar prominence. The image of St Paul is stamped alike upon their language and their doctrine. The references to the New Testament are almost exclusively confined to his writings. Familiar words and phrases shew that he was a model continually before the writer's eyes; and in one place this is expressly affirmed¹.

The controversy against Jewish practices is conducted as sternly as in the Epistle to the Galatians, though its form shews that it belongs to a later epoch. Christianity is distinguished by a new name (*Χριστιανισμός*²) as a system contrasted with Judaism. Judaism (*Ἰουδαϊσμός*) is 'an evil leaven that has grown old and sour³.' 'To use the name of Jesus Christ and yet observe Jewish customs is unnatural (*ἄτοπον*⁴).' 'To live according to Judaism is to confess that we have not received grace⁵.' At the same time, like St Paul, Ignatius regards Christianity as the completion, and not the negation, of the Old Testament. The prophets 'lived according to Jesus Christ,...being inspired by His grace, to the end that those who disbelieve should be convinced that it is one God who manifested Himself [both in times past and now] through Jesus Christ His Son, who is His Word, having proceeded from Silence⁶,' from which some have

¹ The only coincidences which I have noticed between the language of St John and Ignatius consist in the frequent use of *ἀγάπη*, *ἀγαπᾶν*, and *οὐρανός*, while St Paul and Clement generally use *οὐρανός*.

The words common to St Paul and Ignatius only are very numerous, e.g. *ἀδόκιμος*—*ἀναψύχειν*—*ἀπερσπαστος*—*ἐκτρωμα*—*ἐνότης*—*θηριομαχεῖν*—*Ἰουδαϊσμός*—*ὀνείλην*—*οἰκονομία* (met.)—*φυσιοῦν*.

Those peculiar to Ignatius are still more numerous: e.g. *ἁγιοφόρος*—*ἀμέριστος*—*ἀντίψυχον*—compounds of

ἄξιος, as *ἀξιόθεος*, *ἀξιωμακάριστος*—*ἀποδινλίζεσθαι*—*δροσίζεσθαι*—*ἐνοῦν*, *ἐνωσις*—compounds of *θεός*, as *θεοδρόμος*, *θεοφόρος*—*κακοτεχνία*—*φάρμακον*. The references are made to all the shorter Epistles without distinction, whether contained in the Syriac or not.

² *Ad Rom.* c. iii. &c. This new name likewise comes from Antioch. Cf. Acts xi. 26.

³ *Ad Magn.* x.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ad Magn.* viii.

⁶ Dr Lightfoot has shewn (*Journ.*

Chap. i.

the Church.

held that Thought and Word were evolved as successive forms of the Divine Being, and 'who in all things well-pleased Him that sent Him'¹.

The Ignatian doctrine of the unity of the Church, which in its construction shews the mind of St Peter, is really based upon the cardinal passage of St Paul². Christians individually are members of Christ, who is their great Spiritual Head. And conversely, the Church universal, and each Church in particular, represents the body of Christ, and its history must so far set forth an image of the life of Christ in its spirit and its form. As a consequence of this view the Bishop in the earthly and typical Church is not only a representation of Christ, whom 'we must regard as Christ Himself³,' and 'a partaker of the judgment of Christ, even as Christ was of 'the judgment of the Father⁴,' while the Church is united to Christ as He is united to the Father⁵: but also—and in this lies the most remarkable peculiarity of his system—the relation of the Church as a living whole to its different officers corresponds in some sense to that of Christ Himself, of whom it is an image, to the Father on the one hand, and on the other to the Apostles. On earth the Bishop is the centre of unity in each society, as the Father is the 'Bishop of all⁶.' Believers are subject to the Bishop as to God's grace, and to the presbytery as

of *Philology*, i. pp. 53 ff. 1868) that the words *ἀπόδος* and *οὐκ* in the common text are an interpolation.

¹ *Ad Magn.* viii. The reference to Silence (*Σιγή*), which forms an important element in Valentinianism, was a serious objection to the authenticity of the Ignatian letters till the discovery of the 'Treatise against Heresies.' Now it appears that the same phraseology was used in the 'Great Announcement,' an authori-

tative exposition of the doctrines of the Simonians, and consequently it must have been current in Ignatius' time (Hipp. *adv. Hær.* vi. 18). Cf. Bunsen, *Hippolytus*, i. 57 ff., whose opinion on the subject however seems improbable.

² Eph. v. 23 sqq.

³ *Ad Eph.* vi.

⁴ *Ad Eph.* iii.

⁵ *Ad Eph.* v.

⁶ *Ad Magn.* iii.

to Christ's law¹; since the Bishop, as he ventures to say in another place, 'presides as representative of God, and the 'presbyters as representatives of the Apostolic Council².'

The Ignatian writings, as might be expected, are not without traces of the influence of St John. The circumstances in which he was placed required a special enunciation of Pauline doctrine; but this is not so expressed as to exclude the parallel lines of Christian thought. Love is 'the stamp of the Christian³.' 'Faith is the beginning, 'and love the end of life⁴.' 'Faith is our guide upward ('ἀναγωγεύς), but love is the road that leads to God⁵.' 'The Eternal (αἰδῖος) Word is the manifestation of God⁶, 'the 'door (θύρα) by which we come to the Father⁷, 'and 'without Him we have not the principle of true life⁸.' 'The Spirit (πνεῦμα) is not led astray, as being from 'God. For it knoweth whence it cometh and whither it 'goeth, and testeth (ἐλέγχει) that which is hidden⁹.' The true meat of the Christian is the 'bread of God, the bread 'of heaven, the bread of life, which is the flesh of Jesus 'Christ,' and his drink is 'Christ's blood, which is love 'incorruptible¹⁰.' He has no love of this life; 'his love 'has been crucified, and he has in him no burning passion 'for the world, but living water [as the spring of a new 'life] speaking within him, and bidding him come to his 'Father¹¹.' Meanwhile his enemy is the enemy of his Master, even 'the ruler of this age¹².'

¹ *Ad Magn.* ii. ² *Ad Magn.* vi. Cf. John vi. 32, 51, 53.

³ *Ad Magn.* v. ⁴ *Ad Eph.* xiv. ¹¹ *Ad Rom.* i. c. The last clause

⁵ *Ad Eph.* ix. (So Syr.)

⁶ *Ad Magn.* viii. (quoted above).

⁷ *Ad Philad.* ix. Cf. John x. 7.

⁸ *Ad Trall.* ix.: οὐ χωρὶς τὸ ἀλη-

θινὸν ζῆν οὐκ ἔχομεν. Cf. *ad Eph.*

iii.: 'I. X. τὸ ἀδιάκριτον ἡμῶν ζῆν...

⁹ *Ad Philad.* vii. Comp. John

iii. 8; xvi. 8.

¹⁰ *Ad Rom.* vii. The Syriac text

though shorter gives the same sense.

is wanting in the Syriac, yet the boldness of the metaphor seems to be in Ignatius' manner. Πῦρ φιλόυλον, 'fiery passion for the material world,' which forms a good contrast with ὕδωρ ζῶν, 'living water,' is certainly, I think, the true reading. Cf. John iv. 13; vii. 38.

¹² *Ad Rom.* i. c.: ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. Cf. John xii. 31; xvi. 11: ὁ

Chap. i.

These passages, it must be repeated, are not brought forward as proofs of the use of the writings of St John, but as proofs of the currency of the modes of thought of St John. They indicate at least that phraseology and lines of reflection which are preserved for us in the characteristic teaching of the fourth Gospel were familiar to the writer of the Ignatian Epistles. Different readers will estimate the value of the coincidences differently; but if once the Christian society be recognized as possessed of a continuous life, they cannot be disregarded¹.

§ 3. *Polycarp.*

The short epistle of Polycarp contains far more references to the writings of the New Testament than any other work of the first age; and still, with one exception, all the phrases which he borrows are inwoven into the texture of his letter without any sign of quotation. In other cases it is possible to assign verbal coincidences to accident; but Polycarp's use of scriptural language is so frequent that it is wholly unreasonable to doubt that he was acquainted with the chief parts of our Canon; and the mode in which this familiarity is shewn serves to justify the conclusion that the scriptural language of other books in which it occurs more scantily implies a similar knowledge of the Apostolic writings².

The scriptural character of Polycarp's epistle

illustrates the early method of quotation.

ἀρχῶν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου and see 1 Cor. ii. 6, 8. est step ever taken in religious thought.

¹ It is scarcely necessary to say that Philo's doctrine of the Word is wholly dissociated from Messianic expectations. The apprehension of the Truth ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο—'the mere application to an individual of a theory which had long occupied the Hebrew mind' as it has been called with startling want of spiritual discernment—was the great-

² The authenticity of Polycarp's Epistle stands quite unshaken. Cf. Schliemann, s. 418 anm.; Jacobson, *ad vit. Polyc.* note q. Schwegler, II. 154 sqq., has added no fresh force to the old objections. Donaldson however, following Dailé and Bunsen, rejects c. xiii. as an interpolation, on grounds which appear to be insufficient. See Jacobson *ad loc.*

A scriptural tone naturally involves a catholicity of spirit. Polycarp is second only to Clement among the early Fathers in the breadth of Apostolic teaching embraced in his epistle¹. The influence of St Peter, St John, and St Paul, may be traced in his doctrine. In one sentence he has naturally united² the watchwords, so to say, of the three Apostles, where he speaks of Christians being 'built up into the *faith* given to them, *which is the mother of us all* (cf. Gal. iv. 26), *hope* following after, *love* towards God 'and Christ and towards our neighbour preceding.' But the peculiar similarity of this epistle to that of St Peter was a matter of remark even in early times³. It would be curious to inquire how this happens; for though the disciple of St John reflects from time to time the burning zeal of his master⁴; though in writing to the Church most beloved by St Paul he recalls the features of their 'glorious' founder; still he exhibits more frequently the tone

Chap. i.

Its connexion with the New Testament, and especially with

St PETER
and

The fragments of 'Polycarp's Responsions' given by Feuardentius in his notes on Irenæus (III. 3) cannot, I think, be genuine. Is anything known of the MS. Catena from which they were taken?

¹ The similarity between parts of the Epistles of Clement and Polycarp is very striking. The passages are printed at length by Hefele, *Proleg.* p. xxvii. sqq. In single words the likeness is not less remarkable.

² Schwegler, II. 157. Polyc. *ad Phil.* c. iii. Compare Jacobson's note.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 14.

⁴ The famous passage, c. vii. *init.* in connexion with Iren. III. 3 (Euseb. IV. 14), will occur to every one. The words of Irenæus deserve to be transcribed, as they carry on a generation later the power of the Apostolic life already noticed in Irenæus' account of Clement (*supr.* p. 22, n. 3). *καὶ Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐωρακόσιν ἀλλὰ*

καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐωράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ, ἐπιπολὺ γὰρ παρέμεινε καὶ πάνυ γηραλέος ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρήσας ἐξῆλθε τοῦ βίου, ταῦτα διδάξας αἰεὶ ἃ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔμαθεν, ἃ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία παραδίδωσιν, ἃ καὶ μόνᾳ ἐστὶν ἀληθῇ. Μαρτυροῦσιν τούτοις αἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι, κ.τ.λ.

The perpetuity of Apostolic doctrine in its fulness is an implicit testimony to the authority of the New Testament as a whole.

To complete the testimony the words of Tertullian may be added: Hoc enim modo ecclesie Apostolicæ census suos deferunt, sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum refert, sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit, proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent quos Apostoli in episcopatum constitutos Apostolici seminis traduces habeant (*De Præscr. Hæc.* 32).

Chap. i.

*the Pastoral
Epistles.*

of St Peter, when he spoke at the last as the expounder of the Christian law. Whatever may be the explanation of this, the fact is in itself important; for it confirms and defines what has been already remarked as to the mutual influences which appear to have ultimately modified the writings of St Peter and St Paul. The style of St Peter, it is well known, is most akin to that of the later epistles of St Paul; and in full harmony with this, the letter of Polycarp, while it echoes so many familiar phrases of the First Epistle of St Peter, shews scarcely less likeness to the Pastoral Epistles of St Paul¹. It can scarcely be an accident that it does so; and at any rate it follows that a peculiar representation of Christian doctrine, which has been held in our own time to belong to the middle of the second century, was familiarly recognized in its double form, without one mark of doubt, almost within the verge of the Apostolic age². Unless we admit the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles and of the First Epistle of St Peter, the general tone and language of the Epistle of Polycarp are wholly inexplicable³.

¹ The following passages from St Peter may be noticed: 1 Pet. i. 8 (c. 1); i. 13 (c. ii.); i. 21 (c. ii.); iii. 9 (c. ii.); ii. 11 (c. v.); iv. 7 (c. vii.); ii. 22, 24 (c. viii.).

We may perhaps compare also the notices of St Paul found in 2 Pet. iii. 15; Polyc. c. iii.

As to the Pastoral Epistles, see c. iv. (1 Tim. vi. 10, 7); c. v. (2 Tim. ii. 12); c. xii. (1 Tim. ii. 2).

The inscriptions of the epistles of the Apostolic Fathers are not without special significance. Polycarp writes *Ελεος υμῶν καὶ εἰρήνη* in the salutations of 1 and 2 Tim., 2 John, and Jude. Ignatius, with one exception (*ad Philad.*), says *πλείστα χαλεπῶν*. Cf. James i. 1. Clement, in

the name of the Church of Rome, uses the common salutation of St Paul *χάρις καὶ εἰρήνη*.

² The epistle of Polycarp was written shortly after the martyrdom of Ignatius, and its date consequently depends on that. Cf. cc. ix., xiii., and Jacobson's note on the last passage, which removes Lücke's objection.

³ Among the peculiarities of Polycarp's language are the following: he has in common with St Paul only *ἀποπλανῆν*—*ἀρραβών*—*ἀφιλάργυρος*—*τὸ καλόν*—*ματαιολογία*—*προνοεῖν*. Of his coincidences with St Peter, which consist in whole phrases and not in single words, we have already spoken. The following words are not found elsewhere in the Patrr. App. nor at all in the New Testament ex-

The dangers which impressed on the Ignatian letters their peculiar character have given some traits to that of Polycarp. He too insists on the necessity 'of turning away from false teaching to the word handed down 'from the first'. The true historic presence and work of the Lord, on which Ignatius insists with emphatic earnestness in combating the error of the Docetæ, forms the centre of the teaching of Polycarp. 'For whoever,' he affirms in the spirit and almost in the words of St John, 'does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in 'the flesh is Antichrist; and whoever does not confess 'the testimony of the cross is of the devil; and whoever 'perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts and 'says that there is neither resurrection nor judgment, 'this man is the firstborn of Satan'. 'Christians,' he says elsewhere, 'are to be subject to the priests and deacons, 'as to God and Christ'. Fasting had already become a part of the discipline of the Church.

In one respect the testimony of Polycarp is more important than that of any other of the Apostolic Fathers. Like his Master, he lived to unite two ages⁵. He had listened to St John, and he became himself the teacher of Irenæus. In an age of convulsion and change he stands at Smyrna and Rome as a type of the changeless truths of Christianity. In his extreme age he still taught 'that 'which he had learned from the Apostles, and which con-

Chap. i.
*Relation to
Ignatian
letters.*

*The special
value of
Polycarp's
testimony.*

cept in St Peter's and St Paul's Epistles, ἀνακόπτεσθαι—ψευδάδελφος—ψευδοδιδασκαλία—μεθοδεύειν (μεθοδεῖα, St Paul)—ἀπότομος (ἀποτομία, St Paul).

¹ c. vii.

² c. vii. The words might seem a condemnation of the characteristic errors of our own age.

³ c. v.

⁴ c. vii.

⁵ His death is variously placed from 147—178. The recent investigations of M. Waddington as to the date of the Proconsulship of L. Statius Quadratus, under whom Polycarp suffered, fix the true date [Febr. 23] 155-6 A.D. The meeting of Polycarp with Anicetus will therefore fall in 154 A.D. Comp. Lipsius, *Der Martyrer-tod Polycarp's*, Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, vii. 2, pp. 188 ff.

Chap. i.

'tinued to be the tradition of the Church¹. And in the next generation his teaching was confirmed by all the Churches in Asia². Thus the zeal of Polycarp watches over the whole of the most critical period of the history of Christianity. His words are the witnesses of the second age³.

§ 4. *Barnabas.*

*The letter of
Barnabas
genuine,*

The arguments which have been urged against the claims of the Epistle of Barnabas to be considered as a work of the first age cannot overbalance the direct historical testimony by which it is supported. It is quoted frequently, and with respect, by Clement and Origen. Eusebius speaks of it as a book well-known, and commonly circulated (*φερομένη*), though he classes it with the books whose Canonicity was questioned or denied⁴. In Jerome's time it was still read among the Apocryphal Scriptures. It follows the Apocalypse in the Sinaitic manuscript of the Greek Bible. In the Stichometria of Nicephorus it is classed with the Antilegomena.

*but not Apo-
stolic*

But while the antiquity of the Epistle is firmly established, its Apostolicity is very questionable. A writing bearing the name of Barnabas, and known to be of the

¹ Iren. III. 3. 4.

² Iren. I. c.

³ In the account of his martyrdom he is described as one 'who proved himself in our times an apostolic and prophetic teacher and bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna. For every word which he uttered from his mouth both was accomplished and will be accomplished' (*ὡν* [scil. *τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν*] *εἰς*... *γεγόνει* ὁ... *Πολύκαρπος, ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς γενόμενος, ἐπίσκοπός [τε] τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*... *Ες*

des. Smyr. Epist. c. xvi.). It is obvious that the epithet 'apostolic' is explained by 'in our times,' and 'prophetic' by the last clause of the quotation. It might have been unnecessary to notice this but for Credner's strange theory: *Gesch. d. Kan.* 89.

The authenticity of this narrative of the martyrdom has been called in question (see especially Donaldson, pp. 101 ff.), but there seems to be no sufficient reason for doubting its general truthfulness.

⁴ *H. E.* III. 25; VI. 14.

Apostolic age, might very naturally be attributed to the 'Apostle' in default of any other tradition; and the supposed connexion of Barnabas of Cyprus with Alexandria¹, where the letter first gained credit, would render the hypothesis more natural. Clement and Jerome identify the author with the fellow-labourer of St Paul; but on the other hand Origen and Eusebius are silent on this point. From its contents it seems unlikely that it was written by a companion of Apostles, and a Levite². In addition to this, it is probable that Barnabas died before A.D. 62³; and the letter contains not only an allusion to the destruction of the Jewish Temple⁴, but also affirms the abrogation of the Sabbath, and the general celebration of the Lord's Day⁵, which seems to shew that it could not have been written before the beginning of the second century. From these and similar reasons Hefele rightly, as it seems, decides that the Epistle is not to be attributed to Barnabas the Apostle; but at the same time he attaches undue importance to the conclusion as it affects the integrity of the Canon. Jerome evidently looked upon the Epistle as an authentic writing of 'him 'who was ordained with St Paul,' and yet he classed it with the Apocrypha. It is an arbitrary assumption that a work of this Barnabas would necessarily be Canonical. There is no reason to believe that he received his appointment to the Apostolate directly from our Lord, as the Twelve did, and afterwards St Paul; and those who regard the Canon merely as a collection of works

or *Canonical*.

¹ Clem. *Hom.* I. 9, 13; II. 4.

² Hefele, *Das Sendschreiben des Apostels Barnabas*, ss. 166 ff.

³ Hefele, ss. 37, 159.

⁴ c. xvi.: διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολεμεῖν αὐτοὺς καθηρέθη [ὁ ναὸς] ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν νῦν, καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπηρέται ἀνοικοδομήσουσιν αὐτόν. Hefele's

punctuation (ἐχθρῶν· νῦν κ.τ.λ.) cannot, I think, stand. The writer calls attention to the *present* desolation of the Temple.

⁵ c. xv. *ad fin.*: διὸ καὶ ἀγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Ign. *ad Magn.* ix.

Chap. i.

stamped with Apostolic authority can scarcely find any other limit to its contents than that which is fixed by the strictest use of the Apostolic title¹.

Moreover there is no ground for supposing that every writing of an Apostle would have found a place in the Canon of the Christian Church. It is scarcely possible but that some Apostolic writings have perished, and yet we believe that the Bible is none the less complete. There is no essential difference between a selection of records, and a selection of facts, taken within a given range. The same Divine Power which watched over the fragmentary recital of the acts and words of the Lord and His disciples, so that nothing should be wanting which it concerns us to know, acted (as far as we can see) in like manner in preserving for our perpetual instruction those among the writings of the Apostles which had an abiding significance. The Bible is for us the sum of prophetic and apostolic literature, but that is not its essential characteristic. It contains 'all that concerns Christ' in the same sense in which the Gospel contains all the teaching of Christ. The completeness in each case is not absolute, but relative to the work which is to be accomplished.

*Its relation
to the
Epistle to
the Hebrews*

But while the Epistle of Barnabas has no claims to canonical authority, as a monument of the first Christian age it is full of interest. Among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers it holds the same place as the Epistle to the Hebrews in the New Testament. There is at least so much similarity between them as to render a contrast possible, and thus to illustrate and confirm the true theory of Scriptural Inspiration. Both Epistles are constructed, so to speak, out of Old Testament materials;

¹ Möhler, I find with the greatest satisfaction, uses exactly the same argument as to the supposed necessary Canonicity of an authentic letter of the Apostle Barnabas (*Patrol.* 88).

and yet the mode of selection and arrangement is widely different. Both exhibit the characteristic principles of the Alexandrine school; but in the one case they are modified, as it were, by an instinctive sense of their due relation to the whole system of Christianity; in the other they are subjected to no restraint, and usurp an independent and absolute authority.

The mystical interpretations of the Old Testament found in the Epistle to the Hebrews are marked by a kind of reserve. The author shews an evident consciousness that this kind of teaching is not suited to all, but requires mature powers alike in the instructor and in the taught¹. As if to transfer his readers to a more spiritual atmosphere, though this is but one aspect of the motive which seems to have ruled his choice, he takes his illustrations from the Tabernacle, and not from the Temple. The transitory resting-place which was fashioned according to the command of God, and not the permanent 'house' which was reared according to the design of man, was chosen as the figure of higher and divine truths. Those types which are pursued in detail are taken from the salient points of the Jewish ritual, and serve to awaken attention, without creating any difficulties in the way of those who are naturally disinclined to what are called mystical speculations. It is otherwise in the Epistle of Barnabas. In that the subtlest interpretations are addressed to promiscuous readers—to 'sons and daughters'—and the highest value is definitely affixed to them². In parts there is an evident straining after novelty wholly alien from the calm and

*in regard to
the mystical
interpreta-
tion of
Scripture,
and*

¹ Hebr. v. 11 sqq.

² c. ix. *ad fin.*: οὐδεὶς γνησιώτερον
ἐμαθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ λόγον, ἀλλ' [οἶδα] ὅτι
ἀξιολογότερον ὑμεῖς. Barnabas has been
speaking of the mystical interpreta-

tion of the 318 members of Abra-
ham's household as prefiguring Jesus
(IH' = 18) together with the Cross
(T' = 300).

Chap. i.

conscious strength of an Apostle; and the details of his explanations are full of the rudest errors¹. In the one Epistle we have to do with a method of interpretation clear and broad; in the other we have an application of the method, at times ingenious and beautiful, and then again arbitrary and incongruous. The single point of direct connexion between the two Epistles illustrates their respective characters. Both speak of the rest of God on the seventh day; but in the Epistle to the Hebrews this rest, not yet realized by man, though prepared for him from the foundation of the world, is made a motive for earnest and watchful efforts, and nothing more is defined as to the time of its approach. Barnabas on the contrary, having spoken of the promise, determines the date of its fulfilment. The six days of the creation furnish a measure, and so he accepts the old tradition, current even in Etruria, which fixed the consummation of all things at the end of six thousand years from the creation².

But yet more than this: the general spirit of the Epistle of Barnabas is different from that of the Epistle

*the Mosaical
Dispensa-
tion.*

¹ c. x. Yet the passages are quoted by Clement of Alexandria. Cf. Hefele, *Das Sendschreiben*, u. s. w., s. 86 anm.

² Heb. iv., Barn. xv. The Etrurian tradition is so remarkable that it deserves to be quoted. 'An able writer among them [the Etrurians] compiled a history: God, he said, the Maker of all things providentially appointed twelve periods of a thousand years for the duration of all His creatures, and distributed them to the twelve so-called dispensations (οἰκοί). In the first period (χίλιας) He made the heaven and the earth. In the second the visible firmament, and called it heaven. In the third the sea and all the waters in the earth. In the fourth the

'great lights (φωστῆρας), the sun and moon and the stars. In the fifth 'all living fowls and creeping things 'and four-footed beasts in the air and 'on the earth and in the waters. In 'the sixth man. It appears then that 'the first six periods passed away 'before the formation (διάπλασις) of 'man; and that during the remaining 'six the race of man will continue 'so that the whole time up to the 'consummation of all things extends 'to twelve thousand years' (Suidas, s. v. Τυρρηνία). The conception of the gradual progress of creation in each period, so that man is the final result of the sixth, is remarkable. A trace of the same tradition is preserved by Servius *ad Virg. Ecl.* ix. 47.

to the Hebrews. In the latter it is shewn that there lies a deep meaning for us under the history and the law of Israel. The old Covenant was real, though not 'faultless,' and its ordinances were 'patterns of the things in heaven,' though not the heavenly things themselves¹. But in the former it is assumed throughout that the Law was from its first institution misunderstood by the Jews. The first covenant was broken by reason of their idolatry, and the second became a stumblingblock to them in spite of the teaching of the Prophets². Fasts, feasts, and sacrifices, were required by God only in a spiritual sense³. Even circumcision, as they practised it, was not the seal of God's covenant, but rather the work of an evil spirit, who induced them to substitute that for the circumcision of the heart⁴. The Jewish Sabbath was not according to God's will: their temple was a delusion⁵. Judaism is made a mere riddle, of which Christianity is the answer. It had in itself no value, not even as the slave (*παιδαγωγός*) which guards us in infancy from outward dangers, till we are placed under the true teacher's care⁶. Each symbolic act is emptied of its real meaning, because it is deprived of the sacramental character with which God invested it. The worth of the Law, as one great instrument in the education of the world, is disregarded: the true idea of revelation, as a gradual manifestation of God's glory, is violated: the harmonious subordination of the parts of the divine scheme of redemption is destroyed. On such principles it is not enough that the sum of all future growth should be implicitly contained in the seed: that the vital principle which inspires the first and the last should be the same: that the identity

¹ Hebr. viii. 7; x. 23.

² Barn. c. xiv.
Barn. cc. ii., iii.

⁴ c. ix.

⁵ cc. xv., xvi.

⁶ Gal. iii. 24.

Chap. i.

of essence should be indicated by the identity of life: but all must be perfect according to some arbitrary and stereotyped standard. Against this doctrine, which is the germ of all heresy, the Holy Scriptures ever consistently protest. Their catholicity is the constant mark of their divine origin; and the undesigned harmony which results from every possible combination of their different parts is the surest pledge of their absolute truth¹.

SECT. II. THE RELATION OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS TO THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The testimony of the Apostolic Fathers to the New Testament.

How far modified by the 'Apostolic tradition.'

The testimony of the Apostolic Fathers is not however confined to the recognition of the several types of Christianity which are preserved in the Canonical Scriptures: they confirm the genuineness and authority of the books themselves. That they do not appeal to the Apostolic writings more frequently and more distinctly springs from the very nature of their position. Those who had heard the living voice of Apostles were unlikely to appeal to their written words. We have an instinct which always makes us prefer any personal connexion to the more remote relationship of books. Thus Papias tells us that he sought to learn from every quarter the traditions of those who had conversed with the elders, thinking that he should not profit so much by the narratives of books as by the living and abiding voice of the Lord's disciples. And still Papias affirmed

¹ The language of Barnabas is more remarkable for peculiar words than for coincidences with any parts of the New Testament. He has (ἀνακαινίζειν)—ἐνέργημα—ζωοποιεῖσθαι, in common with St Paul; and among his peculiarities may be noticed ἀκεραιοσύνη—δύγνωμος—δύγλωσσος—διπλοκαρδία—θρασύτης—παναμάρτητος—(πλάσμα); ἀναπλάσσεσθαι—προφανεροῦσθαι—συλλήπτωρ—ὑπεραγαπᾶν.

the exact accuracy of the Gospel of St Mark, and quoted testimonies (*μαρτυρίαι*) from the Catholic Epistles of St Peter and St John¹. So again Irenæus in earnest language records with what joy he listened to the words of Polycarp, when he told of his intercourse with those who had seen the Lord; and how those who had been with Christ spoke of His mighty works and teaching. And still all was according to the Scriptures (*πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς*); so that the charm lay not in the novelty of the narrative, but in its vital union with the fact².

In three instances³ in which it was natural to expect a direct allusion to the Epistles of St Paul the references are as complete as possible. 'Take up the Epistle of 'the blessed Paul the Apostle,' is the charge of Clement to the Corinthians, '..... in truth he spiritually charged 'you concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos⁴,.....' 'Those who are borne by martyrdom to God,' Ignatius writes to the Ephesians, 'pass through your city; ye are 'initiated into mysteries (*συμμύσται*) with St Paul, the 'sanctified, the martyred, worthy of all blessing.....who 'in every part of his letter (*ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστόλῃ*) makes 'mention of you in Christ Jesus⁵.' 'The blessed and 'glorious Paul,' says Polycarp to the Philippian, '..... 'wrote letters to you, into which if ye look diligently,

(a) *Their testimony to the Books of the New Testament*
(i) *explicit*,

¹ See pp. 73 ff.

² Iren. *Ep. ad Flor.* ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20. Compare the passage of Irenæus (III. 3. 4) quoted above, p. 37.

³ The subject of Ignatius' letter to the Romans explains the absence of any direct allusion to St Paul's Epistle. The mention of St Peter and St Paul (c. iv.) however is worthy of notice.

⁴ Clem. c. xlvii.

⁵ *Ad Ephes.* c. xii. The reference

in *συμμύσται* to Eph. v. 32 seems clear when we remember the whole tenor of Ignatius' letter. 'Ἐν πάσῃ ἐπ. is not necessarily, I think, 'in every letter,' but, 'in every part of his letter;' compare Eph. ii. 21, *πᾶσα οἰκοδομή* (not *πᾶσα ἡ οἰκ.*), 'Every part of the building.' The instances quoted by Hefele are otherwise explained by Wiener, *N. T. Grammatik*, s. 132 (ed. 5). The passage is not found in the Syriac.

Chap. i.

'ye will be able to be built up to [the fulness of] the 'faith given to you'¹

(2) *incidental.*

Elsewhere in the Apostolic Fathers there are clear traces of a knowledge of the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and 1 and 2 Timothy, of the Epistle to the Hebrews, of the Epistle of St James, the first Epistle of St Peter, and the first Epistle of St John. The allusions to the Epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians, Colossians, to Titus, and Philemon, and to 2 Peter, are very uncertain; and there are, I believe, no coincidences of language with the Epistles of Jude, and 2 and 3 John².

The peculiar value of this anonymous evidence.

It is true that these incidental references are with one exception anonymous. The words of Scripture are inwrought into the texture of the books, and not parcelled out into formal quotations. They are not arranged with argumentative effect, but used as the natural expression of Christian truths. Now this use of the Holy Scriptures shews at least that they were even then widely known, and therefore guarded by a host of witnesses; that their language was transferred into the common dialect; that it was as familiar to those first Christians as to us who use it as unconsciously as they did in writing or in conversa-

¹ Polyc. c. iii.

² The following table will be found useful and interesting as shewing how far each writer makes use of other books of the New Testament than the Gospels:

CLEMENT. Romans (c. xxxv.); 1 Corinthians (c. xlvii.); Ephesians (c. xlv.); 1 Timothy? (c. vii.); Titus? (c. ii.); Hebrews (cc. xvii., xxxvi. &c.); James (c. x. &c.).

IGNATIUS. 1 Corinthians (*ad Ephes.* xviii.); Ephesians (*ad Ephes.* xii.); Philippians? (*ad Philad.* viii.); 1 Thessalonians? (*ad Ephes.* x.); Philemon? (*ad*

Ephes. c. ii. &c.).

POLYCARP. Acts ii. 24 (c. i.); Romans (c. vi.); 1 Corinthians (c. xi.); 2 Corinthians (cc. ii., vi.); Galatians (cc. iii., xii.); Ephesians? (c. xii.); Philippians (c. iii., xi.); 1 Thessalonians? (c. ii., iv.); 2 Thessalonians? (c. xi.); 1 Timothy (c. iv.); 2 Timothy (c. v.); 1 Peter (cc. i., ii. &c.); 1 John (c. vii.); 2 Peter iii. 15 (c. iii.) (?).

BARNABAS. 1 Timothy? (c. xii.); 2 Timothy? (c. vii.). Cf. Hebele, ss. 230—240.

tion. Two passages of Clement will sufficiently illustrate the statements which have been made. No one, as far as I know, has ever questioned the genuineness of the chapters from which they are taken, or doubted the reality of the references to Apostolic writings which they contain. Clement had referred the Corinthians to St Paul's Epistle¹. Not long afterwards he goes on to speak of love (*ἀγάπη*) in the following terms: 'Love uniteth (*κολλᾷ*) us to God: *love covereth a multitude of sins* (1 Pet. iv. 8): *love supporteth* (*ἀνέχεται* not *στέγει*) *all things* (1 Cor. xiii. 7), *suffereth long* in all things (1 Cor. xiii. 4): there is nothing vulgar in love, nothing proud: 'love hath no divisions (*σχίσμα*), love is not factious, 'love doeth all things in concord².' The language of St Paul is evidently floating before the writer's eyes, and yet he deliberately avoids reproducing it. He clothes the Pauline thoughts in words of his own, and adds a cognate phrase of St Peter. Nothing would have been easier, or even more plausible, than to deny the reference to 1 Corinthians if it had been established only by the coincidences of words. The second passage is no less instructive. Clement has occasion to speak of Jesus Christ as 'the High Priest of our offerings: the champion and helper of our infirmity.' 'Through Him,' he says, '... the Lord (*δεσπότης*) wished us to taste 'immortal knowledge *who being the brightness* of His 'greatness (Hebr. i. 3) *is so much greater than angels* 'as He hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name' (i. 4); for it is written thus, *who maketh his angels* 'spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire' (i. 7). But in 'the case of His Son the Lord spake thus, *Thou art my* 'Son, this day have I begotten Thee' (i. 5): ask of me and

Chap. i.

*The freedom
of the refer-
ences of CLE-
MENT, and*

¹ c. xlvii.

1 Cor. xii. in c. xxxvii. ought to be

² c. xlix. The free use made of compared with this reminiscence.

Chap. i.

'I will give thee nations for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession. And again, 'He saith unto Him, *Sit on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool*' (i. 13). Here there are, as it will be seen, compressions, omissions, transpositions, substitutions, and yet no one could with reason doubt that Hebrews i., as we read it, was clearly present to the writer's mind.

of POLYCARP,

This free adaptation of the apostolic language by Clement will enable us to give its true weight to a passage in which Polycarp uses the language of 1 John¹, 'Every one that *doth not confess that Jesus Christ hath come in the flesh is antichrist*; and whoever does not 'confess the testimony of the cross is of the devil.' The agreement with 1 John iv. 3 is complete in the essential thoughts, and the form of Polycarp's sentence appears to be based upon 2 John 7².

illustrated
by the quotations from
the Old Testament.

The general style of the writers with whom we are dealing goes far to establish the validity of these silent and incomplete quotations. For it will be readily admitted that if the quotations from the Old Testament in the Apostolic Fathers were uniformly explicit and exact, this mode of argument would lose much of its force. But with the exception of Barnabas it does not appear that

¹ The strange notion that Polycarp 'contradicted the statements of the fourth Gospel' when he 'contended that Christian festival should be celebrated on the 14th Nisan' will be noticed when we speak of Claudius Apollinaris.

² 1 John iv. 3, πᾶν πνεῦμα ὁ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν· καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὁ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶν τὸ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου... 2 John 7, οἱ μὴ ὁμολογούντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμε-

νον ἐν σαρκὶ οὗτός ἐστιν... ὁ ἀντίχριστος. Yet it may be observed that there is good authority for ἐληλυθέναι in 1 John iv. 3. The author of *Supern. Relig.* gives (ii. p. 268) a good example of the facility with which similar phrases are mixed up when, with the Greek text of St John before him, he quotes as '1 John iv. 3' καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὁ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν κύριον ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ. Is this also taken from an apocryphal writing?

they have made a single reference by name to any one of the books of the Old Testament¹; and Barnabas quotes a passage from St Matthew with the technical formula 'as it is written².' Clement uses the general formula 'It is written,' or even more frequently 'God saith,' or simply 'One saith³.' The two quotations from the Old Testament in Ignatius are simply preceded by 'It is written.' In the Greek text of Polycarp there is no mark of quotation at all⁴; and Clement sometimes introduces the language of the Old Testament into his argument without any mark of distinction⁵. Exactness of quotation was foreign to the spirit of the writing.

Nothing has been said hitherto of the coincidences between the Apostolic Fathers and the Canonical Gospels. From the nature of the case casual coincidences of language cannot be brought forward in the same manner to prove the use of a history as of a letter. The same facts and words, especially if they be recent and striking, may be preserved in several narratives. References in the sub-apostolic age to the discourses or actions of our Lord as we find them recorded in the Gospels shew, so far as they

*How far it
can be ap-
plied to the
Gospels.*

¹ Barn. Ep. c. x.: λέγει αὐτοῖς [Μωσῆς] ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ. Elsewhere Barnabas mentions the writer's name: c. iv. *Daniel*; c. xiii. *David, Esaias*; c. vi., x., xii. *Moses*.

² Barn. iv. Matt. xxii. 14. The reading of *Cod. Sinaiticus* (ὡς γέγραπται) removes the doubt which naturally attached to the Latin Version *sicut scriptum est*, and thus this quotation from St Matthew is the earliest direct example of the use of a book of the New Testament as Holy Scripture.

In the second 'Epistle' of Clement there is the same explicitness of reference as in Barnabas, c. iii. *Esaias*; c. vi. *Ezekiel*. So likewise a passage of St Matthew's Gospel is called γράφή (c. ii.). The fact is worth notice.

On the other hand it is just to add that the proverbial form of the saying ('Many are called but few chosen') is such as to admit of the supposition that it may have been derived by Barnabas from some older book than St Matthew.

³ c. xxvi. (Job) &c., lii. (David), cannot be considered exceptions to the rule.

⁴ The reading of the Latin Version in c. xi. *sicut Paulus docet* seems to be less open to suspicion than that in c. xiii. *ut his scripturis dictum est* (Ps. iv. 5; Eph. iv. 26), which is at least quite alien from Polycarp's manner.

⁵ E.g. cc. xxvii., liv. So also Ignatius *ad Trall.* viii.

Chap. i.

go, that what the Gospels relate was then held to be true; but it does not necessarily follow that they were already in use, and were the actual source of the passages in question. On the contrary, the mode in which Clement¹ refers to our Lord's teaching, 'the Lord said,' not 'saith,' seems to imply that he was indebted to tradition, and not to any written accounts, for words most closely resembling those which are still found in our Gospels. The main testimony of the Apostolic Fathers is therefore to the substance, and not to the authenticity of the Gospels. And in this respect they have an important work to do. They witness that the great outlines of the life and teaching of our Lord were familiarly known to all from the first: they prove that Christianity rests truly on a historic basis.

The great features of Christ's life familiarly known.

The 'Gospel' which the Fathers announce includes all the articles of the ancient Creeds². Christ, we read, our God, the eternal Word, the Lord and Creator of the World, who was with the Father before time began³, humbled Himself, and came down from heaven, and was manifested in the flesh, and was born of the Virgin Mary, of the race of David according to the flesh; and a star of exceeding brightness appeared at His birth⁴. Afterwards He was baptized by John, *to fulfil all righteousness*; and then, speaking His Father's message, He invited not the righteous, but sinners, to come to Him⁵. Perfume

¹ cc. xiii., xlvi. (ἐπεν), compared with Acts xx. 35. The past tense in Ignat. *ad Smyr.* iii. appears to be of a different kind.

² On the use of oral and written Gospels in the first age, compare Gieseler, *Ueber die Entstehung u. s. w. ss.* 149 sqq. *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, pp. 154 ff.

³ Ign. *ad Rom.* inscr., c. iii.; *ad Ephes.* inscr.; *ad Magnes.* viii.: Barn. v.: Ign. *ad Magnes.* vi.

⁴ Clem. xvi.: Ign. *ad Magnes.* vii.: Barn. xii.: Ign. *ad Smyr.* i.; *ad Trall.* ix.; *ad Ephes.* xix.: Ign. *ad Ephes.* xx.; *id.* xix. (of especial interest).

⁵ Ign. *ad Smyr.* i. The words which are parallel with St Matthew, ἵνα πληρωθῇ πάντα δικαιοσύνη ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, appear to have been wanting in the Ebionite Gospel: Hieron. *adv. Pelag.* iii. 2. *Ad Rom.* viii.: Barn. v.

was poured *over His head*, an emblem of the immortality which He breathed on the Church¹. At length, under Herod and Pontius Pilate He was crucified, and vinegar and gall were offered Him to drink². But on the first day of the week He rose from the dead, the first-fruits of the grave; and many prophets were raised by Him for whom they had waited. After His resurrection He ate with His disciples, and shewed them that He was not an incorporeal spirit³. And He ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead⁴.

Such, in their own words, is the testimony of the earliest Fathers to the life of the Saviour. Round these facts their doctrines are grouped; on the truth of the

¹ Eph. xvii. the words ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς connect the reference with Matt. xxvi. 7 (true reading).

² Ign. *ad Magnes.* xi.; *ad Trall.* ix.; *ad Smyr.* i.: Barn. vii.

³ Barn. xv.: Ign. *ad Magnes.* ix.: Clem. xxiv.: Polyc. ii.: Ign. *ad Magnes.* ix.; *ad Smyr.* iii.

⁴ Barn. xv.: Polyc. ii.: Barn. vii.: Polyc. ii. Barnabas (*l. c.*) appears at first sight to place the Ascension also on a Sunday; but it is more likely that he regarded the Manifestation and Ascension of the Risen Christ as simply additional moments in the story of the Resurrection.

There are also numerous references to discourses of our Lord which are recorded in the gospels:

CLEMENT.

c. xiii. Comp. Matt. v. 7; vi. 14; vii. 2, 12, and parallels.

c. xlv. Comp. Matt. xxvi. 24 and parallels.

IGNATIUS.

ad Eph. v. Matt. xviii. 19.

id. vi. Matt. x. 40.

ad Trall. xi. Matt. xv. 13.

ad Rom. vii. Cf. John xvi. 11.

id. Cf. John iv. 14; vii. 38.

id. Cf. John vi. 51.

ad Philad. vii. Cf. John iii. 8.

ad Smyrn. vi. Matt. xix. 12.

ad Polyc. i. Matt. viii. 17.

id. ii. Matt. x. 16.

POLYCARP.

c. ii. Matt. vii. 1; vi. 14; v. 7;

Luke vi. 38, 40. Matt. v. 10.

c. vii. Matt. vi. 13; xxvi. 41; Mark xiv. 38.

c. v. Cf. Matt. xx. 28.

c. vi. Cf. Matt. vi. 12, 14.

BARNABAS.

c. iv. Matt. xxii. 14.

c. v. Matt. ix. 13.

These parallels together with supposed references to sayings of the Lord not contained in the Canonical Gospels are examined in a Note at the end of the Chapter: pp. 59 ff. Compare *Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, App. C. Gieseler, *Ueber die Entstehung der schrift. Evv.* ss. 147 ff.

Chap. i.

Incarnation and the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ their hopes were grounded¹.

(β) Testimony to the authority of Apostolic writings

modified by

(1) the circumstances of the time, and

If the extent of the evidence of the Apostolic Fathers to the books of the New Testament is exactly what might be expected from men who had seen the Apostles, who had heard them, and who had treasured up their writings as the genuine records of their teaching, the character of their evidence is equally in accordance with their peculiar position. It will be readily seen that we cannot expect to find in the first age the New Testament quoted as authoritative in the same manner as the Old Testament. There could not indeed be any occasion for an appeal to the testimony of the Gospels when the history of the faith was still within the memory of many; and most of the Epistles were of little use in controversy, for the earliest heretics denied the Apostleship of St Paul. The Old Testament, on the contrary, was common ground; and the ancient system of biblical interpretation furnished the Christian with ready arms. When these failed it was enough for him to appeal to the Death and Resurrection of Christ, which were at once the sum and the proof of his faith. 'I have heard some say,' Ignatius writes, '*Unless I find in the ancients [the writers of the Old Testament] I believe not in the Gospel*, and when I said to them *It is written [in the Prophets that Christ should suffer and rise again]*, they replied [*That must be proved;*] *the question lies before us*. But to me,' he adds, 'Jesus Christ is [the substance of all] records; my inviolable records are His Cross and Death and Resurrection, and the Faith through Him².'

¹ Cf. Ign. *ad Philad.* viii. It is very worthy of notice that there are no references to the miracles of our Lord in the Apostolic Fathers. All miracles are implicitly included in the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ. Compare Note at the end of the Chapter.

² *Ad Philad.* viii. The passage is beset with many difficulties, but

It cannot however be denied that the idea of the Inspiration of the New Testament, in the sense in which it is maintained now, was the growth of time. When St Paul spoke¹ of *the Holy Scriptures* of the Old Testament as *able to make wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus*, he expressed what was the practical belief of the first century of the Christian Church. The Old Testament was for two or three generations a complete Bible both doctrinally and historically when interpreted in the light of the Gospel. Many of the most farsighted teachers, we may believe, prepared the way for the formation of a collection of Apostolic Writings co-ordinate with the writings of the Prophets, but the result to which they looked forward was achieved gradually, even as the Old Testament itself was formed by slow degrees². Distance is a necessary condition if we are to estimate rightly any object of vast proportions. The history of any period will furnish illustrations of this truth; and the teaching of God through man appears to be always subject to the common laws of human life and thought. If it be true that a prophet is not received in his own country, it is equally true that he is not received in his own age. The sense of his power is vague even when it is deepest. Years must elapse before we can feel that the words of one who talked with men were indeed the words of God.

The successors of the Apostles did not, we admit,

the translation which I have ventured to give seems to remove many of them. Προκείσθαι is continually used of a question in debate: Plat. *Euthyd.* 279 D, καταγέλαστον δήπου δὲ πάλαι πρόκειται τοῦτο πάλιν προτιθέναι. *Resp.* VII. 533 E, etc. If in place of ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις we read

ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις according to Voss' conjecture the sense would be unchanged. The sudden burst of feeling (ἐμοὶ δέ κ.τ.λ.) is characteristic of Ignatius.

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 15.

² Comp. *The Bible in the Church*, Ap. A.

Chap. i.

(2) *the gradual perception of the co-ordinate authority of a New Testament with the Old Testament,*

Chap. i.]

which followed from the relation of the Apostles to their first successors.

Still the Apostolic Fathers separate the Apostles from themselves.

recognize that the written histories of the Lord and the scattered epistles of His first disciples would form a sure and sufficient source and test of doctrine when the current tradition had grown indistinct or corrupt. Conscientious of a life in the Christian body, and realizing the power of its Head, in a way impossible now, they did not feel that the Apostles were providentially charged to express once for all in their *writings* the essential forms of Christianity, even as the Prophets had foreshadowed them. The position which they held did not command that comprehensive view of the nature and fortunes of the Christian Church by which the idea is suggested and confirmed. But they had certainly an indistinct perception that their work was essentially different from that of their predecessors. They declined to perpetuate their title, though they may have retained their office. They attributed to them power and wisdom to which they themselves made no claim. Without having any exact sense of the completeness of the Christian Scriptures, they still drew a line between them and their own writings. As if by some providential instinct, each one of those teachers who stood nearest to the writers of the New Testament contrasted his writings with theirs, and definitely placed himself on a lower level. The fact is most significant; for it shews in what way the formation of the Canon was an act of the intuition of the Church, derived from no reasoning, but realized in the course of its natural growth as one of the first results of its self-consciousness.

Clement, the earliest of the Fathers, does not even write in his own name to the Church of Corinth, but simply as the representative of the Church of Rome. He lays aside the individual authority of an Apostle, and the Epistle was well named in the next age that of

the Romans to the Corinthians¹. He apologizes in some measure for the tone of reproof which he himself uses, and at the same time refers his readers to the Epistle of the blessed Paul, who wrote to them 'spiritually,' and certainly with the fullest consciousness of absolute and unsparing authority².

Polycarp, in like manner, who had listened to the words of the loved disciple, still says afterwards that 'neither he nor any like him is able to attain fully to (κατακο-
'λουθήσαι) the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul³.'

Ignatius, who, if we receive the testimony of the writings attributed to him, seems very little likely to have disparaged the power of his office, still twice disclaims in memorable words the idea that he wished to impose his commands like Peter and Paul: they were 'Apostles, while I,' he adds, 'am a condemned man' (κατάκριτος⁴).

Barnabas again twice reminds his readers that he speaks as one of them, not as a teacher, but as a member of Christ's Church⁵.

One passage of the Ignatian Epistles still remains to be noticed. In this there appears to be an indication

¹ Clem. Alex. *Str.* v. 12. § 81. Elsewhere however it is quoted in the same work as the Epistle of Clement, *Str.* I. 7. § 38; VI. 3. § 65; and even of Clement the Apostle: *Str.* IV. 17. § 107.

² c. vii. 'These injunctions we give, beloved, not only admonishing you, but putting ourselves also in mind [of our duty]; for we are in the same arena (ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σκάμματι), and the same conflict is laid upon us [as upon you].'

c. xlvii. 'Take up the Epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What did he write first to you at the beginning of the Gospel? In very

'truth he gave you spiritual injunctions about himself and Cephas and 'Apollon...'

³ c. iii.

⁴ *Ad Rom.* iv.: Οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος· ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δούλος. 'Αλλ' εἰν πάθω ἀπελεύθερος Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. Cf. *ad Trall.* c. iii. [Eph. xii.] The word was doubtless suggested by his actual condition, but it must have a spiritual meaning too.

⁵ c. i.: οὐχ ὡς διδάσκαλος ἀλλ' ὡς εἰς ἐξ ὑμῶν. Cf. c. iv.

Chap. i.

that when they were written there was a recognized collection of Christian books. Ignatius speaks of himself as 'having fled to the Gospel as to the flesh of Jesus, and 'to the Apostles as to the presbytery of the Church. Yea,' he continues, 'and let us love the prophets also, because 'they also preached unto the Gospel¹.' The juxtaposition of prophets (i.e. the prophetic writings of the Old Testament) with the Gospel and the Apostles is harsh and unnatural unless these also are represented by writings. And in the conception of Ignatius the Epistles would represent the teaching of the Apostles just as the Gospel represented the historic, human, Presence of Jesus (not Christ). But at the same time it will be observed that the writer uses the word 'Gospel' and not 'Gospels.' The substance of the records was as yet considered in its unity and not in its variety.

*General
Summary
of their
testimony.*

It would be easy to say much more on the Apostolic Fathers, but enough perhaps has been said already to shew the value of their writings as a commentary on the Apostolic age². They illustrate alike the language and the doctrines of the New Testament. They prove that Christianity was Catholic from the very first, uniting a variety of forms in one faith. They shew that the great facts of the Gospel-narrative and the substance of the Apostolic letters formed the basis and moulded the expression of the common creed. They recognize the fitness of a Canon, and indicate the limits within which it must be fixed. And their evidence is the more important when it is remembered that they speak to us from four great centres of the ancient Church—from Antioch

*Its great
local extent
and importance.*

¹ *Ad Philad.* c. v.

² It is perhaps the commentary of a childlike age; but Möhler has admirably said 'auch in den geistigen

'Aeusserungen des Kindes ist der 'Keim aller möglichen Wissenschaften schon enthalten.' (*Patrol.* 51.)

and Alexandria, from Ephesus and Rome. One Church alone is silent. The Christians of Jerusalem contribute nothing to this written portraiture of the age. The peculiarities of their belief were borrowed from a conventional system destined to pass away, and did not embody the permanent characteristics of any particular type of Apostolic doctrine. The Jewish Church at Pella was an accommodation, if we may use the word, and not a form of Christianity. How far its principles influenced the Church of the next age will be seen in the following Chapter¹.

¹ Papias perhaps might have been noticed in this Chapter, but I believe that he belongs properly to the next generation. The testimony to the Gospel of St Mark which he quotes from the presbyter John must however be considered as drawn from the Apostolic age. It will be convenient to notice this when speaking of Papias (c. ii. § 1).

NOTE TO PAGE 53.

ON THE EVANGELIC WORDS CONTAINED IN THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

It has been said (p. 52), that the evangelic words and facts referred to in the Apostolic Fathers may have been derived from oral tradition, like the corresponding references in the Apostolic Epistles. The student will be able to draw his own conclusion as to the source from which the evangelic words were derived if the evidence is briefly placed before him. The references to the words of the Lord are :

i. (a) CLEMENT, c. xiii. *μεμνημένοι τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οὓς ἐλάλησεν διδάσκων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μακροθυμίαν· οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν :*

i. CLEMENT.

ἐλεᾶτε ἵνα ἐλεηθῇτε.

ἀφιετε ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν.

ὥς ποιεῖτε, οὕτω ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

ὥς δίδετε, οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν.

ὥς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθήσεται ὑμῖν.

ὥς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν.

ὧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

Now if this passage be compared with the parallels in St Matthew (v. 7; vi. 14; vii. 2, 12) and St Luke (vi. 31, 36, 37, 38; iv. 38), it will, I think, be felt that the markedly symmetrical form of Clement's version indicates a free and yet deliberate handling of the contents of the Gospels. It is in style later than our Gospels, whether it was shaped by Clement or

Chap. i.

at an earlier time. The use of *χρηστός*, *χρηστεύομαι* is interesting because the word *χρηστός* occurs in combination with *οικτίρων* in Just. *Ap.* i. 15; *Dial.* 96. See below, *chap.* ii.

(β) CLEMENT, c. xlvī. *μνησθήτε τῶν λόγων Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν εἶπεν γάρ οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη, ἢ ἕνα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι· κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτῷ περιτεθῆναι μύλον καὶ καταπονεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν μου σκανδαλίσαι.*

The parallels are Matt. xxvi. 24; Mark xiv. 21, and Matt. xviii. 6, 7; Mark ix. 42; Luke xvii. 1, 2. The words may be a recollection of our Gospels. Comp. Lightfoot, *l.c.*

But it has been argued that the words in c. xliii. (and the same applies to xlvī.) are introduced 'with a remark implying a well-known record... and in a way suggesting careful and precise quotation of the very words' (*Supern. Rel.* i. 230 f.). Clement's words are (as we have seen), 'remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which He spake...for thus He said...' (*μνημονεύοντες τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ...οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν*). Now the corresponding words in the passage of the Acts, xx. 35, are 'you ought...to remember the words of the Lord Jesus that He Himself said' (*δεῖ...μνημονεύειν τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν*), and I can see no reason for referring the quotation assigned to St Paul in this latter passage to any 'well-known record.' Moreover in the context of Clement the contrast between the 'words of the Lord Jesus' and 'that which is written' (1 Sam. ii. 10; Jerem. ix. 23, 24), appears to be marked; and both are included in the phrase 'the command and the injunctions,' which follows. Some difficulty has been felt as to the source of the reference in c. xlvī, *καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἐγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς*. Yet the words seem to be a very natural deduction from such sayings of the Lord as are preserved in Matt. xxiii. 8 ff.; xx. 20 ff. Perhaps they point to the origin of the traditional saying in Justin *Dial.* 35. See below.

ii. IGNATIUS.

ii. IGNATIUS. (α) The one saying directly attributed to the Lord in the Ignatian Epistles occurs in *ad Smyrn.* iii. *ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν ἐφη αὐτοῖς· Λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον*. This saying, which was found in part in the *Doctrine of Peter*, and the *Nazarean Gospel* (comp. *Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, App. C. 16), is in all probability a traditional (and later) form of the words recorded in Luke xxiv. 39¹.

(β) There are several coincidences with Evangelic words which deserve to be mentioned:

ad Eph. v. || Matt. xviii. 19.

id. vi. || Matt. x. 40 (a general correspondence in sense).

ad Trall. xi. *οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ εἰσι φυτεία πατρὸς* || Matt. xv. 13, *πᾶσα φυτεία ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου...*

[*ad Rom.* vi. || Matt. xvi. 26 (an interpolation)].

ad Rom. vii. *ὁ ἀρχὼν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διαρπάσαι με βούλεται*. Cf. John xvi. 11.

id. ὕδωρ ζῶν...Cf. John iv. 14; vii. 38.

¹ I am at a loss to understand how any one who looks at the connexion in *ad Philad.* vii. can suppose that in the words 'The Spirit proclaimed, saying thus: Without the Bishop do nothing, &c.' we have 'an apocryphal writing quoted as Holy Scripture' (*Supernat. Rel.* p. 278). The contrast

throughout is between the natural knowledge (*κατὰ σάρκα*) of Ignatius and the divine Spirit by which he was moved. *Ἐκραύγασα...τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε...μάρτυς δέ μοι ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι ὅτι ἀπὸ σαρκὸς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἐγνων· τί δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν λέγων τάδε· χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε κ.τ.λ.*

id. ἄρτον θεοῦ...ὅς ἐστι σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Cf. John vi. 51. It is, I think, quite impossible to understand the Ignatian passage without presupposing a knowledge of the discourse recorded by St John.

ad Philad. vii. τὸ πνεῦμα...οἶδεν...πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει. Cf. John iii. 8 (an apparent use of familiar words in a different connexion).

ad Smyrn. vi. ὁ χωρῶν χωρεῖτω. || Matt. xix. 12, ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρεῖτω.

ad Polyc. i. πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταξε || Matt. viii. 17, αὐτὸς...τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν.

id. ii. φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὄφεις ἐν ἅπασιν καὶ ἀκέραιος ὡς ἡ περιστέρα || Matt. x. 16, γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστέρας.

iii. (α) POLYCARP, c. ii. μνημονεύοντες ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος διδάσκων·

μὴ κρίνετε ἵνα μὴ κριθήτε.

ἀφίετε καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν.

ἐλεεῖτε ἵνα ἐλεηθῇτε.

ὥς μέτρω μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

καὶ ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

The parallels in our Gospels are Matt. vii. 1; vi. 14 (Luke vi. 37); v. 7; Luke vi. 38 (Matt. vii. 2); Luke vi. 20 (Matt. v. 3); Matt. v. 10. The last clauses are evidently compressed in quotation from whatever source they may have been derived. The first clauses have points of resemblance with Clement's quotation (see p. 59), and more especially the introductory clause, so that Polycarp's words are probably influenced by Clement's. But at any rate the differences in order and phraseology in Clement's and Polycarp's quotations, shew conclusively that they were not derived from any one record different from our Gospels.

c. vii. αἰτούμενος τὸν παντεπόπτην θεὸν μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν ἡμῶς εἰς πειρασμόν, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής || Matt. vi. 13; xxvi. 41; Mark xiv. 38.

(β). Two coincidences of language may be noticed :

c. v. κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ κυρίου ὃς ἐγένετο διάκονος πάντων. Comp. Matt. xx. 28; Mark ix. 35.

c. vi. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ κυρίου ἵνα ἡμῖν ἀφῇ, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι. Comp. Matt. vi. 12, 14; Luke xi. 4.

There are no supposed allusions to apocryphal writings in Polycarp.

iv. BARNABAS, c. iv. προσέχωμεν μήποτε ὡς γέγραπται πολλοὶ κλητοὶ ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ εὐρεθώμεν. || Matt. xxii. 14. It is possible that this proverbial phrase introduced by the form of scriptural quotation 'it is written' may have been referred by the writer (rightly or wrongly) to some scripture of the Old Testament.

c. v. τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους...ἐξελέξατο ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους, ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθε καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς. || Matt. ix. 13; Mark ii. 17 (εἰς μετάνοιαν is an addition in the texts of the Gospels and of Barnabas).

Other parallels have been noticed : c. iv. (Matt. xxv. 5 ff.); c. v. (Matt. xxvi. 31). Comp. Hefele, s. 233. The clause (Luke vi. 30) in c. xix. is probably an interpolation; and it seems most likely that the reference to the brazen serpent as a type of Christ was derived directly from the Old Testament, or at least not from John iii.

BARNABAS has been supposed to refer to two sayings of our Lord which are not found in our Gospels.

iii. POLYCARP.

iv. BARNABAS.

(c. xii.)

Chap. i.

(a) c. iv. Sicut dicit filius Dei: Resistamus omni iniquitati et odio habeamus eam.

So the words stood in the Latin version; but the Greek text of **N** reads *ὡς πρέπει υἱοῖς θεοῦ*, so that there can be no doubt that the first clause is a corruption of *sicut decet filios Dei*. The quotation therefore disappears though Reuss still refers to the verse as an apocryphal saying of Christ (*Hist. du Canon*, 26 n.).

(β) c. vii. οὕτω, φησί, οἱ θέλοντές με ἰδεῖν καὶ ἄψασθαί μου τῆς βασιλείας ὀφείλουσι θλιβέντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.

These words appear to be a free reminiscence of the saying contained in Matt. xvi. 24, compared with Acts xiv. 22. No trace of them, as far as I know, occurs elsewhere.

In the passage, c. vi. λέγει κύριος· ἰδοὺ ποιήσω τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα, the context, no less than the phrase λέγει κύριος, shews that the reference is to some passage of the Old Testament: e.g. Ezek. xxxvi. 11.

An examination of these passages will confirm what has been said generally, pp. 51 f. The result may be briefly summed up in the following propositions:

1. No Evangelic reference in the Apostolic Fathers can be referred certainly to a written record.
2. It appears most probable from the form of the quotations that they were derived from oral tradition.
3. No quotation contains any element which is not substantially preserved in our Gospels.
4. When the text given differs from the text of our Gospels, it represents a later form of the Evangelic tradition.
5. The text of St Matthew corresponds more nearly than the other synoptic texts with the quotations and references as a whole.

CHAPTER II.

THE AGE OF THE GREEK APOLOGISTS.

A.D. 120—170.

Οὐ σωπῆς μόνον τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστιανισμός.

IGNATIUS.

THE writings of the Apostolic age were all moulded in the same form, and derived from the same relation of Christian life. As they represented the mutual intercourse of believers, so they rested on the foundation of a common rule and shewed the peculiarities of a common dialect. The literature of the next age was widely different both in scope and character¹. It included almost every form of prose composition—letters, chronicles, essays, apologies, visions, tales—and answered to the manifold bearings of Christianity on the world². The Church had then to maintain its ground amid systematic persecution, organized heresies, and philosophic controversy. The name of the Christian had already become a by-word³; and it was evident that they were free alike from Jewish superstition and Gentile polytheism⁴: they were no longer sheltered by the old title of Jews, and it became needful that they

Chap. ii.

The wide scope of the Christian Literature of this period

occasioned by the new relation of the Church to the Empire,

¹ Cf. Möhler, ss. 179 ff.

² It is probable that some of the Christian parts of the Sibylline Oracles (Libb. VI., VII.) also fall within this period. Cf. Friedlieb, *Oracula Sibyllina*, Einleit. ss. lxxi., lii.

Very little is known of the prophecies of Hystaspes. Cf. Lücke, *Comm. ũ. d. Schriften des Ev. Johannes*, IV. I. ss. 45 f.

³ Just. Mart. *Ap. I.* 4. (p. 10, n. 4. Otto.)

⁴ *Ep. ad Diogn. i.*: ὁρῶ... ὑπερ-εσπουδακότα σε τὴν θεοσέβειαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθεῖν... τίμι τε θεῷ πεποιθότες, καὶ πῶς θρησκευόντες... οὔτε τοὺς νομιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς λογίζονται, οὔτε τὴν Ἰουδαίων δεισιδαιμονίαν φυλάσσουνσι... The whole passage is very interesting as shewing how the object and form of Christian worship, and the character of the Christian life, would strike a thoughtful man at the time.

Chap. ii.
to Heresies,

and to Phi-
losophy.

The remains
of it however
are scanty.

Yet Justin
represents
the charac-
ter of the
Greek Apo-
logist, and
so of the age.

should give an account of the faith for which they sought protection. The Apostolic tradition was insufficient to silence or condemn false teachers who had been trained in the schools of Athens or Alexandria; but now that truth was left to men it was upheld by wisdom. New champions were raised up to meet the emergency; and some of these did not scruple to maintain the doctrines of Christianity in the garb of philosophers.

But although the entire literature of the age was thus varied, the fragments of it which are left scarcely do more than witness to its extent. The letter to Diognetus, the Clementine Homilies, the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, and some of the writings of Justin, alone survive in their original form. In addition to these there are two Latin translations of the Shepherd of Hermas, as well as a large fragment of the original Greek, a Syriac translation of the Apology of Melito, and a series of precious quotations from lost books, preserved chiefly by the industry of Eusebius¹. The *Exposition* of Papias, the Treatises of Justin and Agrippa Castor against Heresies, the numerous works of Melito with the exception of the Apology, the Chronicles of Hegesippus, have perished, and with them the most natural and direct sources of information on the history of this period of the Church.

It does not however seem to have been a mere accident which preserved the writings of Justin. As the Apologists were the truest representatives of the age, so was he in many respects the best type of the natural character of the Greek Apologist. For him philosophy was truth, reason a spiritual power, Christianity the fulness of both. The Apostolic Fathers exhibit their faith in its inherent energy; their successors shew in

¹ Collected by Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ* (Ed. 2, Oxon. 1846).

what way it was the satisfaction of the deepest wants of humanity—the sum of all ‘knowledge;’ it was reserved for the Latin Apologists to apprehend its independent claims, and establish its right to supplant, as well as to fulfil what was partial and vague in earlier systems. The time was not ripe for this when Justin wrote, for there is a natural order in the development of truth. As Christianity was shewn to be the true completion of Judaism before the Church was divided from the synagogue; so it was well that it should be clearly set forth as the centre to which old philosophies converged before it was declared to supersede them. In each case the fulfilment and interpretation of the old was the groundwork and beginning of the new. The pledge of the future lay in the satisfaction of the past.

This then was one great work of the time, that Apologists should proclaim Christianity to be the Divine answer to the questionings of Heathendom, as well as the antitype to the Law, and the hope of the Prophets. To a great extent the task was independent of the direct use of Scripture. Those who discharged it had to deal with the thoughts, and not with the words of the Apostles—with the facts, and not with the records of Christ’s life. Even the later Apologists abstained from quoting Scripture in their addresses to heathen; and the practice was still more alien from the object and position of the earliest¹. The arguments of philosophy and history were brought forward first, that men might be gradually familiarized to the light; the use of Scripture was for a while deferred (*dilatæ paulisper divinæ lectiones*), that they might not be blinded by the sudden sight of its unclouded glory².

The first work of the period—the settlement of the relation of Christianity to Heathendom.

¹ Justin’s use of the *prophecies* of the rule; but this will be noticed in § 7. Old Testament is no exception to the.

² Lactant. *Instit.* v. 4.

Chap. ii.

The second work of the period—the separation of Christianity from Judaism.

A reaction.

The crisis by which this was brought about.

The recognition of Christianity as a revelation which had not only a general, but also in some sense a special message for the heathen was co-ordinate with its final separation from the Mosaic ritual¹. This separation was the second great work of the period. It is difficult to trace the progress of its consummation, though the result was the firm establishment of the Catholic Church. But by the immediate reaction which accompanied it one type of Apostolic Christianity was brought out with great clearness, without which the circle of its secondary developments would have been incomplete. The old party of the *Circumcision* once again rose up to check the revolution which was on the eve of accomplishment. Yet the conflict which was then carried on was not the repetition, but the sequel of that of the Apostolic age². The great crisis out of which it sprang impressed it with a peculiar character. The Christians of Jerusalem had clung to their ancient law, till their national hopes seemed to be crushed for ever by the building of Ælia, and the establishment of a Gentile Church within the Holy City. Then at length men saw that they were

¹ Just. Mart. *Ap.* i. 46: Οἱ μετὰ λόγου βιώσαντες Χριστιανοὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀθεοὶ ἐνομήσθησαν, ὅσον ἐν Ἑλληνισμῷ καὶ Σωκράτους καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς, ἐν βαρβάρους δὲ Ἀβραάμ... Cf. *Ap.* ii. 13.

² Some modern writers have confounded together the different steps by which the distinctions of Jew and Gentile were removed in the Christian Church. Since it is of great importance to a right understanding of the early history of Christianity that they should be clearly distinguished, it may not be amiss to mention them here:

1. The admission of Gentiles (in the first instance *εὐσεβεῖς*) to the Christian Church. Acts x, xi.

2. The freedom of Gentile converts from the Ceremonial Law. Acts xv.

3. The indifference of the Ceremonial Law for Jewish converts. Gal. ii. 14—16; Acts xxi. 20—26.

4. The incompatibility of Judaism with Christianity.

The first three—that is the essential—principles are recognized in Scripture; the last, which introduces no new element, is evolved in the history of the Church. This is an instance of the true ‘Development,’ which organizes, but does not create.

The first three stages are fully discussed by Dr Lightfoot, *Galatians*, Essay iii. pp. 276 ff.

already in the new age—the *world to come*: they saw that *the kingdom of heaven*, as distinguished from the typical kingdom of Israel, was now set up; and it seemed that the Gospel of St Paul was to be the common law of its citizens. Under the pressure of these circumstances the Judaizing party naturally made a last effort to regain their original power. It was only possible to maintain what had ceased to be national by asserting that it was universal. The discussions of the first age were thus reproduced in form, but they had a wider bearing. The struggle was not for independence but for dominion. The Gentile Christians no longer claimed tolerance, but supremacy. They had been established on an equality with the Jewish Church; but now, when they were on the point of becoming paramount, the spirit which had opposed St Paul was roused to its greatest activity.

Apart from heretical writings the effect of this movement may be traced under various forms in the contemporary literature. The orthodox members of the Hebrew Churches were not uninfluenced by the general movement which agitated the body to which they belonged. They were impelled to write, and their activity took a characteristic direction. As the Apologists represent the Greek element in the Church, so the Jewish is represented by the chroniclers Papias and Hegesippus. The tendency to that which is purely rational and ideal is thus contrasted with that towards the sensuous and the material¹.

In one respect however Christian literature still pre-

¹ The *Clementines* stand in a peculiar position as the embodiment of individual rather than popular opinion; and it is perhaps due to this fact that they have been preserved. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patri-*

archs are in the main orthodox in doctrine, and recognize the authority of St Paul, while they contain at the same time a very remarkable estimate of the priestly claims of Levi. See below.

Chap. ii.

How it was distinguished from the conflicts of the Apostolic age.

Its influence on Christian Literature.

The litera-

Chap. ii.

*Church however
still wholly
Greek.*

*The effect of
this.*

served the same form as in the Apostolic age. It was wholly Greek: the work of the Latin churches was as yet to be wrought in silence¹. It is the more important to notice this, because the permanent characteristics of the national literatures of Greece and Rome reappear with powerful effect in patristic writings. On the one side there is universality, freedom, large sympathy, deep feeling: on the other there is individuality, system, order, logic. The tendency of the one mind is towards truth, of the other towards law². In the end, when the object is the highest truth and the deepest law, they will achieve the same results, but the process will be different. This difference is not without its bearing on the history of the New Testament. From their very constitution Greek writers would be inclined in the first instance to witness, not to the Canon of Scripture, but to the substance of its teaching.

§ 1. *Papias*³.

*The date of
Papias.*

The first and last names of this period—Papias and of Hegesippus—belong to the early Christian chroniclers, who have been taken to represent the Judaizing party of the time. Papias, a friend of Polycarp, was Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia⁴ in the early part of the second century. According to some accounts he was a disciple of the Apostle St John⁵; but Eusebius, who was acquainted with his writings, affirms that his teacher was

¹ Of the *Greek* literature of the Italian Churches we shall speak hereafter.

² As a familiar instance of these characteristic differences we may refer to the marked distinction in form and tone between the Nicene Creed and the Latin Exposition of the Creed *Quicumque vult*; or between the Eastern and Western types of the same Creed (*Nicene Creed, Apostles' Creed*).

³ Papias has been made the sub-

ject of an exhaustive article by Dr Lightfoot: *Contemporary Review*, Aug. 1867.

⁴ This follows from Hieron. *de Virr. Ill.* 18; Papias... Hierapolitanus Episcopus *in Asia*; and also from a comparison of Euseb. *H. E.* III. 36, 39, 31.

⁵ This is maintained by Routh, *I.* p. 22, sqq. On the other hand, cf. Davidson, *Introd.* I. 425, sqq.

the Presbyter and not the Apostle; and the same conclusion appears to follow from his own language¹.

A church was formed at Hierapolis in very early times²; and it afterwards became the residence of the Apostle Philip and his daughters³, whose tomb was shewn there in the third century⁴. This fact seems to point to some close connection with the churches of Judæa; but the city was also remarkable in another respect. The Epistle of St Paul to the neighbouring church of Colossæ proves that even in the Apostolic age the characteristic extravagance of the province—the home of the Galli and Corybantes—was already manifested in the corruption of Christianity; and it is not unreasonable to attribute the extreme Chiliasm of Papias to the same influence⁵.

Chap. ii.

The character of his See.

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* III. 39. 'I used to inquire,' he says, 'when I met any who had been acquainted with the Elders, of the teaching of the Elders—what Andrew or Peter said (*ἔλεγον*)...or John or Matthew...or any other of the Lord's disciples; as what Aristion and the Elder (Presbyter) John, the Lord's disciples, say (*λέγουσιν*).' The natural interpretation of these words can only be that the Apostles—Elders in the highest sense, 1 Pet. v. 1—were already dead when Papias began his investigations, and that he distinguished two of the name of John, one an Apostle, and another the Presbyter who was alive at that time. Dr Milligan has stated very ably all that can be urged in favour of identifying the Apostle and the Presbyter (*Journ. of Sac. Lit.* Oct. 1867), but his arguments fail to convince me.

² Coloss. iv. 13. See Dr Lightfoot, *l. c.* It is said that Papias suffered martyrdom (Steph. Gobar. ap. Cave, I. 29) at Pergamum in the time of Aurelius (A.D. 164), under whom Polycarp and Justin Martyr also suf-

fered (*Chron. Alex. l. c.*); but this is more than doubtful. See Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 48, n.

His work was probably written at a late period of his life (c. 140—150), since he speaks of those who had been disciples of the Apostles as now dead. His inquiries were made some time before he wrote (*ἀνέκρινον*), and he had treasured up the tradition in his memory (*καλῶς ἐμνημόνευστα*). The necessity for such a work as his would not indeed be felt, as Rettig has well observed, till the first generation after the Apostles had passed away. Cf. Thiersch, *Versuch u. s. w.* s. 438.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* III. 31. Cf. Routh, II. 25.

⁴ Euseb. *H. E.* III. 31, on the authority of Caius.

⁵ The peculiar form which this Chiliasm took is seen best in the narrative given on the authority of 'presbyters who saw John the disciple of the Lord' by Irenæus. 'The days will come,' thus they represented the Lord teaching, 'in which vines will spring up, each having

Chap. ii.

An account
of his work.

His own de-
scription of
it.

Since he stood on the verge of the first age Papias naturally set a high value on the Evangelic traditions still current in the Church. These he preserved, as he tells us, with zeal and accuracy; and afterwards embodied them in five books, entitled 'An Exposition of Oracles of the Lord' (Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις¹). There is however no reason to suppose that he intended to compose a Gospel; and the very name of his treatise implies the contrary. The traditions which he collected do not appear to have formed the staple of his book; but they were introduced as illustrative of his explanation. 'Moreover,' he says, 'I must tell you that I shall not scruple to place side by side with my interpretations all that I ever rightly learnt from the elders and rightly remembered, solemnly affirming that it is true².'

'ten thousand stems, and on one stem
'ten thousand branches, and on each
'branch ten thousand shoots, and on
'each shoot ten thousand clusters,
'and on each cluster ten thousand
'grapes, and each grape when pressed
'shall give five and twenty measures
'of wine. And when any of the saints
'shall have taken hold of one cluster,
'another shall cry out: I am a better
'cluster, take me, through me bless
'the Lord.' ... 'These things,' Irenæus goes on to say, 'Papias also testifies in the fourth of his books, and added moreover: these things are credible to believers. And when Judas the traitor believed not, and asked *How then will such productions be brought about by the Lord?* he relates that the Lord said *They shall see who shall come to those times.*' (Iren. v. 33.) It is not difficult to see the true Evangelic element which lies at the bottom of this strange tradition.

¹ Pap. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* III. 39: οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι

ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν, κ.τ.λ. It is important to notice that the title is without the definite article, just as *Ἡράξεις ἀποστόλων*.

² In accordance with this view of Papias' book we find him mentioned with Clement, Pantæus, and Ammonius, as 'one of the ancient Interpreters (ἐξηγητῶν) who agreed to understand the Hexaemeron as referring to Christ and the Church.' (fr. ix., x.). Compare also Euseb. *H. E.* v. 8, with reference to Iren. IV. 27 and similar passages, ἐξηγήσεις αὐτοῦ [ἀποστολικοῦ τινὸς πρεσβυτέρου] θείων γραφῶν παρατίθεται.

The passage quoted by Irenæus from 'the Elders' (v. *ad f.*) may probably be taken as a specimen of his style of interpretation. '[At the time of the restoration of all things,] as the presbyters say, they who have been held worthy of life in heaven shall go thither, and others shall enjoy the indulgence of Paradise, and others shall possess the splendour of the City; for everywhere the Saviour shall be seen as

The apologetic tone of the sentence, its construction (δέ), the mention of his interpretations (αἱ ἐρμηνεῖαι), convey the idea that his reference to tradition might seem unnecessary to some, and that it was in fact only a secondary object:—in other words, they imply that there were already recognized records of the teaching of Christ which he sought to expound. For this purpose he might well go back to the Apostles themselves, and ‘make it his business to inquire what they said,’ believing ‘that the information which he could draw from ‘books was not so profitable as that which was pre-
‘served in a living tradition¹.’

Papias, in other words, claimed for himself the office of expositor and not of historian. ‘Oracles of the Lord’ are presupposed as the basis of his work, and not for the first time set forth in it. So far, therefore, from it being

‘they who see Him shall be worthy. This distinction of dwelling, they taught, exists between those who brought forth a hundred-fold, and those who brought forth sixty-fold, and those who brought forth thirty-fold (Matt. xiii. 8)...and it was for this reason the Lord said that *in His Father’s house* (ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρὸς) *are many mansions* (Join xiv. ‘2).’ Indeed, from the similar mode of introducing the story of the vine, which is afterwards referred to Papias (p. 69, note 5), it is reasonable to conjecture that this interpretation is one from Papias’ *Exposition*. The passage changes from the direct to the oblique form; but no scholar, I imagine, would doubt for a moment that the second part, where I have marked the oblique construction by introducing ‘they taught,’ is a continuation of the quotation ὡς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι λέγουσι, τότε οἱ μὲν...χωρήσουσιν, οἱ δέ...οἱ δέ...εἶναι δὲ τὴν διαστολὴν ταύτην...τῶν...καρποφορούντων ὧν οἱ μὲν...οἱ δέ...οἱ δέ...καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰρηκέναι τὸν Κύριον... I should not

have thought it necessary to call attention to this obvious point if a critic had not quoted a number of passages with διὰ τοῦτο (propter hoc) and the *indicative* to shew that this *oblique* sentence is a comment of Irenæus.

This view which I have given of the object of the work of Papias is supported with illustrations by Dr Lightfoot (*l. c.* pp. 405, 6); and it is indeed surprising that the account of it should have received any other interpretation.

‘The books’ of which Papias speaks may have been some of the strange mystical commentaries current at very early times among the Simonians and Valentinians. See Lightfoot, *l. c.* p. 407. There is not the slightest ground for supposing that he referred to our Gospels or records like them.

¹ Eusebius, *l. c.* gives some account of the traditional stories which he collected; among others he mentions that of ‘a woman accused before our Lord of many sins,’ gene-

Chap. ii.

It was expository, and not narrative.

Chap. ii.

possible to deduce from the object of Papias in undertaking the Exposition that he was unacquainted with any authoritative Evangelic records, his purpose seems to be unintelligible unless there were definite and familiar narrations which called for such illustration as could be provided. The fragments which remain can in fact be brought into a natural connection with passages of our Gospels; and a careful consideration of the exact title shews the limit of the Exposition. It made no claim to completeness. It was 'an Exposition of Oracles of the Lord' and not 'of the Oracles of the Lord'—such a summary (τὰ λόγια) as, for instance, St Matthew composed.

Papias' testimony to the Gospels.

This conclusion, which we have drawn from the apparent aim of Papias' work, is strongly confirmed by the direct testimony which he bears to our Gospels. It has been inferred already that some Gospel was current in his time; he tells us that the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark were so. Of the former he says: 'Matthew composed the oracles in Hebrew; and each one interpreted them as he was able¹.' The form of the sentence (μὲν οὖν) would seem to introduce this state-

St
MATTHEW.

rally identified with the disputed *pericope*, John vii. 53—viii. 11. It is not superfluous to observe that Eusebius does *not* say that Papias derived this narrative from the Gospel according to the Hebrews (*Supern. Rel.* i. p. 426), or that he used that Gospel at all. Indeed if Eusebius had known that Papias derived the narrative from this particular source, he would hardly have said 'a narrative which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains' (ιστορίαν... ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει). To these must be added the account of Judas (*fr.* iii. Routh).

¹ Euseb. *l. c.*: Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγρά-

ψατο· ἠρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος. It is difficult to give the full meaning of τὰ λόγια, τὰ κυριακὰ λόγια—the Gospel—the sum of the words and works of the Lord.

The sense, I believe, would be best expressed in this passage by the translation 'Matthew composed his Gospel in Hebrew,' giving to the word its necessary notion of scriptural authority. Cf. Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12; 1 Pet. iv. 11. Polyc. *ad Phil.* c. vii.; Clem. *ad Cor.* i. 19, 53.

Davidson (*Introd.* i. 65, sqq.) has reviewed the other interpretations of the word.

ment as the result of some inquiry, and it may perhaps be referred to the presbyter John; but all that needs to be particularly remarked is that when Papias wrote, the Aramaic Gospel of St Matthew was already accessible to Greek readers: the time was then past when each one was his own interpreter¹.

The account which he gives of the Gospel of St Mark is full of interest: 'This also,' he writes, 'the Elder [John] used to say. Mark, having become Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately all that he remembered'; 'though he did not [record] in order that which was either said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord, nor followed Him; but subsequently, as I said, [attached himself to] Peter, who used to frame

Chap. ii.

St MARK.

¹ It has been argued that this statement of Papias cannot be used to establish the authority of our Canonical St Matthew for two reasons: (1) Papias speaks only of a Hebrew Gospel; and (2) the description cannot apply to the present Gospel.

1. As to the first objection, it is enough to say that Eusebius, who had the full text of Papias before him, evidently understood the words to apply to the original form of our Greek Gospel; and that the long chain of writers who affirm the Hebrew original of St Matthew accept the present Greek text as apostolic without the least doubt. It is idle to conjecture how or by whom the translation or reproduction was made. That such a translation or reproduction would be almost inevitable is shewn by the experience of all writers in bilingual countries like Palestine. Comp. *Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 209, note.

2. It has been shewn that the use of τὰ λόγια for 'the Scriptures' generally is fully established; and I am not aware that λόγια can be used in the sense of λόγοι 'discourses.'

Comp. Lightfoot, *L. c.* 410 f.

The form of the sentence (ἡρμηνεύετο δέ) proves, as has been remarked above, that at the time when Papias wrote this necessity for private translation had ceased to exist. There was then, it is implied, an acknowledged representation of St Matthew's work.

² The ἐμνημόνευσεν here and ἀπεμνημόνευσεν below are ambiguous. They may mean either 'remembered' or 'related.' In the latter case the sense would be that Mark 'recorded all that Peter related.' The change of subject would be abrupt, but is not unexampled. On the other hand, Papias uses the same word μνημονεύειν elsewhere in the sense 'to remember,' where there can be no doubt as to its meaning. It is perhaps worthy of notice that in the Clementine Recognitions St Peter himself is represented as fixing by diligent effort in his own mind the words of Christ: 'In consuetudine habui verba Domini mei, quæ ab ipso audieram, revocare ad memoriam...ut evigilans ad ea et singula quæque recolens ac retexens possim memoriter retinere.' (*Recogn. ii. 1.*) See p. 70, n. 1.

Chap. ii.

*Objection
from his de-
scription of
St Mark's
Gospel.*

*Its conse-
quences.*

'his teaching to meet the [immediate] wants [of his 'hearers']; and not as making a connected narrative of 'the Lord's discourses. So Mark committed no error, 'as he wrote down some particulars just as he recalled 'them to mind. For he took heed to one thing—to 'omit none of the facts that he heard, and to state 'nothing falsely in [his narrative of] them¹.'

It has however been argued that the Gospel here described cannot be the Canonical Gospel of St Mark, since that shews at least as clear an order as the other Gospels. On this hypothesis we must seek for the original record of which John spoke in 'the Preaching of Peter' (κῆρυγμα Πέτρου) or some similar work². In short, we must suppose that two different books were current under the same name in the times of Papias and Irenæus—that in the interval, which was less than fifty years, the older document had passed entirely into oblivion, or at least wholly lost its first title—that this substitution of the one book for the other was so secret that there is not the slightest trace of the time, the motive, the mode, of its accomplishment, and so complete that Irenæus, Clement, Origen, and Eusebius, applied to the later Gospel what was really only true of that which it had replaced³. And all this must be

¹ Euseb. *I. c.* : καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε· Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ. ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας ἐποιοῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν Κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤμαρτε Μάρκος οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν· ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν ἢ

ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Burton and Heinichen rightly read λόγων, for which Routh has λογίων. I do not think that λογίων could stand in such a sense. As the word occurs again directly, and was used in the title of Papias' book, the error was natural.

² Schwegler, *I. c.* 458 ff.; Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 538 f.

³ Iren. *III. i. 1*; Clem. Alex. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14; Orig. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25; Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 15.

believed, because it is assumed that John could not have spoken of our present Gospel as not arranged 'in order.' But it would surely be far more reasonable to conclude that he was mistaken in his criticism than to admit an explanation burdened with such a series of improbabilities¹. There is however another solution of the difficulty which seems preferable. The Gospel of St Mark is not a complete Life of Christ, but simply a memoir of 'some events' in it. It is not a chronological biography, but simply a collection of facts which seemed suited to the wants of a particular audience. St Mark had no personal acquaintance with the events which he recorded to enable him to place them in their natural order, but was wholly dependent on St Peter; and the special object of the Apostle excluded the idea of a complete narrative. The sequence observed in his teaching was moral, and not historical. That the arrangement of the other Synoptic Evangelists very nearly coincides with that of St Mark is nothing to the point: John does not say that it was otherwise. He merely shews, from the circumstances under which St Mark wrote, that his Gospel was necessarily neither chronological nor complete; and under similar conditions—as in the case of St Matthew²—it is reasonable to look for a like result³.

Chap. ii.

*How we
must under-
stand his
words.*

¹ Cf. Davidson, *Introd.* i. 158 sq., who supposes that John was 'mis-taken in his opinion.'

² Euseb. *H. E.* III. 24: Ματθαῖος μὲν γὰρ πρότερον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὡς ἐμελλεν καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἵνα, παρὶφ γλώττη γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λείπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ τούτοις ἀφ' ὧν ἐστέλλετο διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου. The written Gospel was the sum of the oral Gospel. The oral Gospel was

not, as far as we can see, a Life of Christ, but a selection of representative events from it, suited in its great outlines to the general wants of the Church, and adapted by the several Apostles to the peculiar requirements of their special audiences —ἐνια, οὐ τᾶξει, πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας [τῶν ἀκούοντων.] *H. E.* III. 39.

³ No conclusion can be drawn from Eusebius' silence as to express testimonies of Papias to the Gospel of

Chap. ii.

*His
testimony to
St JOHN'S
Gospel.
1 JOHN.
1 PETER.
APOCA-
LYPSE.*

In addition to the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark, Papias appears to have been acquainted with the Gospel of St John¹. Eusebius also says explicitly that he quoted 'the former Epistle of John, and that of Peter likewise².' He maintained moreover 'the divine inspiration' of the Apocalypse, and commented at least upon part of it³.

St John. Compare Lightfoot, *Colossians*, Pref. pp. 50 ff.; and see note at the end of the chapter.

¹ In an argument prefixed to a Vatican MS. of the Gospel of St John (ixth cent.) the following passage occurs: 'Evangelium Johannis manifestatum et datum est ecclesiis ab Johanne adhuc in corpore constituto; sicut Papias nomine Hierapolitanus, discipulus Johannis carus, in exotericis, id est in extremis quinque libris retulit. Descripsit vero evangelium dictante Johanne recte. Verum Martion hæreticus, cum ab eo fuisset improbatus, abjectus est ab Johanne. Is vero scripta vel epistolas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus qui in Ponto fuerunt.' The text of the fragment is evidently corrupt, and it seems to have been made up of fragments imperfectly put together. But the main fact seems certainly to be based on direct knowledge of Papias' book which is rightly described (in...quinque libris). The general tenor of the account is like that given in the Muratorian Canon. Marcion, it will be remembered, was met by Polycarp (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 14), who, like Papias, belonged to 'the School of St John.' The fact that Eusebius omits this statement about St John's Gospel must be taken in connexion with the other fact that he omits to notice the use which Papias made of the Apocalypse. The difficulty is the same in both cases. There is also an allusion to the Gospel of St John in the quotation from the 'Elders'

found in Irenæus (Lib. v. *ad f.*), which may have been taken from Papias (fr. v. Routh, et nott.). Comp. p. 70, n. 2.

The Latin passage containing a reference to the Gospel which is published as a fragment of 'Papias' by Grabe and Routh (fr. xi.) is taken from the 'Dictionary' of a mediæval Papias quoted by Grabe upon the passage, and not from the present Papias. The 'Dictionary' exists in MS. both at Oxford and Cambridge. I am indebted to the kindness of a friend for this explanation of what seemed to be a strange forgery.

² Euseb. *H. E.* III. 39: *κέχηρηται μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως*. The language of Eusebius is remarkable: *ἡ Ἰωάννου προτέρα*, and *ἡ Πέτρου*—not *ἡ Ἰωάννου πρώτη* and *ἡ Πέτρου προτέρα*, as in *H. E.* v. 8. Can he be quoting the titles which Papias gave to them? In the fragment on the Canon (see below, § 12) *two* Epistles only of St John are mentioned; and the very remarkable Latin MS. of the Epistles B. M. *Harl.* 1772, has in the first hand *Petri Epistola*, as the heading of the *First* Epistle, and no heading to the *Second* Epistle; but the capriciousness of the scribe in this respect makes the significance of the omission uncertain.

³ *περὶ τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς βίβλου ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Βασίλειος καὶ...καὶ Παπίας καὶ...ἐχέγγνοι πιστώσασθαι*. Andreas, *Proleg. in Apoc.* (fr. viii, Routh.)

There is however one great chasm in his testimony. Though he was the friend of Polycarp, there is no direct evidence that he used any of the Pauline writings. It may be an accident that he omits all these—the Epistles of St Paul, the Gospel of St Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles¹—and these alone of the acknowledged books of the New Testament. But the cause of the omission must perhaps be sought for deeper than this; and if the explanation offered be true, it will then be seen that the limited range of his evidence gives it an additional reality².

As we gain a clearer and fuller view of the Apostolic age it becomes evident that the fusion between the Gentile and Judaizing Christians was far less perfect than we are at first inclined to suppose. Both classes indeed were essentially united by sharing in a common spiritual life, but the outward barriers which separated them had not yet been removed. The elder Apostles gave to Barnabas and Paul the right hand of fellowship, but at the same time they defined the limits of their teaching³. This division of missionary labour was no compromise, but a gracious accommodation to the needs of the time. As Christianity was apprehended more thoroughly the

Chap. ii.

But he makes no mention of the writings of St PAUL or St LUKE.

The distinction between the Jewish and Gentile Churches in the Apostolic age

A quotation from Papias occurs in Cramer's *Catena in Apoc.* xii. 9 (VIII. p. 360). τοῦτο καὶ πατέρων παράδοσις καὶ Παπίου διαδόχου τοῦ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, οὗ καὶ ἡ προκειμένη ἀποκάλυψις, διαβεβαίωτο.

¹ In his account of the fate of Judas Iscariot (Fragm. iii.) there is a remarkable divergence from the narrative in Matt. xxvii. 5 and Acts i. 18. But there is no sufficient reason to suppose that he confounded Philip the Deacon with the Apostle of the same name. Dr Lightfoot notices some slight indications of Papias' use of the writings of St Luke (*l. c.* p. 415), but I do not think that much

stress can be laid on them. Indeed the textual phenomena of the Gospel of St Luke and the Acts, which point to two distinct and early recensions, are best explained by the supposition that these writings had a limited circulation at first about two distinct centres, as, for example, Antioch and Alexandria.

² I feel now less certain than before as to the neglect of the Pauline writings by Papias. The absence of reference to the Epistles of St Paul can be easily explained otherwise. Comp. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 51 ff. [1874]

³ Gal. ii. 7—9.

Chap. ii.

to be looked
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the next.

Papias was
the represen-
tative of the
Jewish
Church.

The value
of his evi-
dence on this
account.

causes which necessitated the distinction lost their force ; but the change was neither sudden nor abrupt. It would have been contrary to reason and analogy if differences recognized by the Apostles and based on national characteristics had either wholly disappeared at their death or had been at once magnified into schisms. If this were implied in the few but precious memorials of the first age, then it might well be suspected that they gave an unfaithful picture of the time ; but on the contrary, just in proportion as we can trace in them each separate principle which existed from the first must it be felt that there is a truth and reality in the progress of the Church by which all the conditions of its development suggested by reason or experience are satisfied.

It is in this way that the partial testimony of Papias furnishes a characteristic link in the history of Christianity. As far as can be conjectured from the scanty notices of his life, he was probably of Jewish descent, and constitutionally inclined to Judaizing views¹. In such a man any positive reference to the teaching of St Paul was not to be expected. He could not condemn him, for he had been welcomed by the other Apostles as their fellow-labourer, and Polycarp had early rejoiced to recognize his claims : he could not feel bound to witness to his authority, for his sympathies were with 'the circumcision,' to whom St Paul was not sent². He stands as the representative of 'the Twelve,' and witnesses to every book which the next generation com-

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* III. 36 : ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα διὰ μάλιστα λογιώτατος (*in all respects of the greatest erudition*) καὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰδήμων. This disputed clause is quite consistent with what Eusebius says elsewhere (III. 39) : σφόδρα γὰρ τοι σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηράμε-

νον εἰπεῖν, [ὁ Πάππας] φάσκει. The recent addition, however, of a very ancient Syriac version to the authorities which omit the clause, turns the balance of evidence against its genuineness. Lightfoot, *l. c.* 408 n.

² Gal. ii. 9.

monly received in their name. His testimony is partial; but its very imperfection is not only capable of an exact explanation, but is also in itself a proof that the Christianity of the second age was a faithful reflexion of the teaching of the Apostles¹. In his case even partiality did not degenerate into exclusiveness. The force of this distinction will be obvious from a memorable contrast. For the converse of the judgment of Papias was already formed by his contemporary Marcion, but with this difference, that while Papias passed in silence over the Pauline writings Marcion definitely excluded all except these from his Christian Canon².

§ 2. *The Elders quoted by Irenæus.*

Papias is not however the only representative of those who had been taught by the immediate disciples of the Apostles. Irenæus has preserved some anonymous fragments of the teaching of others who occupied the same position as the Bishop of Hierapolis; and the few sentences thus quoted contain numerous testimonies to books of the New Testament, and fill up that which is left wanting by his evidence³. Thus 'the elders, disci-

The evidence of the second generation after the Apostles not confined to Papias.

His testimony is

¹ In speaking of Papias as the first Chronicler of the Church, it would perhaps have been right to except the authors of the 'Martyrdom of Ignatius.' The substance at least of the narrative seems an authentic memorial of the time. The mention of 'the Apostle Paul' (c. ii.) by Ignatius admirably accords with his character; and the whole scene before Trajan could scarcely have been invented at a later time. The history contains coincidences of language with the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans (c. iii.), 1 and 2 Corinthians (c. ii.), Galatians (c. ii.), and 1 Timothy (c. iv.). At the close of the

first chapter there is also a remarkable similarity of metaphor with 2 Pet. i. 19. But the parallelism between many parts of the narrative with the Acts is still more worthy of notice, because, from the nature of the case, references to that book are comparatively rare in early writings. See especially chapp. iv., v.

² See chap. iv.

³ They have been collected by Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, i. 47 sqq. Eusebius notices the quotations, but did not know their source (*H. E.* v. 8). It is clear that Irenæus appeals to several authorities; and it appears also that he quoted traditions as well

Chap. ii.

completed
by that of
other
'Elders.'

'ples of the Apostles,' as he tells us, speak of 'Paradise, 'to which the Apostle Paul was carried, and there heard 'words unutterable to us in our present state' (2 Cor. xii. 4)¹. In another place he records the substance of that which he had heard 'from an Elder who had heard 'those who had seen the Apostles and had learnt from 'them,' to the effect that 'the correction drawn from the 'Scriptures was sufficient for the ancients in those mat- 'ters which they did without the counsel of the Spirit.' In the course of the argument, after instances from the Old Testament, the Elder alludes to 'the Queen of the 'South' (Matt. xii. 42), the Parable of the Talents (Matt. xxv. 27), the fate of the traitor (Matt. xxvi. 24), the judgment of unbelievers (Matt. x. 15); and also makes use of the Epistles to the Romans (as St Paul's), to the Corinthians (the First by name), and to the Ephesians, and probably to the First Epistle of St Peter². In another place an Elder appears to allude to the Gospels of St Matthew and St John³.

Thus each great division of the New Testament is again found to be recognised in the simultaneous teach-

Thus this
generation
also wit-

as writings: e.g. IV. 27 (45), *Audivi* a quodam Presbytero, &c. IV. 31 (49), Talia quædam enarrans de antiquis Presbyter reficiebat nos et dicebat, &c. The other forms of quotation are: ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ἡμῶν εἴρηται (I. Pref. 2)—ὁ κρείσσων (sic) ἡμῶν ἔφη (I. 13. 3)—quidam dixit superior nobis (III. 17. 4)—ex veteribus quidam ait (III. 23. 3)—senior Apostolorum discipulus disputabat (IV. 32. 1)—λέγουσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Ἀποστόλων μαθηταί (V. 5. 1)—ἔφη τις τῶν προβεβηκότων (V. 17. 4)—quidam ante nos dixit (IV. 41. 2)—ὁ θεῖος πρεσβύτερος καὶ κήρυξ τῆς ἀληθείας... ἐπιβεβόηκε...ελπίων (I. 15. 6). The last precedes some Iambic lines against Marcus: cf. Grabe, *in loc.*

¹ Iren. v. 5. 1; Fr. vii. (Routh).

² Iren. IV. 27 (45); Fr. v. (Routh). The oblique construction of the whole paragraph proves that Irenæus is giving accurately at least the general tenor of the Elder's statement; and the quotations form a necessary part of it, and cannot have been added for illustration. *E.g.* Non debemus ergo, inquit ille Senior, superbi esse ...sed ipsi timere...et ideo Paulum dixisse: *Si enim naturalibus ramis,* &c. (Rom. xi. 20, 21).

³ Iren. IV. 31 (49); Fr. vi. (Routh). The reference to St Matthew (xi. 19) is remarkable from being introduced by 'Inquit;' that to St John (viii. 56) is more uncertain. See also p. 70, n. 2.

ing of the Church. We have already traced in the disciples of the Apostles the existence of the characteristic peculiarities by which they were themselves marked ; and we can now see that their writings still remained in the next generation to witness at once to the different forms and essential harmony of their teaching. Polycarp, who united by his life two great ages of the Church, reconciles in his own person the followers of St James and St Paul : he was the friend of Papias as well as the teacher of Irenæus¹.

§ 3. *The Evangelists in the reign of Trajan.*

Hitherto Christianity has been viewed in its inward construction : now it will be regarded in its outward conflicts. It is no longer 'a work for silence, but for 'might.' Truth was not only to be strengthened, consolidated, developed to its full proportions : it was charged to conquer the world. The preparation for the accomplishment of this charge was the work of the Apologists.

Before we consider their writings it is very worthy of notice that Eusebius introduces the mention of New Testament Scriptures into the striking description which he gives of the zeal of the first Christian missionaries. 'They discharged the work of Evangelists,' he says, speaking of the time of Trajan, 'zealously striving to 'preach Christ to those who were still wholly ignorant 'of Christianity (ὁ τῆς πίστεως λόγος), and to deliver to 'them the Scripture of the divine Gospels' (τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων παραδιδόναι γραφήν²). The statement may not be in itself convincing as an argument ; but it

Chap. ii.

nesses to
each great
division of
the New
Testament.

The change
in our point
of sight.

The early
Evangelists
said to have
circulated
written
Gospels.
A.D. 58—
117.

¹ Compare Lightfoot, *l. c.* pp. 409 f.

² Euseb. *H. E.* III. 37.

Chap. ii.

Thus Pantænus found the Gospel of St Matthew among some of the Indians, c. A.D. 180.

falls in with other traditions which affirm that the preaching of Christianity was even in the earliest times accompanied by the circulation of written Gospels; for these were at once the sum of the Apostolic message—the oral Gospel—and its representative¹. Thus in the other glimpse which Eusebius gives of the labours of Evangelists—‘men inspired with godly zeal to copy the pattern of the Apostles’—the written Word again appears. Pantænus towards the end of the second century penetrated ‘even to the Indians; and there it is said that ‘he found that the Gospel according to Matthew had ‘anticipated his arrival among some there who were ‘acquainted with Christ, to whom Bartholomew, one of ‘the Apostles, had preached, and given on his departure ‘(καταλείψαι) the writing of Matthew in Hebrew letters’... The whole picture may not be original; but the several parts harmonize exactly together, and the general effect is that of reality and truth.

§ 4. *The Athenian Apologists.*

The place and occasion of the first Apology.

At the very time when the first Evangelists were extending the knowledge of Christianity, the earliest Apologists were busy in confirming its authority³. While Asia and Rome had each their proper task to do in the building of the Church, it was reserved for the countrymen of Socrates to undertake in the first instance the

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* III. 24 : Ματθαῖος ... Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας... τὸ λέγων τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ τοῦτοις ἀφ’ ὧν ἐστὲλ- λητο διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου. The traditions of the origin of the Gospels of St Mark and St Luke point to the same fact. See *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, pp. 167 ff.

chen, *in loc.* and Add. Pantænus was at the head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria in the time of Commodus (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 9, 10); and his journey to India probably preceded his appointment to that office.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* III. 37.

² Euseb. *H. E.* v. 10. Cf. Heini-

formal defence of its claims before the rulers of the world. The occasion of this new work arose out of the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries—those immemorial rites which seem to have contained all that was deepest and truest in the old religion. During his first stay at Athens, Hadrian suffered himself to be initiated; and probably because the Emperor was thus pledged to the support of the national faith, the enemies of the Christians set on foot a persecution against them. On this, or perhaps rather on his second visit to the city, Quadratus, ‘a disciple of the Apostles¹,’ offered to him his Apology, which is said to have procured the well-known rescript to Minucius in favour of the Christians².

This Apology of Quadratus was generally current in the time of Eusebius, who himself possessed a copy of it; ‘and one may see in it,’ he says, ‘clear proofs both ‘of the intellect of the man and of his apostolic orthodoxy³.’ The single passage which he has preserved shews that Quadratus insisted rightly on the historic worth of Christianity. ‘The works of our Saviour,’ he argues, ‘were ever present; for they were real: being ‘the men who were healed: the men who were raised

Chap. ii.

A.D. 123—
126.

C. A.D. 130.

The character of the Apology of Quadratus.

¹ Hieron. *de Virr.* III. 19. It is disputed whether the *Apologist* was identical with the *Bishop* of the same name, who is said to have ‘brought ‘the Christians of Athens again together who had been scattered by ‘persecution, and to have rekindled ‘their faith’ (Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 23). The narrative of Eusebius leaves the matter in uncertainty, but they were probably different. (Cf. *H. E.* III. 37; IV. 3, with IV. 23.) Jerome identifies them (*l. c.*; *Ep. ad Magn.* LXX. § 4), and Cave supports his view (*Hist. Litt.* I. an. 123). Cf. Routh, *Rel. Sacrae*, I. 72 sq.

² Cf. Routh, *l. c.* The details of the history are very obscure. If Jerome

(*Ep. ad Magn. l. c.*) speaks with strict accuracy when he says ‘Quadratus ...Adriano principi *Eleusine sacra invisenti* librum pro nostra religione tradidit,’ the *Apology* must be placed at the time of Hadrian’s first visit; otherwise it seems more likely that it should be referred to the second. Pearson (ap. Routh, p. 78) fixes the date on the authority of Eusebius (?) at 127. The rescript to Minucius is found in Just. *Ap.* I. lxviii. *ad f.* Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 9.

³ *H. E.* IV. 3: ἐξ οὗ [συγγραμματος] κατιδεῖν ἐστὶ λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια τῆς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίας καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὁρθοτομίας.

Chap. ii.

‘from the dead: who were not only seen at the moment when the miracles were wrought, but also [were seen continually like other men] being ever present; and that not only while the Saviour sojourned on earth, but also after his departure for a considerable time, so that some of them survived even to our times¹.’

*The Apology
of Aristides.*

A second ‘Apology for the Faith,’—‘a rationale of Christian doctrine’—was addressed to Hadrian by Aristides, ‘a man of the greatest eloquence,’ who likewise was an Athenian, and probably wrote on the same occasion as Quadratus². Eusebius and Jerome speak of the book as still current in their time, but they do not appear to have read it. Jerome however adds that ‘in the opinion of scholars it was a proof of the writer’s ability;’ and this falls in with what he elsewhere says of its character, that it was constructed out of philosophic elements³. Aristides in fact, like Justin, was a philosopher; and did not lay aside his former dress when he became a Christian⁴.

*Both witness
to the Catho-
lic doctrine.*

Nothing, it will be seen, can be drawn directly from

¹ The original cannot be quoted too often: Τοῦ δὲ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὰ ἔργα αἰὲ παρῆν· ἀληθὴ γὰρ ἦν· οἱ θεραπευθέντες· οἱ ἀναστάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν· οἱ οὐκ ὥφθησαν μόνον θεραπεύμενοι καὶ ἀνιστάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰὲ παρόντες· οὐδ’ ἐπιδημοῦντος μόνον τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντος ἦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἱκανόν, ὥστε καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 3). The repetition of ὁ Σωτὴρ absolutely is remarkable; in the New Testament and in the Apostolic Fathers it occurs only as a title. The usage of Quadratus clearly belongs to a later date. It appears again in the Letter to Diognetus (c. ix.), and very frequently in the fragment on the Resurrection appended to Justin’s works (cc. ii., iv., v., &c.).

² Hieron. *de Virr.* iii. 19: Volu-
men nostri dogmatis rationem continens. *Fragm. Martyrol.*, ap. Routh, p. 76: Aristides philosophus, vir eloquentissimus.....If there were sufficient reason for the supposition that Quadratus himself suffered martyrdom in the time of Hadrian, the *Apology* of Aristides might be supposed to have been called forth at that time.

³ Hieron. *l. c.*: Apud philologos ingenii ejus indicium est. *Ep. ad Magn.* lxx. § 4: Apologeticum pro Christianis obtulit contextum philosophorum sententiis, quem imitatus postea Justinus, et ipse philosophus.

⁴ Hieron. *l. c.* Dorner (i. 180) says the same of Quadratus, but I cannot tell on what authority. Probably the names were interchanged.

these scanty notices in support of the Canon; but the position of the men gives importance even to the most general views of their doctrine. They represent the teaching of Gentile¹ Christendom in their generation, and witness to its soundness. Quadratus is said to have been eminently conspicuous for the gift of prophecy²; and yet he appealed with marked emphasis, not to any subjective evidence, but to the reality of Christ's works. Aristides investigated Christianity in the spirit of a philosopher; and yet he was as conspicuous for faith as for wisdom³. Their works were not only able, but in the opinion of competent judges they were orthodox.

Chap. ii.

§ 5. *The Letter to Diognetus.*

In addition to the meagre fragments just reviewed, one short work—the so-called Letter to Diognetus—has been preserved entire, or nearly so, to witness to the character of the earliest apologetic literature⁴. It differs however from the Apologies in this, that it was written in the first instance to satisfy an inquirer, not to conciliate an enemy. It is anonymous, resembling in form a speech much more than a letter, and there are no adequate means of determining its authorship. For a long time it was attributed to Justin Martyr; but it is equally alien in thought and style from his acknow-

*The Letter to
Diognetus.**Not written
by Justin,
but*

¹ Yet Grabe's conjecture that the rule attributed to Quadratus in a Martyrology, ut nulla esca a Christianis repudiaretur quæ rationalis et humana est, was assigned to him by error, seems very plausible. Cf. Routh, I. p. 79.

² Euseb. *H. E.* III. 37; v. 17.

³ Hieron. *ad Magn. l. c.*: Fide vir sapientiaque admirabilis. Another very remarkable testimony to the

character of his teaching is found in the *Martyrolog. Rom.* (ap. Routh, p. 80): Quod Christus Jesus solus esset Deus præsentē ipso Imperatore luculentissime peroravit.

⁴ Like the Epistles of Clement it is at present found only in one ancient MS. Cf. Otto, *Just. Mart.* II., *Proleg.* xiv. xx. sqq. Stephens may have had access to another.

Chap. ii.

purely
Greek.

The letter
consists of
two parts.

ledged writings; and the mainstay of such a hypothesis seems to be the pardonable desire not to leave a gem so precious without an owner¹. Other names have been suggested; but in the absence of external evidence they serve only to express the character of the Essay. It is eloquent, but that is no sure sign that it was written by Apollos. It is opposed to Judaism, but that is no proof that it proceeded from Marcion². It may be the work of Quadratus³ or Aristides; but it is enough that we can regard it as the natural outpouring of a Greek heart holding converse with a Greek mind in the language of old philosophers⁴.

The question of the authorship of the Letter being

¹ The evidence on which we conclude that it cannot be Justin's is briefly this: (1) It is contained in no catalogue of his writings. (2) Justin's style is cumbrous, involved, and careless; while that of the Letter to Diognetus is simple, vigorous, and classical. (3) Justin regards idolatry, Judaism, even Christianity itself, from a different point of view. Idols, according to him, were really tenanted by spiritual powers (*Apol.* i. xii.), and were not mere stocks or stones (*ad Diogn.* ii.): the Mosaic Law was a fitting preparation for the Gospel (*Dial. c. Tr.* xliii.), and not an arbitrary system (*ad Diogn.* iv.): Christianity was the completion of that which was begun in men's hearts by the seminal word (*Ap.* ii. xiii.), so that they were not even in appearance left uncared for by God before Christ came (*ad Diogn.* viii.). The second ground is in itself decisive; the doctrinal differences can be more or less smoothed down by the comparison of other passages of Justin: e.g. *Ap.* i. ix.; *Dial. c. Tr.* xli. *ad fin.*

² Lumper (ap. Möhler, 165) and Gallandi (ap. Hefele, lxxix.) suggest Apollos. Bunsen in his *Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, I. 103 ff. publishes the

first part as 'the lost early letter of Marcion,' but brings forward no satisfactory arguments in support of his opinion.

³ Cf. Dorner, I. 178 *anm.*

⁴ Doubts have been raised, wholly groundless, as I believe, to the authenticity of the first fragment or of the two fragments which form the letter. Dr Donaldson, after enumerating several difficulties and curious facts, says: '[These] ... led me to suspect that the epistle to Diognetus might possibly be the production of H. Stephanus himself... [But]...one should be cautious in attributing a forgery to any one. I am inclined to think it more likely that some...Greeks...may have written the treatise...But there is no sound basis for any theory with regard to this remarkable production.' (*Hist. of Christian Liter.* II. p. 142.) This guarded statement becomes in the hands of a controversialist the following: 'Donaldson considers it either a forgery by H. Stephanus, the first editor, or by Greeks who came over to Italy when Constantine was threatened by the Turks.' (*Supernat. Rel.* II. 39, n. 3.)

thus left in uncertainty, that of its integrity still remains. As it stands at present it consists of two parts (cc. i.—x.; xi., xii.) connected by no close coherence; and at the end of the first the manuscript marks the occurrence of a ‘chasm¹.’ The separation thus pointed out is fully established by internal evidence. The first part—the true Letter to Diognetus—is everywhere marked by the characteristics of Greece; the second by those of Alexandria. The one, so to speak, sets forth truth ‘rationally,’ and the other ‘mystically.’ The centre of the one is faith: of the other knowledge. The different manner in which they treat the ancient Covenant illustrates their mutual relation. The Mosaic institutions—sabbaths and circumcision and fasts—are at once set aside in the Letter to Diognetus as palpably ridiculous and worthless. In the concluding fragment, on the contrary, ‘the fear of the law and the ‘grace of the prophets’ are united with ‘the faith of ‘the Gospels and the tradition of the Apostles’ as contributing to the wealth of the Church².

Chap. ii.

Their characteristics.

Indications of the date of the writings are not wholly wanting. The address to Diognetus was composed after the faith of Christians had been tried by wide-spread

The date of the Letter to Diognetus.

¹ Cf. Otto, II. p. 201, n. The words are: *καὶ ὥδε ἐγκοπὴν εἶχε τὸ ἀντίγραφον.*

² It is always impossible to convey by words any notion of the variations in tone and language and manner which are instinctively felt in comparing two cognate but separate books; and yet the distinction between the two parts of the ‘Letter to Diognetus’ seems to me to be shewn clearly by these subtle, but most real differences. In addition to this the argument is completed at the end of c. x. according to the plan laid down in c. i.; and the close

of c. xi. seems to imply a different motive for writing. On the other hand it is quite wrong to insist on the fact that ‘the second fragment addresses not one but many,’ for the singular is used as often as the plural (c. xi.: *ἦν χάριν μὴ λυπῶν ἐπιγνώση.* c. xii.: *ἦτω σοὶ καρδία γνῶσις.*)

There may have been a formal conclusion after c. x., but even now the termination is not more abrupt than that to Justin’s first Apology, and it expresses the same motive—a regard to future judgment (c. x. *ad fin.*); Just. *Ap.* i. lxviii. In c. vii. there is a lacuna. Cf. next note.

Chap. ii.

c. 117 A.D.

The date
of the con-
cluding
fragment
somewhat
later.

persecution, which had not even at that time passed over¹; and on the other hand a lively faith in Christ's speedy Presence (*παρουσία*) still lingered in the Church². The first condition can hardly be satisfied before the reign of Trajan; and the second forbids us to bring the letter down to a much later time. In full accordance with this, Christianity is spoken of as some thing 'recent;' Christians are a 'new class;' the Saviour has been only 'now' set forth³.

The concluding fragment is more recent, but still, I believe, not later than the first half of the second century. The greater maturity of style and the definite reference to St Paul can be explained by the well-known activity of religious thought and the early advancement of Christian literature at Alexandria⁴. And everything else in the writing betokens an early date. The author speaks of himself as 'a disciple of Apostles and a teacher of Gentiles⁵. The Church, as he describes it, was still in its

¹ c. vii.: [οὐχ ὁρᾶς] παραβαλλομένους θηρίοις... It is impossible to read the words without thinking of the martyrdom of Ignatius, which indeed may have suggested them.

Just before παραβαλλομένους there is a lacuna: οὐχ ὁρᾶς is introduced from the next sentence. The MS. has the note: οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ εὗρον ἐγκοπὴν παλαιστάτου ὄντος (Otto, II. p. 184, n.). It is quite unnecessary to alter the last words as Otto wishes. Cf. Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* § 710 c.

² c. vii.: ταῦτα τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ δείγματα. The word, which is almost universally spread through the writings of the N. T., does not occur in this sense in the Apostolic Fathers. Justin speaks of the second παρουσία without alluding to its approach: *Dial. c. Tr.* cc. xxxi., xxxii.

³ cc. i., ii., ix. This argument is

of weight when connected with the others, though not so independently. Our view of the date of the Letter is not inconsistent with the belief that it was addressed to Diognetus the tutor of Marcus Aurelius. That prince openly adopted the dress and doctrines of the Stoics when twelve years old (133 A. D.); and if we place the Epistle at the close of the reign of Trajan (c. 117 A.D.) there is no difficulty in reconciling the dates.

⁴ c. cxii.: ὁ ἀπόστολος. The antagonism between the Serpent (ἡδονή) and Eve (αἰσθησις) was commented on by Philo, *Leg. Alleg.* II. §§ 18 sqq. Τὴν ὀφιομάχον οὖν γνώμην ἀντίταττε καὶ κάλλιστον ἀγῶνα τοῦτον διὰ θλησιν...κατὰ τῆς τοῦς ἄλλους ἀπαντας νικώσης ἡδονῆς... (§ 26). Cf. Just. M. *Dial.* ch. c., and Otto *in loc.*

⁵ c. xi. *init.*

first stage¹. The sense of personal intercourse with the Word was fresh and deep. Revelation was not then wholly a thing of the Past².

In one respect the two parts of the book are united, inasmuch as they both exhibit a combination of the teaching of St Paul and St John. The love of God, it is said in the Letter to Diognetus, is the source of love in the Christian; who must needs 'love God who thus first loved him' (*προαγαπήσαντα*), and find an expression for this love by loving his neighbour, whereby he will be 'an imitator of God.' 'For God loved men, for 'whose sakes He made the world, to whom He subjected all things that are in the earth,...unto whom' (*πρός*) He sent His only-begotten Son, to whom He 'promised the kingdom in heaven (*τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλείαν*), and will give it to those who love Him:' God's will is mercy; 'He sent His Son as wishing to save' (*ὥς σῶζων*)...and not to condemn;' and as witnesses of this 'Christians dwell in the world, though they are not 'of the world³. So in the Conclusion we read that 'the 'Word Who was from the beginning,...at His appearance, speaking boldly, manifested the mysteries of the

Both parts shew a combination of the doctrine of St Paul and of St John.

¹ c. xii. *ad fin.* ...σωτήριον δεικνύται καὶ ἀπόστολοι συνερίζονται, καὶ τὸ κυρίου πάσχα προέρχεται, καὶ κλήροι συνάγονται, καὶ μετὰ κόσμου ἀρμόζονται, καὶ διδάσκων ἀγίων ὁ Λόγος ἐμφαίνεται, δι' οὗ Πατὴρ δοξάζεται. I have adopted the admirable emendation *κλήροι* (1 Pet. v. 3) for *κηροί*, printed by Bunsen (*Hipp.* I. p. 192), though in p. 188 he seems to read *καιροί*. It does not appear on what authority Otto says *Designantur cerei quibus Christiani potissimum tempore paschali utebantur*; if it were so, *κηροί συνάγονται* would still be a marvellous expression. Cf. Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* II. 461 sq. The phrase *παράδοσις ἀποστόλων φυλάσσεται* (c. xi.) is of no weight on the other side. Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 15; iii. 6; 1 Cor. xi. 2.

² The phrase already quoted (last note), 'the Lord's passover advances,' seems to point to the early Paschal controversy. If a special date must be fixed, I should be inclined to suggest some time between 140—150.

³ c. x., vii., vi. Cf. 1 John iv. 19, 11; Eph. v. 1; John iii. 17; [James i. 12;] John xvii. 11, 16. I cannot call to mind a parallel to the phrase *ἡ ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλεία*, which is very different from 'the kingdom' or 'the kingdom of heaven.'

Chap. ii.

‘Father to those who were judged faithful by Him’¹. And those again to whom the Word speaks ‘from love ‘of that which is revealed to them’ share their knowledge with others. And this is the true knowledge which is inseparable from life; and not that false knowledge of which the Apostle says, *knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth*².

How far the Synoptic Gospels are recognized in the Letter to Diognetus.

The presence of the teaching of St John is here placed beyond all doubt³. There are however no direct references to the Gospels throughout the Letter, nor indeed any allusions to our Lord’s discourses; and with regard to the Synoptic Evangelists, it is more difficult to trace the marks of their use. From time to time the writer to Diognetus appears to shew familiarity with their language; but this is all⁴.

Other references to the New Testament in the Letter to Diognetus; and

The influence of the other parts of the New Testament on the Letter is clearer. In the first part the presence of St Paul is even more discernible than that of St John. In addition to Pauline words and phrases⁵,

¹ c. xi. οὐ χάριν ἀπέστειλε λόγον ἵνα κόσμῳ φανῇ· ὃς ὑπὸ λαοῦ ἀτιμασθéis, διὰ ἀποστόλων κηρυχθείς, ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν ἐπιστεύθη. οὗτος ὁ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανείς..... And a little before οἱ ἐφάνέρωσαν ὁ λόγος φανείς, παρρησία λαλῶν... οἱ πιστοὶ λογισθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐγνώσαν πατρὸς μυστήρια. The exact phrase παρρησία λαλεῖν is peculiar to St John among the writers of the New Testament with the exception of Mark viii. 32.

² cc. xi., xii. Cf. John i. 1, 18; 1 Cor. viii. 1. Ἐξ ἀγάπης τῶν ἀποκαλυφθέντων is a very note-worthy expression.

³ I am unable to modify this conclusion after considering what has been urged against it (*Supernat. Rel.* ii. pp. 357—370). Indeed I can only wonder that a writer who states that ‘the Epistles of Paul chiefly

‘[including apparently Colossians ‘and Titus], together with the other ‘canonical Epistles [including Hebrews, James], are the sources of the ‘writer’s inspiration’ (p. 359), should think it worth while to dispute ‘the ‘presence of St John’s teaching,’ or, as has been said in a former page, ‘a combination of the teaching of St ‘Paul and St John’ in this letter.

⁴ Compare Matt. vi. 25—31; xix. 17, with cc. ix., viii.; and also Matt. v. 44; xix. 26, with cc. vi., ix.

⁵ The following phrases may be noticed: ἀποδέχομαι τινά τινος (Acts)—τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως—τὸ τῆς θεοσεβείας μυστήριον—οἰκονομίαν πιστεῦσθαι—τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργός (Ep. to Hebr.)—μιμητῆς Θεοῦ—κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν—καινὸς ἄνθρωπος.

Among the Pauline words are: παρεδρεῖν (1 Cor. ix. 13)—θεοσε-

whole sections are constructed with manifest regard to passages in the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians; and there are other coincidences of language more or less evident with the Acts, and with the Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, the first Epistle to Timothy, and the Epistle to Titus, and with the First Epistle of Peter¹. In the concluding fragment there is, in addition to the references to St John, to the Gospels generally, and to the Epistle to the Corinthians already mentioned, an apparent reminiscence of a passage in the First Epistle to Timothy².

The conclusion of the Letter moreover has a further importance as marking the presence of a new element in the development of Christian philosophy. Knowledge (*γνώσις*) is vindicated from its connection with heresy, and welcomed as the highest expression of revealed truth. Believers are God's Paradise, bringing forth manifold fruits; and in them, as in Paradise of old, the tree of Knowledge is planted hard by the tree of Life; for it is not knowledge that killeth, but disobedience. Life cannot exist without knowledge; nor sure knowledge without true Life. Knowledge without the witness of Life is only the old deception of the serpent. The Christian's heart must be knowledge; and his Life must be true Reason. In other words, Christian wisdom must be the spring of action, and Christian life the

Chap. ii.

*in the con-
cluding
Fragment.*

*The 'Gnos-
tic' element
recognized
in the con-
cluding
Fragment.*

βεια—δεισιδαιμονία—χορηγείν—συν-
ήθεια—προσδεόμενος—παραιτούμαι—
πολιτεύομαι—ἀφθαρσία—ἐκλογή—ὁ-
μολογουμένως—ὑπόστασις (Hebr.).

The peculiarities in the language of the Letter may be judged from these examples: ὑπερσπουδάζειν—προκατέχειν—ἐξομοιοῦσθαι—ἐγκατα-
στηρίξειν—ἀπερινόητος—παντοκτίστης—
γεραιρεῖν—ψοφοδεής—μνησικακεῖν.

¹ Compare c. ix. with Rom. iii. 21—26, and Gal. iv. 4; and c. v. with 2 Cor. vi. 9, 10. The following references also are worthy of remark: c. iii., Acts xvii. 24, 25: c. ii., Eph. iv. 21—24: c. v., Phil. iii. 18 sqq.: c. iv., 1 Tim. iii. 16: c. ix., Tit. iii. 4, and 1 Pet. iii. 18.

² Cf. 1 Tim. iii. 16 with c. xi.

Chap. ii.

realization of truth¹. The groundwork of this teaching lies in the relation of the Word to man. The Incarnation of the Eternal Word is connected intimately with His Birth from time to time in the heart of believers². The same Word which manifested the mysteries of the Father when He was shewn to the world is declared still to converse with whom He will³. The Word is still the teacher of the saints⁴.

How corrected.

In this doctrine it is possible to trace the germs of later mysticism, but each false deduction is excluded by the plain recognition of the correlative objective truth. The test of knowledge is the presence of Life⁵; and the influence of the Word on the Christian is made to flow from His historical revelation to mankind⁶.

§ 6. *The Jewish Apologists.*

The letter to Diognetus a transition to the Judæo-Christian writings.

The conclusion of the Letter to Diognetus offers a natural transition to the few relics of Apologetic writings derived apparently from Jewish authorship. It bears, as has been said, the impress of Alexandria, and was probably the work of a Jewish convert⁷. Coming from such a source it may be taken to shew the Catholic spirit of one division of Jewish Christendom; but since it may seem that the freedom of thought which distinguished Alexandria was unlikely to foster Ju-

¹ c. xii.

² c. xi.: Οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανεῖς καὶ [παλαιὸς] εὐρεθεὶς καὶ πάντοτε νέος ἐν ἀγίῳ καρδίαις γεννώμενος.

³ c. xi.: ...ἐπιγνώσῃ ᾧ Λόγος ὁμιλεῖ δι' ὧν βούλεται ὅτε θέλει.

⁴ c. xii.: διδάσκων ἁγίους ὁ Λόγος εὐφραίνεται.

It is to be remarked that the Word appears in both parts of the Letter rather as the correlative to Reason

in man (ζωὴ δὲ λόγος ἀληθής, c. xii. ὁ Θεὸς...τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὸν Λόγον τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἀπερινόητον ἀνθρώποις ἐνίδρυσσε...c. vii.), than as the expression of the creative Will of God. Cf. Dorner, I. p. 411.

⁵ Ὁ γὰρ νομίζων εἶδέναι τι ἀνευ γνωσέως ἀληθοῦς καὶ μαρτυρουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς οὐκ ἔγνω...c. xii.

⁶ Εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἴδρυται...c. xi.

⁷ This follows, I think, from the

daizing views, it becomes a matter of importance to inquire whether there be any early records of the Palestinian Church, their acknowledged source and centre. A notice of one such book,—the ‘Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus,’ has been preserved¹. It appears to have had a wide popularity, and was translated into Latin in the third century². Celsus, it is true, thought that it was fitter for pity than for ridicule; but Origen speaks highly of its dramatic skill³. It is uncertain whether it has been attributed rightly to Aristo of Pella; for that late belief may have arisen from its known connexion with the Church to which he belonged⁴. The general plan of the writer however is exactly characteristic of the position which a teacher at Pella may be supposed to have occupied. It was

Chap. ii.

The Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus.

Its character.

manner in which the Book of Genesis is allegorized. In later writers such interpretations became generally current. The contrast which the fragment offers to the Epistle of Barnabas is very instructive, as shewing the opposite extremes deducible from the same principles.

¹ Routh, I. 95—109.

² This is the date given by Cave. Others have placed it as late as the end of the fifth century. The translation was made by Celsus, and dedicated to Bishop Vigilius; but nothing can be determined as to their identity. The preface to the translation is appended to many editions of Cyprrian. Cf. Routh, p. 109.

³ Orig. *c. Cels.* IV. 52: Παρίσκου τινὸς καὶ Ἰάσονος ἀντιλογίαν ἔγνων (in the words of Celsus) οὐ γέλωτος ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἐλέους καὶ μίσους ἀξίαν. The book, as Origen allows, was more adapted in some parts for the simpler sort of men than for the educated: δυνάμενον μὲν τι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπλουστέρους πίστεως χάριν συμβαλέ-

σθαι, οὐ μὴν ὅλῳ τε καὶ συνεωτέρους κινῆσαι (*l. c.*). Afterwards he adds: καίτοιγε οὐκ ἀγεννῶς οὐδ' ἀπρεπῶς τῷ Ἰουδαϊκῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἱσταμένου πρὸς τὸν λόγον.

⁴ Origen and Jerome quote the Dialogue without mentioning the author's name; and it is not given in the preface of Celsus. Eusebius (*H. E.* IV. 6) quotes a passage from Aristo in reference to the Jewish rising under Bar-Cochba, but it seems at least doubtful whether this was taken from the Dialogue. Maximus (7th cent.) is the earliest writer who attributes the Dialogue to Aristo, adding: ἣν [διάλεξιν] Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν ἑκτῷ βιβλίῳ τῶν Ἑποτυπώσεων τὸν ἅγιον Δουκᾶν φησὶν ἀναγράφαι. This tradition is probably due to the identification of Jason with the Jason mentioned in Acts xvii. 5.

Of the Apology which Aristo is said to have offered to Hadrian (*Chron. Pasc.* 477, ap. Routh, p. 104, if the reading be correct) nothing is known.

Chap. ii.

his object to represent a *Hebrew Christian* convincing an *Alexandrine Jew* 'from the Old Testament Scriptures (ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραφῶν), shewing that the Messianic prophecies were applicable to Jesus¹. To this end he apparently made frequent use of allegorical interpretations of Scripture; but it is more important to notice that he speaks of Jesus as the Son of God the Creator of the World². The words, though few, are key-words of Christianity, and as the single expression of the early doctrine of the Church of Palestine they go far to expose the unreality of the hypothesis which exhibits it as Ebionitic. They do not prove anything as to the existence of a New Testament Canon; but as far as they have any meaning they tend to shew that no such divisions had place in the Church as have been supposed to render the existence of a Catholic Canon impossible³.

Agrippa Castor introduces a new form of the Apology. Hitherto we have noticed in succession defences of Christianity addressed to persecutors, philosophers, and Jews; he maintained the truth against heretics. Nothing appears to be known of his history. He is said to have been a 'very learned man,' and was probably of Jewish descent⁴. Eusebius speaks of him as a

The writings of Agrippa Castor

¹ Pref. Cels. ap. Routh, p. 97: Orig. *l. c.*

² Orig. *l. c.*: Cels. Pref. *l. c.*: Hieron. *Quæst. Hebr.* II. 507 (ap. Routh, p. 95). In the last instance he reads in Gen. i. 1, In filio fecit Deus cælum et terram. Cf. Routh, p. 100.

³ The Dialogue was in circulation in the time of Celsus, and consequently the date of its composition cannot be placed long after the death of Hadrian.

It may be concluded from Origen's

notice (*l. c.*) that the doctrine of the Resurrection of the body suggested some of Celsus' objections, probably in connexion with the Second Advent. The reference to 'a strange and memorable narrative' contained in one of the Christian books probably refers to the Dialogue (compare c. 53, p. 200 *init.* with c. 52 *init.*).

⁴ Vir valde doctus. Hieron. *de Virr.* III. 21. His Jewish descent appears to follow from the fact that he charged Basilides with teaching 'indifference in eating meats offered

contemporary of Saturninus and Basilides, and adds that he was the most famous among the many writers of the 'time who defended the doctrine of the Apostles and the 'Church chiefly on philosophic principles' (λογικώτερον)¹. In particular, he composed 'a most satisfactory (ικανώ-
'τατος) refutation of Basilides,' in which he noticed his commentaries on the Gospel, and exposed the claims of certain supposititious (ἀνύπαρκτοι) prophets, whom he had used to support his doctrines. This slight fact shews that historical criticism was not wholly wanting in the Church when first it was required. It would not, as far as we can see, have been an easy matter to secure a reception for forgeries claiming to be authoritative, even at the beginning of the second century.

*shew signs
of historical
criticism.*

§ 7. *Justin Martyr.*

The writings and character of Justin Martyr stand out in clear relief from the fragments and names which we have hitherto reviewed. Instead of interpreting isolated phrases we can now examine complete and continuous works: instead of painfully collecting a few dry details from tradition we can contemplate the image which a Christian himself has drawn of his own life and experience. Justin was of Greek descent, but his family had been settled for two generations in the Roman colony of Flavia Neapolis, which was founded in the time of Vespasian near the site of the ancient Sichem². The date of his birth is uncertain, but it was probably at the close of the first century. He tells us that his countrymen generally were addicted to the

*The compara-
tive ful-
ness of our
knowledge of
Justin.*

'to idols' (Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 7); yet see some connexion with Alexandria.
Just. M. *Dial.* c. 35. His controversy ¹ Euseb. *l. c.*
with Basilides probably indicates ² *Ap.* I. I.

Chap. ii.

His own account of his philosophic studies.

errors of Simon Magus¹, but it appears that he himself escaped that delusion, and began his search for truth among the teachers of the old philosophic schools. First he applied to a Stoic²; but after some time he found that he learned nothing of God from him, and his master affirmed that such knowledge was unnecessary. Next he betook himself to a Peripatetic, 'a shrewd man,' he adds, 'in his own opinion.' But before many days were over, the Philosopher was anxious to settle with his pupil the price of his lessons, that their intercourse might prove profitable to them both. So Justin thought that he was no philosopher at all; and still yearning (τῆς ψυχῆς ἔτι σπαργώσης) for knowledge he applied to a Pythagorean, who enjoyed a great reputation and prided himself on his wisdom. But a knowledge of Music, Astronomy and Geometry was the necessary passport to his lectures; and since he was not possessed of it, Justin, as he seemed near to the fulfilment of his hopes, was once again doomed to disappointment. He fared better however with a Platonist, his next teacher, and in his company he seemed to grow wiser every day. It was at that time—when 'in his folly,' as he says, 'he hoped soon to attain to a clear vision of God'—that, seeking calm and retirement by the sea-shore, he met an aged man, meek and venerable, who led him at length from Plato to the Prophets, from metaphysics to faith. 'Pray before all things,' were the last words of this new master, 'that the gates of light be opened 'to you; for [the truths of revelation] are not compre-

¹ *Ap.* i. 26; Σχεδὸν πάντες μὲν in Samaria. [*Hipp.*] *Adv. Hær.* ix. 29. Σαμαρεῖς ὅλγοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ὡς τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἐκείνον (Simon) ὁμολογοῦντες [ἐκείνον] καὶ προσκυνοῦσι.

² The following account is given chiefly in a translation from his own striking narrative. *Dial.* c. 2 sqq. Cf. *Dial.* c. 120. It is an instructive fact that Sadduceism also prevailed

'hensible by the eye or mind of man, unless God and his Christ give him understanding¹.'

'Immediately a fire was kindled in my soul,' Justin adds, 'and I was possessed with a love for the prophets and those men who are Christ's friends². And as I discussed his arguments with myself I found Christianity to be the only philosophy that is sure and suited to man's wants (*ἀσφαλὴ τε καὶ σύμφορον*). Thus then, and for this cause, am I a philosopher.'

In the strength of his new conviction he travelled far and wide to spread the truth which he had found. In the public walk (*xystus*) at Ephesus he held a discussion with the Jew Trypho, proving from the Old Testament that Jesus was the Christ. At Rome he is said to have established a school where he endeavoured to satisfy the doubts of Greeks. Everywhere he appeared 'as an ambassador of the Divine Word in the guise of a philosopher³.'

His active spirit found frequent expression in writing. Eusebius has given a list of such books of his 'as had come to his own knowledge,' adding that there were besides 'very many other works which were widely circulated⁴.' Of the writings which now bear his name two Apologies and the Dialogue with Trypho are genuine beyond all doubt; the rest are either undoubtedly spurious or reasonably suspected⁵. But those three

Chap. ii.

*Christianity
the true phi-
losophy.*

*The wide
extent of
Justin's la-
bours.*

*His nume-
rous writ-
ings.*

¹ *Dial.* c. 7 *ad fin.*

² This phrase, in connexion with the phrase immediately below, *βουλομένην ἀν...πάντας...μὴ ἀφίστασθαι τῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος λόγων*, seems to point to Christian Scriptures coordinate with the Old Testament. The nature of the first interview with Trypho precluded any more immediate mention of them at the time.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 11. Cf. *Dial.*

c. 1. If the *Cohortatio ad Græcos* be Justin's we must add Alexandria to the cities which he visited (c. 13). Compare Semisch, *Denkwürd. Just.* ss. 2 ff.

Credner (*Beiträge*, I. 99) suggests Corinth as the place where the Dialogue took place, if it be historical.

⁴ Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 18.

⁵ There is I believe a difference of style and tone which distinguishes

Chap. ii.

*A general
account of
the relation
of his books
to the Gospel-
narrative.*

books are invaluable so far as they combine to give a wide view of the relation of Christianity, not indeed to the Christian Church, but to heathendom and Judaism¹.

The evidence of Justin is thus invested with peculiar importance; and the difficulties by which it is perplexed, though they have been frequently exaggerated, are proportionately great. Since a general view of its chief features will render our inquiry into its extent and character easier and more intelligible, we may state by anticipation that his writings exhibit a mass of references to the Gospel-narrative; that they embrace the chief facts of our Lord's life, and many details of His teaching; that they were derived, at least frequently, from written records, which he affirms to rest upon Apostolic authority, and to be used in the public assemblies of Christians, though he does not mention the names of their authors. It is to be noticed further that these references generally coincide both in facts and substance with what has been related by the three Synoptic Evangelists (most commonly by St Matthew), that they preserve by implication peculiarities of each of the Gospels, that they nevertheless shew additions to the received narrative and remarkable variations from its text, which in some cases are both repeated by Justin and found also in other writings².

the two Apologies and the Dialogue from all the other works attributed to Justin. The question is of little importance for our present inquiry, since the Gospel-references are chiefly found in the former.

¹ The chronology of Justin's life is involved in considerable perplexity. After a complete examination of the evidence Mr Hort concludes that 'we may without fear of considerable error set down Justin's *First Apology* to 145 or better still to 146,

and his death to 148. The *Second Apology*, if really separate from the 'first, will then fall in 146 or '147, and the *Dialogue with Tryphon* about the same time' (*Journal of Class. and Sac. Philology*, III. 139).

² Compare Semisch, *Denkwürdigkeiten Justin's* (Hamburg, 1848); Credner, *Beiträge*, I. 92—267 (Halle, 1832); Schwegler, *D. nach apostolische Zeitalter*, I. 217—231. [Later Essays by Hilgenfeld, Ritschl, Volk-

Such are the various phenomena which must be explained and harmonized. At first the difficulties of the problem were hardly felt, and the testimony of Justin was quoted in support of our Gospels without doubt or justification. But when the whole question was fairly stated there came a reaction, and various new hypotheses were proposed as offering a better solution of it than the traditional belief. Some fancied that Justin made use of one or more of the original sources from which the Canonical Gospels were derived. Others, with greater precision, identified his *Memoirs of the Apostles* with the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Others again suggested that he made use of a Harmony or combined narrative constructed out of Catholic materials¹. Further investigations shewed that these notions were untenable, and the old opinion had again gained currency, when Credner maintained with great sagacity and research that we must look for the peculiarities of his quotations in a Gospel according to St Peter, one of the oldest writings of the Church, which under various forms retained its influence among Jewish Christians even after the doctrine of St Paul had obtained general reception².

In one respect all these theories are alike. They presuppose that Justin's quotations cannot be naturally

Chap. ii.
Various solutions of the problem arising therefrom.

Their common ground to be examined.

mar, and the author of *Supernatural Religion*, leave the main results of this chapter quite unchanged.]

¹ These various hypotheses are examined clearly and satisfactorily by Semisch, ss. 16—33.

² *Beiträge*, I. 266, &c. This Gospel according to Peter is supposed by Credner to have been 'essentially identical with the *Diatessaron* of Tatian and the Gospel according to the Hebrews' (*Gesch. d. N. T. Kanon*,

22). In the absence of satisfactory evidence it is impossible to examine seriously what is a mere conjecture. The early historic notices of the Gospel lend no support to the identification, and our knowledge of the contents of the Gospel is far too meagre to allow of any conclusion being drawn from internal evidence, especially as all the early Gospels were recensions (so to speak) of the original oral Gospel of the Apostolic age.

Chap. ii.

I. The general coincidence of Justin's quotations with our Gospels:

1. Coincidence in facts.

reconciled with a belief in his use of our Gospels¹. This is their common basis; and instead of examining in detail the various schemes which have been built upon it, we may inquire whether it be itself sound.

The first thing that must strike any one who examines a complete collection of the passages in question is the general coincidence in range and contents with our Gospels. Nothing for instance furnished wider scope for Apocryphal narratives than the history of the Infancy of our Lord: nothing on the other hand could be more fatal to Ebionism—the prevailing heresy of the age, as we are told—than the early chapters of St Matthew and St Luke. Yet Justin's account of the Infancy is as free from legendary admixture as it is full of incidents recorded by the Evangelists. He does not appear to have known anything more than they

The *Gospel according to Peter* is expressly referred to by Eusebius as used at Rhossus in Cilicia in the time of Serapion (see below P. II. c. 2. § 5); and by Origen, *In Matt.* T. X. 17; and again by Eusebius, *H. E.* III. 3, without any hint of its identity with the better known *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. In the fifth century however Theodoret (*Hæret. Fab.* II. 2) speaks of the 'Nazarenes as 'Jews who hold Christ to be a just 'man and use the so-called *Gospel according to Peter*'; but the testimony is too late, even if it were explicit, to establish the supposed identity from what is known of the Nazarene Gospel.

The passage of Justin, *Dial.* c. 106 (see p. 110, note 2), has I believe nothing to do with this *Gospel of Peter*. The fragments of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* which have been preserved offer no remarkable parallels with Justin's citations. See below.

¹ Credner himself allows that Justin was acquainted with the Canoni-

cal Gospels of St Matthew, St Mark, and St Luke, though he used in preference (p. 267) the Gospel of St Peter. His acquaintance with the Gospel of St John he considers more doubtful. Credner's words are well worthy of notice: 'Justin kannte in der That, wie es auch kaum anders denkbar ist, unsere Evangelien... Nur allein über die Bekanntschaft Justin's mit dem Ev. des Johannes lässt sich, ausser der allgemeinen Analogie, nichts Bestimmtes nachweisen' (*Beiträge*, I. 258). It was however unlikely that his conclusions should be allowed to remain so incomplete. Schwegler for instance says (I. 232): '...so hat er (Justin) ohne Zweifel die *εὐαγγέλια κατὰ Ματθαῖον, Μάρκον*, u. s. f., bei denen es überdiess eine Frage ist, ob sie damals schon existirten, nicht gekannt, sondern ausschliesslich das sogenannte Evangelium Petri...oder das mit demselben identische Hebräer-evangelium benützt...'

knew; and he tells without suspicion what they have related.

He tells us that Christ was descended from Abraham through Jacob, Judah, Phares, Jesse, and David¹—that the Angel Gabriel was sent to foretell His Birth to the Virgin Mary²—that this was a fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah (vii. 14³)—that Joseph was forbidden in a vision to put away his espoused wife, when he was so minded⁴—that our Saviour's Birth at Bethlehem had been foretold by Micah⁵—that his parents went thither from Nazareth where they dwelt, in consequence of the enrolment under Cyrenius⁶—that as they could not find a lodging in the village they lodged in a cave close by it, where Christ was born, and laid by Mary in a manger⁷—that while there wise men from Arabia, guided by a

Chap. ii.

(a) His account of the Infancy.

¹ *Dial.* c. 120. See c. 100, ἐξ ὧν κατάγει ἡ Μαρία τὸ γένος. Cf. c. 43. This interpretation of the genealogies was probably adopted early. Clement of Alexandria, for example, distinctly refers the genealogy in *St Matthew* to the V. Mary: ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίῳ ἡ ἀπὸ 'Αβραὰμ γενεαλογία μέχρι Μαρίας τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου περαιούται. The grounds on which this conclusion was based may have been false, but at least it is strange carelessness to quote Justin's acceptance of the conclusion as a proof that he used some other than the Canonical Gospels.

² *Dial.* c. 100; *Luke* i. 35, 38.

³ *Ap.* i. 33; *Matt.* i. 23.

⁴ *Dial.* c. 78; *Matt.* i. 18 sqq.

⁵ *Ap.* i. 34; *Dial.* c. 78. *Matt.* ii. 5, 6. The quotation (*Mic.* v. 2) in Justin agrees verbally with that in *St Matthew*, with the exception that Justin omits τὸν 'Ισραὴλ, and differs very widely from the LXX. Cf. Credner, *Beiträge*, II. 148 f.

⁶ *Ap.* i. 34: ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐν 'Ιουδαίᾳ πρώτον γενομένου

ἐπιτρόπου. *Dial.* c. 78: ἀπογραφῆς οὐσης ἐν τῇ 'Ιουδαίᾳ τότε πρώτης ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου. The agreement of these words with the true reading in *Luke* ii. 2 αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο is worthy of notice. Cf. Credner, *Beitr.* I. 232 f.

⁷ *Dial.* c. 78: ...Ἐπειδὴ 'Ιωσήφ οὐκ εἶχεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐκεῖνη πον καταλύσαι, ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινι σύνεγγυς τῆς κώμης κατέλυσε· καὶ τότε αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐκεῖ ἐτετόκει ἡ Μαρία τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἐν φάτνῃ αὐτὸν ἐτεθείκε, κ. τ. λ. *Luke* ii. 7: ...ἀνέκλινεν αὐτὸν ἐν φάτνῃ (without the article) διότι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ καταλύματι. The two accounts seem to be simply supplementary. Later Fathers (e.g. *Orig. c. Cels.* i. 51) speak of the Cave without any misgiving that they contradict *St Luke*: Epiphanius actually quotes him for the fact; ὁ Λουκᾶς λέγει...τὸν παῖδα ...καὶ κείσθαι ἐν φάτνῃ καὶ ἐν σπηλαίῳ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τόπον ἐν τῷ καταλύματι (*Hær.* 51, 9: p. 431). Thilo has collected the authorities on the question: *Cod. Apocr.* i. 381 sqq.

Chap. ii.

star, worshipped Him, and offered Him gold and frankincense and myrrh, and by revelation were commanded not to return to Herod to whom they had first come¹—that He was called Jesus as the Saviour of His people²—that by the command of God His parents fled with Him to Egypt for fear of Herod, and remained there till Archelaus succeeded him³—that Herod being deceived by the wise men commanded the children of Bethlehem to be put to death, so that the prophecy of Jeremiah was fulfilled who spoke of Rachel weeping for her children⁴—that Jesus grew after the common manner of men, working as a carpenter, and so waited in obscurity thirty years more or less, till the coming of John the Baptist⁵.

He tells us moreover that this John the son of Elizabeth came preaching by the Jordan the baptism of repentance, wearing a leathern girdle and a raiment of camel's hair, and eating only locusts and wild honey⁶—that men supposed that he was the Christ, to whom he

(B) *His account of the Mission of John the Baptist.*

¹ *Dial.* c. 78; *Matt.* ii. 11, 12. The repetition of the phrase ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας (cc. 77, 78, 88, 102, 103, 106) is remarkable. The more specific term is evidently a gloss adopted to bring out the correspondence with prophecy as to the 'strength of Damascus.' Damascus was reckoned as part of Arabia (c. 78, p. 305 A).

² *Ap.* I. 33; *Matt.* i. 21.

³ *Dial.* cc. 78, 103; *Matt.* ii. 13.

⁴ *Dial.* c. 78; *Matt.* ii. 17, 18. There is a natural exaggeration in Justin's language which forms a remarkable contrast to St Matthew. 'Herod ordered,' he says, 'all the male children in Bethlehem without exception (πάντας ἀπλῶς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ) to be put to death.' Cf. c. 103. So again it is not insignificant that he appeals to the prophecy (Jerem. xxxi. [xxxviii.] 15) in

a different manner. St Matthew says simply τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ρηθὲν but he more definitely τοῦτο ἐπεπροφήτευστο μέλλειν γίνεσθαι. He transforms a typical event into a special prediction. In the Gospel they are markedly distinguished.

The quotation is verbally the same in Justin and St Matthew, differing widely from the LXX.

⁵ *Dial.* c. 88; *Luke* ii. 40, iii. 23. *Mark* vi. 3. The explanation of the ὥσκι of St Luke is to be noticed.

⁶ *Dial.* c. 88, cf. cc. 49, 84; *Matt.* iii. 1, 4; *Luke* i. 13; *John* i. 19 ff. The phrase Ἰωάννου καθεζομένου ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, repeated by Justin (*Dial.* cc. 88, 51), is changed into καθεζομένου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην in c. 49. There can be no reason to think with Credner (p. 218) that Justin found the words in his Gospel.

answered *I am not the Christ, but a voice of one crying; for He that is mightier than I will soon come* (*ἡξει*), *whose sandals I am not worthy to bear*—that when Jesus descended into the Jordan to be baptized by him a fire was kindled in the river, and when He came up out of the water the Holy Spirit as a dove lighted upon Him, and a voice came from Heaven saying *Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee*¹—that immediately after His Baptism the devil came to Jesus and tempted Him, bidding Him at last to worship him². He further adds that Christ Himself recognized John as the Elias who should precede Him, *to whom men had done whatsoever they listed*; and thus He relates how Herod put John into prison; and how the daughter of Herodias danced before the king on his birthday and pleased him, so that he promised to grant her anything she wished, and that she by her mother's desire asked for the head of John to be given her on a charger, and that so John was put to death³.

Henceforth, after speaking in general terms of the miracles of Christ, how *He healed all manner of sickness and disease*⁴, Justin says little of the details of His Life till the last great events. Then he narrates Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem from Bethphage as a fulfilment of prophecy⁵, the (second) cleansing of the Temple⁶, the conspiracy against Him⁷, the institution of the

(γ) *His account of the Passion.*

¹ *Dial.* cc. 88, 103. Compare ii. 2. γ, below, for an explanation of the version of the prophecy is different in the two passages. The first part of the Apocryphal additions to the text of the Evangelists. however in both agrees with the LXX. and differs from St Matthew; the last words on the contrary agree better with St Matthew than with the LXX. Cf. Semisch, ss. 117—

² *Dial.* cc. 103, 125. The order of the Temptations followed by Justin is, therefore apparently that of St Matthew. Semisch, s. 99 *anm.*

³ *Dial.* c. 49; Matt. xvii. 11—13.

⁴ *Ap.* I. 31, 48; *Dial.* c. 69. Matt. iv. 23.

⁵ *Ap.* I. 35; *Dial.* c. 53. The version of the prophecy is different in the two passages. The first part however in both agrees with the LXX. and differs from St Matthew; the last words on the contrary agree better with St Matthew than with the LXX. Cf. Semisch, ss. 117—

⁶ *Dial.* c. 17.

⁷ *Dial.* c. 104.

Chap. ii.

Eucharist for the remembrance of Him¹, the singing of the Psalm afterwards², the Agony at night on the Mount of Olives at which three of His disciples were present³, the prayer⁴, the bloody sweat⁵, the arrest⁶, the flight of the Apostles⁷, the silence before Pilate⁸, the remand to Herod⁹, the Crucifixion, the division of Christ's raiment by lot¹⁰, the signs and words of mockery of the bystanders¹¹, the Cry of Sorrow¹², the Last Words of Resignation¹³, the Burial on the evening of the day of the Passion¹⁴, the Resurrection on Sunday¹⁵, the Appearance to the Apostles and disciples, how Christ opened to them the Scriptures¹⁶, the calumnies of the Jews¹⁷, the commission to the Apostles¹⁸, the Ascension¹⁹.

General character of this coincidence.

The same particularity, the same intertexture of the narratives of St Matthew and St Luke—for St Mark has few peculiar materials to contribute—the same occasional introduction of a minute trait or of higher colouring, characterize the great mass of Justin's references to the Gospel-history. These features are as distinctly marked in his account of the Passion as of the Nativity. There are some slight differences in detail, which will be noticed afterwards, but the broad resemblance remains unchanged. The incidents of the Gospel-narrative to which Justin refers appear to be exactly such as he might have derived

¹ *Ap.* I. 66. Cf. *Dial.* cc. 41, 70.

² *Dial.* c. 106.

³ *Dial.* c. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Dial.* c. 103. Cf. *Ap.* I. 50; *Dial.* c. 53.

⁶ *Dial.* c. 103. *Dial.* 103, οὐδὲς γὰρ οὐδὲ μέχρ' ἐνός ἀνθρώπου βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ ὡς ἀναμαρτήρῳ βοηθὸς ἐπ' ἤρχε. The words are suggested by Ps. xxi. (xxii.) 12 οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ βοηθὸν, and I cannot see in them any 'contradiction' of the Gospels. Cf. Matt. xxvi. 56.

⁷ *Dial.* c. 53.

⁸ *Dial.* c. 102.

⁹ *Dial.* c. 103; Luke xxiii. 7.

¹⁰ *Dial.* c. 97. Cf. *Ap.* I. 35.

¹¹ *Ap.* I. 38; *Dial.* c. 101.

¹² *Dial.* c. 99.

¹³ *Dial.* c. 105; Luke xxiii. 46.

¹⁴ *Dial.* c. 97.

¹⁵ *Ap.* I. 67.

¹⁶ *Dial.* cc. 53, 106. *Ap.* I. 50.

¹⁷ *Dial.* c. 108; Matt. xxviii. 13. See ii. 2. γ, below.

¹⁸ *Ap.* I. 61.

¹⁹ *Dial.* 132; *Ap.* I. 46.

from the Synoptic Evangelists. His object is to give a general view of the substance of the Evangelic records; and not to reproduce exactly any one record. The variations in his quotations of the same passage absolutely exclude the latter supposition.

The greater part however of Justin's references are made to the teaching of the Saviour, and not to His works. He spoke of Christianity as a power mighty in its enduring and godlike character. He spoke of Christ as Him of whom the prophets witnessed. But miracles—those transient signs of a Divine Presence—are almost unnoticed in comparison with the words which bear for ever the living stamp of their original source. This form of argument was in some degree imposed upon him by the position which he occupied; but to such a mind as his it was no less congenial than necessary. Whether he addressed Heathen or Jews, the fulfilment of prophecy furnished him with a striking outward proof of the claims of Christianity; and the moral teaching of Christ completed the impression by introducing an inward proof. It was enough if he could bring men to listen to the teaching of the Church. It was not his task to anticipate its office, or to do away with the discipline and duties of the catechumen. To forget this is to forget the very business of an Apologist. And yet the entire consistency of his writings with their proposed end has furnished an objection against the authenticity of St John's Gospel. For unless we put out of sight the purpose for which Justin wrote, can it be a matter of wonder that he makes few allusions to the 'spiritual Gospel'—that he exhibits few traces of those deep and mysterious revelations which our Lord vouchsafed under peculiar circumstances, for the conviction of his enemies, or for the confirmation of believing hearts? They were

Chap. ii.

2. Coincidence in the quotations of our Lord's teaching.

How far Justin's quotations were limited by his position.

Relation to St John's Gospel.

Chap. iii.

John v. 47.

of no weight as evidence, even as our Lord himself said; and the time was not yet come when Justin could naturally unfold them to his hearers. The same cause which retarded the publication of St John's Gospel deferred the use of it. It was a spiritual supplement to the others—a light from heaven to kindle them into life: but it was necessary that the substance should exist, before the supplement could be added; it was necessary that the body should be fully formed, before the spirit, the highest life, could be infused into it.

(a) Coincidences in language.

It has been already shewn that the incidents in the Life of Christ which Justin mentions strikingly coincide with those narrated in the Gospels; the style and language of the quotations which he makes from Christ's teaching agree no less exactly with those of the Evangelists. He quotes frequently from memory¹; he interweaves the words which we find at present separately given by St Matthew, St Mark, and St Luke²; he condenses, combines, transposes, the language of our Lord as they have recorded it³; he makes use of phrases characteristic of different Gospels⁴; yet, with very few exceptions, he preserves through all these changes the marked

¹ This follows from the fact that his quotations of the same passage differ. See pp. 126 sqq.

² (a) Matthew and Luke: *Dial.* c. 17, 51, 76; *Ap.* I. 19;

(β) Matthew and Mark: *Ap.* I. 15.

³ *E.g.* *Ap.* I. 15, 43; *Dial.* cc. 49, 77, 78, &c.

⁴ (a) Words characteristic of St Matthew: *e.g.* βασιλεῖα τῶν οὐρανῶν—μαλακία—[ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθέν, *de Resurr.* c. 4.]—ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς—ἐρρέθη—βρέχων (im-

pers.)—ἀνατελλειν (act.).

(β) Words characteristic of St Luke: *e.g.* χάρις—εὐαγγελισθεσθαι—υἱὸς ὑψίστου.

(γ) Words characteristic of St John: *e.g.* τέκνα Θεοῦ—προσκυνούμεν λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες—τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ζωῆς—πηγὴ ὕδατος ζῶντος—φῶς. Credner's remark (*Beiträge*, I. p. 213) that there is no trace of the linguistic peculiarities of our Evangelists in Justin's quotations seems to me to be incorrect.

peculiarities of the New Testament phraseology without the admixture of any foreign element¹.

And more than this: though he omits the Parables², which are rather lessons of wisdom than laws of authority, he refers to parts of the whole series of our Lord's discourses given in the Synoptic Gospels; and attributes only two sayings to Him which are not substantially found there³. The first call to repentance⁴, the Sermon on the Mount⁵, the gathering from the East and West⁶, the invitation to sinners⁷, the description of the true fear⁸, the charge to the Apostles⁹, the charge to the Seventy¹⁰, the mission of John¹¹, the revelation of the Father¹², the promise of the sign of Jonah¹³, the prophecy of the Passion¹⁴, the acknowledgement of Sonship¹⁵, the teaching on the price of a soul¹⁶, on marriage¹⁷, on the goodness of God alone¹⁸, on the tribute due to Cæsar¹⁹, on the two commandments²⁰, the woes against the Scribes and Pharisees²¹, the prophecy concerning false teachers²², the denouncement of future punishment on the wicked²³, the

Chap. ii.

(B) Coincidences in substance.

¹ The differences of language which I have noticed are the following: *καιὸν ποιεῖτε* (*Ap.* i. 15, *bis*)—*δέρματα προβάτων* (*Ap.* i. 16; *Dial.* c. 35; cf. *Hebr.* xi. 37)—*σκολοπενδρῶν* (*Dial.* c. 76)—*ψευδαπόστολοι* (*Dial.* c. 35)—*δικαιοσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν πληροῦσθαι* (*Dial.* c. 93)—*αἱ κλεῖς* (*Dial.* c. 17)—*ἄμα* (freq.). Credner (p. 260) quotes *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ* as a peculiarity, but surely without reason. Cf. *Matt.* xviii. 5, xxiv. 5; *Mark* ix. 39; *Luke* ix. 48, 49, xxi. 8.

² The only references to the Parables are, I believe, to that of the Sower and of the Talents (*Dial.* c. 125).

³ *Dial.* c. 47: *Διὸ καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἶπεν* 'Εν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τοῖτοις καὶ κρινῶ (*κρινῶ*, Credner). *Dial.* c. 35. See below, ii. 2. γ.

⁴ *Dial.* c. 51; *Matt.* iv. 17.

⁵ *Ap.* i. 15, 16; *Dial.* cc. 96, 105, 115, 133.

⁶ *Dial.* c. 76.

⁷ *Ap.* i. 15.

⁸ *Ap.* i. 19.

⁹ *Dial.* c. 82; *Matt.* x. 22.

¹⁰ *Ap.* i. 16; *Luke* x. 16. *Dial.* c. 76; *Luke* x. 19.

¹¹ *Dial.* c. 51; *Matt.* xi. 12—15.

¹² *Ap.* i. 63; *Dial.* c. 100; *Matt.* xi. 27.

¹³ *Dial.* c. 107.

¹⁴ *Dial.* cc. 76, 100.

¹⁵ *Dial.* c. 76.

¹⁶ *Ap.* i. 15.

¹⁷ *Ap.* i. 15; *Matt.* xix. 12. *Dial.* c. 81; *Luke* xx. 35, 36.

¹⁸ *Ap.* i. 16; *Dial.* c. 101.

¹⁹ *Ap.* i. 17.

²⁰ *Ap.* i. 16; *Dial.* c. 93.

²¹ *Dial.* cc. 17, 112, 122.

²² *Ap.* i. 16; *Dial.* cc. 35, 82.

²³ *Ap.* i. 16; *Dial.* c. 76. Cf. *Ap.* i. 17; *Luke* xii. 48.

Chap. ii.

II. Justin's;
special quo-
tations from
the Memoirs
of the Apo-
stles.

teaching after the Resurrection¹—are all clearly recognized, and quoted, if not always in the language of any one Evangelist, at least in the dialect of the New Testament. At present we do not offer any explanation of the peculiar form which Justin's quotations wear. It is sufficient to remark that both in range and tone, in substance and expression, they bear a general and striking likeness to the contents of our Gospels.

Up to this time it has been noticed that the quotations from the Gospel-history in the early Fathers are almost uniformly anonymous. The words of Christ were as a living voice in the Church, apart from any written record; and the great events of His Life were symbolized in its services. In Justin the old and new meet. He habitually represents Christ as speaking, and not the Evangelist as relating His discourses; but he also distinctly refers to histories, the famous *Memoirs of the Apostles*², in which he found written 'all things concerning Jesus Christ.' These striking words mark the presence of a new age³. The written records were now regarded as the sufficient and complete source of knowledge with regard to the facts of the Gospel. Tradition, to which Papias still appealed, was by Justin definitely cast aside as a new source of information. The expression is casual, but on this account it presents only the more clearly the instinctive conviction of the Christian society to which Justin belonged.

The nature

The peculiar objects which Justin had in view in his

¹ *Ap.* i. 61; *Dial.* c. 53.

² τὰ Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Cf. p. 110, note 2. The title was probably adopted from that of Xenophon's well-known Ἀπομνημονεύματα Σωκράτους, from which indeed the word had been already borrowed by several writers. In various

forms it appears frequently in ecclesiastical Greek. Euseb. *H. E.* III. 39; v. 8; VI. 25. It can scarcely be necessary to remark that the genitive may describe either the author or the subject.

³ Cf. p. III, n. 1.

extant writings did not suggest, even if they did not exclude, any minute description of these comprehensive records. It would have added nothing to the vivid picture of Christianity which he drew for the heathen to have quoted with exact precision the testimony of this or that Apostle, even if such a mode of quotation had been usual. One thing they might require to know, and that he tells them, that the words of Christ were still the text of Christian instruction, that the *Memoirs of the Apostles* were still read together with the writings of the Prophets in their weekly services¹. The writings to which he appealed were not only complete in their contents but they were publicly attested. There was no room for interpolation of new facts or for the introduction of new documents into the use of the Christian Church. The heathen inquirer looked to the general character of Christianity, and on that point Justin satisfies him. So on the other hand the great difficulty in a controversy with a Jew was to shew that the humiliation and death of Christ were reconcileable with the Messianic prophecies. The chief facts were here confessed, the work of the Apologist was to harmonize the prediction and the fulfilment. In both cases his task was preparatory and not final, to lay the foundation of faith and not to build it up; and with this object it was enough for him to assert generally that the *Memoirs* which he quoted rested upon Apostolic authority².

The manner in which Justin alludes to these *Memoirs* of the Apostles in his first Apology and in his Dialogue with Trypho confirms what has been just said. If his mode of reference had not been modified by the nature of his subject, it would surely have been the same in both. As it is, there is a marked difference, and exactly such as

Chap. ii.
of his writings called for no exact description of these *Memoirs*.

The different modes in which he quotes them in his Apology and in his Dialogue.

¹ *Ap.* I. 67.

² *Dial.* c. 103.

Chap. ii.

The quotations in the Apology.

might have been expected. In the Apology, which contains nearly fifty allusions to the Gospel-history, he speaks only twice of the Apostolic authorship of his Memoirs, and in one other place mentions them generally¹. In the Dialogue, which contains about seventy allusions, he quotes them ten times as *The Memoirs of the Apostles*, and in five other places as *The Memoirs*².

This difference is still more striking when examined closely. Every quotation of our Lord's words in the Apology is simply introduced by the phrases 'thus 'Christ said' or 'taught' or 'exhorted;' His words were their own witness. For the public events of His Life Justin refers to the Enrolment of Quirinus and the Acts of Pilate³. He quotes the 'Gospels' only when he must speak of things beyond the range of common history. Standing before a Roman emperor as the apologist of the Christians, he confines himself as far as possible to common ground; and if he is compelled for illustration to quote the books of the Christians, he takes care to shew that they were recognized by the Church, and

¹ *Ap.* I. 66, 67, 33: cf. c. 61.

² It will be useful to give a classification of all the passages in which Justin quotes the *Memoirs*, with the forms of quotation. The following will suffice:

(a) Generally: τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων. *Dial.* c. 100, γεγραμμένον ἐν τ. ἀπομν. τ. ἀπ. cc. 101, 103, 104, 106, γέγραπται ἐν τ. ἀπομν. τ. ἀπ. c. 102, ἐν τ. ἀπομν. τ. ἀπ. δεδῆλωται. c. 106, ἐν τ. ἀπομν. τ. ἀπ. δηλοῦται γεγενημένον. c. 88, ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι.

(β) Specially: *Dial.* c. 106, γεγράφηται ἐν τοῖς ἀπομν. αὐτοῦ (i. e. Πέτρου) γεγενημένον. c. 103, [ἀπομνημονεύματα] ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνους παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι. It is obvious that the article in both

cases describes the class to which the writers belonged. If the article in the first case 'refers the Memoirs' to the collective body of the Apostles'; what is 'the collective body' of the disciples?

(γ) τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα. *Dial.* c. 105, ἀπὸ τ. ἀπομν. ἐμάθομεν. c. 105, ἐκ τ. ἀπομν. ἔμαθον. c. 105, 107, ἐν τοῖς ἀπομν. γέγραπται.

³ *Ap.* I. 34: ὡς καὶ μαθεῖν δύνασθε ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηρίου. c. 35: καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἁκτῶν. Whether Justin referred to the Apocryphal *Acts of Pilate* which we now have, or not, is of no importance: it is only necessary to remark the kind of evidence which he thought best suited to his design.

were no private documents of his own. Thus in speaking of the Annunciation he says: 'And the Angel of God sent to the Virgin at that season announced to her glad tidings, saying, *Behold thou shalt conceive of the Holy Spirit, and bear a Son, and He shall be called the Son of the Highest; and thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save His people from their sins;* as those who have written Memoirs of all things concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ taught us, whom we believed, since also the Prophetic Spirit said that this 'would come to pass'. So again when explaining the celebration of the Eucharist he adds: 'The Apostles in the Memoirs made by them, which are called Gospels, handed down that it was thus enjoined on them²...' And once more, when describing the Christian Service he notices that 'the Memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read, as long as the time admits³'.

There is no further mention of the Memoirs in the Apology. In the Dialogue the case was somewhat dif-

Chap. ii.

The quotations in the Dialogue.

¹ *Ap.* I. 33: ὡς οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξαν κ. τ. λ. The phrase οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες recalls Tertullian's remarkable phrase 'Matthæus commentator Evangelii' (*de carne Christi* 22. Cf. *de resurr. carn.* 33), that is 'compiler of the Gospel' (commentarii). Credner (p. 129) raises a difficulty about the description. Where, he asks, is the written Gospel which could contain all? The quotation points to St Luke; and St Luke himself tells us that his Gospel contained an account concerning all things (περὶ πάντων) 'that Jesus began to do and to teach' (Acts i. 1). The coincidence is at least well worthy of notice. It removes the difficulty, even if it does not also point to the very source of Justin's language. Cf.

supr. p. 108.

² *Ap.* I. 66: οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασι, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς... The conjecture that ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια is a gloss is very unfortunate. It could not be intended for the information of Christian readers; and a copyist would scarcely be likely to supply for the use of heathen what Justin had not thought fit to add. Credner's argument that if our Gospels were referred to Justin would have said ἃ καλεῖται τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια (*Gesch. d. N. T. Kanon*, 107) is even more unhappy, and a singular instance of a want of apprehension of the circumstances of the writing.

³ *Ap.* I. 67.

Chap. ii.

Coincidences
withST
MATTHEW.

ferent. Trypho was himself acquainted with the Gospel¹ and Justin's language becomes proportionately more exact. The words of our Lord are still quoted very often simply as His words, without any acknowledgment of a written record; but from time to time, when reference is made to words which seem to be of more special moment, it is added that they are so 'written in 'the Gospel²'. In one passage the contrast between the substance of Christ's teaching and the record of it is brought out very clearly. After speaking of the death of John the Baptist, Justin adds: 'Wherefore also our 'Christ when on earth told those who said that Elias 'must come before Christ, *Elias indeed will come and 'will restore all things; but I say to you that Elias came, 'already, and they knew him not, but did to him all that 'they listed. And it is written, Then understood the 'disciples that he spake to them concerning John the Bap-*

¹ *Dial. c. 10*: τὰ ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραγγέλματα. The use of the singular, which recurs c. 100, is worthy of notice when compared with the plural *Ap. I. 66* (see above p. 111, n. 2); but nothing can be more unreasonable than to conclude (Credner, *Gesch. d. N. T. Kanon*, § 10) that the reference is necessarily to a single history. Εὐαγγέλιον and *Evangelium* were used from the first with the same latitude as the *Gospel* with us. Thus Irenæus in the great passage where he treats of the characteristics and mystical types of the four Gospels says: ὅποια οὖν ἡ πραγματεία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοιαύτη καὶ τῶν ζώων (the Cherubim) ἡ μορφή· καὶ ὅποια ἡ τῶν ζώων μορφή, τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ χαρακτήρ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. Τετράμορφα γὰρ τὰ ζῶα, τετράμορφον καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ἡ πραγματεία τοῦ κυρίου...τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντων μάταιοι πάντες...οἱ ἀθετοῦντες τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ εἰτε πλείονα

εἰτε ἐλάττωνα τῶν εἰρημένων παρεισφέροντες εὐαγγελίων πρόσωπα (Iren. III. 11. 8, 9). Whatever may be thought of the argument of Irenæus, his words shew clearly that our four Gospels might be referred to either as εὐαγγέλιον or εὐαγγέλια. Tertullian's language is of the same character: Nam sicut in veteribus...ita in Evangelio responsionem Domini ad Philippum tuentur (*adv. Prax.* 20). Of Theophilus Jerome says: Legi sub ejus nomine in *Evangelium Commentarios* (*de Virr. Ill. s. v.*). And once again Origen at the beginning of his *Commentary on St John* writes καὶ γὰρ τολμητέον εἰπεῖν πασῶν τῶν γραφῶν εἶναι ἀπαρχὴν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. The singular occurs also in [Clem.] *Ep. Sec. c. viii.* λέγει ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ and probably in *Mart. Polyc. c. iv.* οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον the reference is to the written Gospel. See also p. 57 f.

² Cf. below, ii. 2. a.

'tist¹.' In another place it appears that Justin refers particularly to a passage in the Memoirs. 'The mention 'of the fact,' he says, 'that Christ changed the name of 'Peter one of the Apostles and that the event has been 'written in his (Peter's) Memoirs, together with His 'having changed the name of two other brethren who 'were sons of Zebedee to *Boanerges*, tended to signify 'that He was the same through whom the surname 'Israel was given to Jacob, and Joshua to Hoshea².' Now the surname given to James and John is only found at present in one of our Gospels, and there it is mentioned in immediate connexion with the change of Peter's name. That Gospel is the Gospel of St Mark, which by the universal voice of antiquity was referred to the authority of St Peter³. That Justin found also in his Memoirs facts at present peculiar to St Luke's narrative is equally clear: for he writes 'Jesus as He gave 'up His Spirit upon the cross said *Father, into Thy 'hands I commend my Spirit*: even as I learned from 'the Memoirs this fact also⁴.'

Chap. ii.

ST MARK.

ST LUKE.

But this is not all: in his Apology Justin speaks of the Memoirs generally as written by the Apostles. In the Dialogue his words are more precise: 'In the Memoirs, which I say were composed by the Apostles and 'those who followed them, [it is written] that *Sweat as 'drops [of blood] streamed down [Jesus] as He was pray- 'ing and saying Let this cup if it be possible pass away 'from me*⁵.' The description, it will be seen, precedes

His more exact description of the authorship of the Memoirs.

¹ *Dial.* c. 49; *Matt.* xvii. 13; cf. p. 117.

² *Dial.* c. 106; *Mark* iii. 16, 17.

³ Cf. pp. 73 f.

⁴ *Dial.* c. 105; *Luke* xxiii. 46.

⁵ *Dial.* c. 103: ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθη-

σάντων (*Luke* i. 3) συντεταχθαι, [γέγραπται] ὅτι ἰδρὺς ὥσει θρόμβοι κατεχεῖτο αὐτοῦ εὐχομένου καὶ λέγοντος Παρελθέτω εἰ δυνατόν τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο. *Luke* xxii. 44 (*Matt.* xxvi. 39). The omission of the word αἵματος was probably suggested by the passage in *Psalms* xxii. 14 which Jus-

Chap. ii.

compared
with that of
Tertullian.

The sub-
stance of
Justin's
quotations
from them.

the quotation of a passage found in St Luke, the follower of an Apostle, and not an Apostle himself. Some such fact as this is needed to explain why Justin distinguishes at this particular time the authorship of the records which he used. And no short account would apply more exactly to our present Gospels than that which he gives. Two of them were written by Apostles, two by their followers. There were many Apocryphal Gospels, but it is not known that any one of them bore the name of a follower of the Apostles. The application of Justin's words to our Gospels seems indeed absolutely necessary when they are compared with those of Tertullian, who says¹: 'we lay down as a principle first that the Evangelic Instrument has Apostles for its authors, on whom 'this charge of publishing the Gospel was imposed by the 'Lord himself; that if [it includes the writings of] Apostolic men also, still they were not alone, but [wrote] 'with [the help of] Apostles and after [the teaching of] 'Apostles... In fine, John and Matthew out of the number of the Apostles implant faith in us, Luke and 'Mark out of the number of their followers refresh it...'

In addition to these cardinal quotations from the Memoirs, Justin refers to them elsewhere in his Dialogue for facts and words from the Evangelic history. As the exact form of all these quotations will be examined

tin is explaining (Semisch, p. 147). It cannot have arisen from any Doctetic tendency, as the whole context shews. The entire pericope (vv. 43, 44) is omitted by very important authorities, but I cannot find that *αἱ ἁγίας* alone is omitted elsewhere than in Justin. (Yet cf. Hipp. ap. Tischdf.) Cf. Griesbach, with Schulz's additions, and Tischdf. *ad loc.*

Epiphanius (*adv. Hær.* II. 2. 59, quoted by Semisch) insists on the sweat only, though he quotes the

verse at length.

¹ Tertull. *adv. Marc.* IV. 2: *Constituimus imprimis evangelicum instrumentum apostolos autores habere, quibus hoc munus evangelii promulgandi ab ipso Domino sit impositum; si et apostolicos, non tamen solos sed cum apostolis et post apostolos... Denique nobis fidem ex apostolis Johannes et Matthæus insinuant, ex apostolicis Lucas et Marcus instaurant...*

afterwards as far as may be necessary, it will be sufficient now merely to shew by a general enumeration the extent of their coincidence with our Gospels¹. They include an account of the Birth of our Lord from a Virgin², of the appearance of a Dove at His Baptism³, of His Temptation⁴, of the conspiracy of the wicked against Him⁵, of the hymn which He sang with His disciples before His betrayal⁶, of His silence before Pilate (Herod)⁷, of His Crucifixion at the Passover⁸, of the mockery of His enemies⁹. So also Justin quotes from them His reproof of the righteousness of the Pharisees¹⁰, and how He gave them only the sign of Jonah¹¹; and proclaimed that He alone could reveal the Father to men¹².

This then is the sum of what Justin says of the Memoirs of the Apostles. They were many, and yet one¹³: they were called Gospels: they contained a record of all things concerning Jesus Christ: they were admitted by Christians generally: they were read in their public services: they were of Apostolic authority, though not exclusively of Apostolic authorship: they were composed in part by Apostles and in part by their followers. And beyond this, we gather that they related facts only mentioned at present by one or other of the Evangelists:

*A summary
of all that
Justin says
of them.*

¹ It is interesting to compare this summary of special references with the list of all Justin's Evangelic references given already, pp. 101 ff.

² *Dial.* c. 105.

³ *Dial.* c. 88.

⁴ *Dial.* c. 103.

⁵ *Dial.* c. 104.

⁶ *Dial.* c. 106; *Matt.* xxvi. 30.

⁷ *Dial.* c. 102; *Luke* xxiii. 9.

⁸ *Dial.* c. 111.

⁹ *Dial.* c. 101; *Matt.* xxvii. 39—

⁴³.
¹⁰ *Dial.* c. 105; *Matt.* v. 20.

¹¹ *Dial.* c. 107; *Matt.* xii. 38—41.

¹² *Dial.* c. 100; *Matt.* xi. 27.

¹³ *Ap.* I. 66: ἀ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια. *Dial.* c. 100: ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται. This view of the essential oneness of the Gospels explains very naturally the freedom with which different narratives were combined in quotation. Irenæus was apparently the first to recognize, however imperfectly, variety in this unity. See p. 112, n. 4. As the records were several so too were the writers: *Ap.* I. 33, p. 111, n. 1.

Chap. ii.

that thus they were intimately connected with each one of the synoptic Gospels: that they contained nothing, as far as Justin expressly quotes them, which our Gospels do not now substantially contain. And if we go still further, and take in the whole mass of Justin's anonymous references to the life and teaching of Christ, the general effect is the same. The resemblance between the narratives is in the one case more exact, but in the other it is more extensive. Up to this point of our inquiry, and omitting for the moment all consideration of Justin's historical relation to the anonymous Roman Canon of Muratori¹ and to Irenæus, the identification of his Memoirs with our Gospels seems to be as reasonable as it is natural. But on the other hand it is said that there are fatal objections to this identification; that Justin nowhere mentions the Evangelists by name: that the text of his quotations differs materially from that of the Gospels: that he introduces Apocryphal additions into his narrative. And each of these statements must be examined before the right weight can be assigned to these general coincidences between the Gospels and Memoirs in subject, language, and character, of which we have hitherto spoken.

Objections to their identification with our Gospels.

(1) *The authors' names are constantly referred to anonymously by other writers.*

It has been already shewn² that there were peculiar circumstances in Justin's case which rendered any definite quotation of the Evangelists unlikely and unsuitable, even if such a mode of quotation had been common at the time. But in fact when he referred to written records of Christ's life and words he made an advance beyond which the later Apologists rarely proceeded³. *Tatian* his scholar has several allusions to passages contained in the Gospels of St Matthew and

¹ See below § 12.

² p. 109.

³ Cf. Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, I. 137; Semisch, 83 ff.

St John, but they are all anonymous¹. *Athenagoras* quotes the words of our Lord as they stand in St Matthew four times, and appears to allude to passages in St Mark and St John, but he nowhere mentions the name of an Evangelist². *Theophilus* in his Books to Autolycus cites five or six precepts from 'the Gospel' or 'the Evangelic voice,' and once only mentions John as 'a man moved by the Holy Spirit,' quoting the prologue to his Gospel; though he elsewhere classes the Evangelists with the Prophets as all inspired by the same Spirit³. In *Hermias* and *Minucius Felix* there appears to be no reference at all to the Gospels. The usage of *Tertullian* is very remarkable. In his other books he quotes the Gospels continually, and mentions each of the Evangelists by name, though his references to the writers of the Gospels are rare; but in his Apology, while he gives a general view of Christ's life and teaching, and speaks of the Scriptures as the food and the comfort of the Christian⁴, he nowhere cites the Gospels, and scarcely exhibits any coincidence of language with them⁵. *Clement of Alexandria*, as is well known, investigated the relation of the Synoptic Gospels to St John, and his use of the words of Scripture is constant and extensive; and yet in his 'Exhortation to Gentiles,'

¹ *Orat. c. Gr. c. 30*; Matt. xiii. 44. φόρους ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λεαλιγμένοι. Cf. *Fragg. i., ii.*; Matt. vi. 24, 19; If the commentaries attributed to xxii. 30. *Orat. c. 5*; John i. 1: c. 4; him were genuine he wrote on the John iv. 24: c. 13; John i. 5: c. 19; *four Evangelists.*

John i. 3. Cf. *ad Autol.* III. p. 126; Matt. v. ² *Ap. p. 2*; Matt. v. 39, 40: p. 11; 28, 32, 44, 46; vi. 3: *id.* II. p. 92; Matt. v. 44, 45: p. 12; Matt. v. 46, 47: Luke xviii. 17: *id.* II. § 22, p. 100; p. 36; Matt. v. 28: *Ap. p. 37*; Mark John i. 1, 3. x. 6, 11: *Ap. p. 12*; John xvii. 3.

³ *Ad Autolycum*, III. § 12, p. 124: *Ap. cc. xxi. pp. 57 sqq.; xxxix.*

ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἧς ὁ νόμος ἐλθὼν ἀκόλουθα εὐρίσκεται καὶ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἔχειν, διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας πνευματο- ⁵ The only passage I have noticed is c. xxxi. (Matt. v. 44). The same is true of the imperfect book *ad Nationes*.

Chap. ii.

while he quotes every Gospel, and all except St Mark repeatedly, he mentions St John alone by name, and that but once¹. *Cyprian* in his address to Demetrian quotes words of our Lord as given by St Matthew and St John, but says nothing of the source from which he derived them². The books of *Origen* against Celsus turned in a great measure on the criticism of the Gospels, for Celsus had diligently examined them to find objections to Christianity; and yet even there the common custom prevails. In the first book for instance our Lord's words are quoted from the text of our Gospels more than a dozen times anonymously, and only once, so far as I have observed, with the mention of the Gospel in which they were to be found³. At a still later time *Lactantius* blamed Cyprian for quoting Scripture in a controversy with a heathen⁴, and though he shews in his *Institutions* an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the Evangelists he mentions only John by name, quoting the beginning of his Gospel⁵. *Arnobius* again makes no allusion to the Gospels; and *Eusebius*, to whose zeal we owe most of what is known of the history of the New Testament, though he quotes the Gospels eighteen times in his 'Introduction to Christian Evidences' (*Præparatio Evangelica*), yet always does so without naming the Evangelist of whose writings he makes use⁶.

It would be easy to extend what has been said:—to shew that the words of 'the Apostle' are quoted scarcely

¹ *Protrep.* § 59.² *Ad Demetr.* c. i.; Matt. vii. 6: c. xxiv.; John xvii. 3.³ c. lxiii.; Luke v. 8. He also quotes the Gospels of St John, St Luke and St Mark by name for facts, cc. li., lx., lxii.; and St Matthew three times as used by Celsus, cc. xxxiv., xxxviii., xl.⁴ *Instit.* v. 4.⁵ *Instit.* iv. 8.⁶ Are we to suppose that Eusebius 'not only attached small importance 'to the [Memoirs] but also that he 'was actually ignorant of the author's 'name....' the inference which, we are told (*Supernat. Rel.* i. 303), must be drawn from the fact that Justin mentions no author's name?

less frequently than those of the Lord, without any more exact citation:—that this custom of indefinite reference is not confined to Apologetic writings, of which indeed it is peculiarly characteristic, but likewise traceable in many other cases:—that a habit which arose almost necessarily in an age of manuscript literature has not ceased even when the printing-press has left no material hindrances to occasion or excuse it; but this would lead us away from our subject, and it must be sufficiently clear that if Justin differs in any way from other similar writers as to the mode in which he introduces his Evangelic quotations, it is because he has described with unusual care the sources from which he drew them. He is not less but more explicit than later Apologists as to the writings from which he derives his accounts of the Lord's life and teaching.

Justin's method of quotation from the Old Testament may seem at first sight to create a difficulty. It has been calculated that he makes 197 citations with exact references to their source, and 117 indefinitely. But under any circumstances this fact would affect the peculiar estimation, and not the historical reception, of the New Testament books¹. And since the same phenomenon occurs in writers like Clement of Alexandria and Cyprian, whose views on the inspiration and authority of the New Testament were most definite and full, its explanation must be sought for on other principles. As far as Justin is concerned, the search leads to a satisfactory conclusion. His quotations are, I believe, exclusively prophecies; and the purpose for which he introduces them required particularity of reference². The

Chap. ii.

*mous refer-
ence even
still more
extensive.*

*The case of
quotations
from the
Prophets.*

¹ In the Apostolic Fathers Scriptural quotations are almost universally anonymous. Cf. p. 52.

² e. g. *Ap. I. 32: Μωϋσῆς πρῶτος τῶν προφητῶν γενόμενος...καὶ Ἡσαΐας δὲ ἄλλος προφήτης...*

Chap. ii.

proof of Christianity, even for the heathen, was to be derived, as he tells us, from the fulfilment of prophecy¹. The gift of foretelling the future—for already in his time this was the common view of a prophet's work—was a certain mark of a divine power; and the antiquity of the Prophets invested them with a venerable dignity beyond all other poets or seers. To quote prophecy habitually without mentioning the Prophet's name would be to deprive it of half its value; and if it seem strange that Justin does not quote Evangelists like Prophets, it is no less worthy of notice, that he does quote by name the single prophetic book of the New Testament. 'Moreover also among us a man named John, one of the Apostles of Christ, prophesied in a revelation made to him that those who have believed on our Christ shall spend a thousand years in Jerusalem²...' This reference to the Apocalypse appears to illustrate the difference which Justin makes between his quotations from the Prophecies and the Gospels; and it is sufficiently justified both by the usage of later writers and by the object which he had in view³.

From Justin's indefiniteness of reference we next pass to his inexactness of quotation. Though it sounds like a paradox, it is no less true, that up to a certain point familiarity with a book causes it to be quoted inaccurately. The memory is trusted where otherwise the

Justin refers to the Apocalypse of St John by name.

(2) The quotations differ from the canonical text.

¹ *Ap.* I. 14; and 30: τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἤδη ποιησόμεθα οὐ τοῖς λέγουσι πιστεύοντες ἀλλὰ τοῖς προφητεύουσι πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κατ' ἀνάγκην πειθόμενοι...

² *Dial.* c. 81: ἐπειδὴ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ τις ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένη αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσεν... 291).

The constrained manner of this special reference in itself serves to explain why Justin did not mention the Christian writers more frequently.

³ It is very remarkable that Justin makes no allusion to our Lord's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem. It is quoted in the *Clementine Homilies* (*Hom.* III. 15; Credner, I. 291).

text would be transcribed, and the error thus originated becomes perhaps a tradition. In addition to this disturbing influence, which must have been at least as powerful in Justin's time as in our own and as fruitful of mistakes, the accuracy of Scriptural quotations varied according to a natural law derived from their subject-matter. In history the facts of the narrative seem of the first importance: in ethics the sense and spirit of the precept: in prophecy and doctrine the precise words of the Divine lesson. Conformably with this general rule Justin like the other Fathers may be expected to relate the events of Christ's life often in his own words, combining, arranging, modifying, as the occasion may require: like them he may be expected to change but rarely the language of the Gospels in citing Christ's teaching, though he transpose words and clauses: like them too, we may be allowed to believe, he would have quoted the language of the New Testament with scrupulous care in his polemical writings if they had been preserved to us. If this be a mere supposition, it must be remembered that we have no longer those books of his in which we might have expected to find critical accuracy.

But at the same time it is to be noticed that Justin appears to be remarkable for freedom, not only in his use of classical authors¹, but also in his treatment of the Old Testament, even in the Dialogue, in which it forms the real basis of his argument. In these cases his quotations are confessedly taken from books, whether by memory or reference; and the original text can be compared with his version of it. Here at least we can determine the limits of accuracy within which he confined himself; and when

Chap. ii.

Various degrees of accuracy in quotation.

The general character of Justin's quotations from the Old Testament.

¹ Semisch has examined them in 473 D); *Ap.* II. 10 (*Tim.* p. 28 c); detail, pp. 232 ff. Examples may be found, *Ap.* I. 3 (*Plat. Resp.* v. p. *Ap.* II. 11 (*Xen. Mem.* II. 1).

Chap. ii.

they have been once fixed they will serve as a standard. No greater accuracy is to be expected anywhere than in the use of the Prophecies; and a few characteristic examples of his mode of dealing with them as well as with the other writings of the Old Testament will shew what kind of variations we must be prepared to find in any references which he may make to the Gospel-narrative¹.

a) Combination of different texts.

In the Dialogue.

In the Apology.

The first and most striking phenomenon in his quotations is the combination of detached texts, sometimes taken from different parts of the same book, and sometimes from different books. Thus when he is explaining the presence of the spirit of Elias in John the Baptist against Trypho's objection he says: 'Does it not seem to you that the same transference was made in the case of Joshua—when Moses was commanded to place his hands on Joshua (Numb. xxvii. 18), when God said to him *'And I will impart to him of the Spirit that is in thee'*? (c. xi. 17). So again when shewing that the Word is the Messenger (ἄγγελος καὶ ἀπόστολος) of God he adds; 'And moreover this will be made clear from the writings of Moses. Now it is said in them thus: *The Angel of the Lord spake to Moses in a flame of fire out of the bush and said: I am That I Am (ὁ ὢν), the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the God of thy fathers. Go down to Egypt and lead forth my people*'. Passages of different writers are combined even when the citation is made expressly from one. 'For Jeremiah cries thus,' we read, *'Woe to you, because ye forsook a living fountain, and digged for yourselves broken cisterns which will not be*

¹ See note A at the end of the Section. 'These free quotations are adapted to the wants of heathen readers'

² *Dial.* c. 49. The passage Numb. xi. 17 refers to the seventy elders. (Credner, II. 58). By a reasonable adaptation these words become: 'These free quotations [from the Gospels] are adapted to the wants of Jewish [or heathen] readers.'

³ *Ap.* i. 63. *Exod.* iii. 2, 14, 6, 10.

'able to hold water (Jerem. ii. 13). *Shall there be a wilderness [without water] where the Mount Sion is (Isai. xvi. 1, LXX.), because I gave to Jerusalem a bill of divorce in your sight¹?*' (Jerem. iii. 8). The intertexture of various passages is sometimes still more complicated. 'What then the people of the Jews will say and do when they see Christ's advent in glory has been thus told in prophecy by Zacharias: *I will charge the four winds to gather together my children who have been scattered, I will charge the north wind to bring, and the south wind not to hinder* (cf. Zech. ii. 6; Isai. xliii. 5). *And then shall there be in Jerusalem a great lamentation, not a lamentation of mouths and lips, but a lamentation of heart* (Zech. xii. 11), *and they shall not rend their garments, but their minds* (Joel ii. 13). *They shall lament tribe to tribe* (Zech. xii. 12); *and then shall they look on Him whom they pierced* (Zech. xii. 10), and say: *Why, O Lord, didst thou make us to err from Thy way?* (Isai. lxiii. 17). *The glory which our fathers blessed is turned to our reproach²* (Isai. lxiv. 11).

The same cause which led Justin to combine various texts in other places led him to compress, to individualize, to adapt, the exact words of Scripture for the better expression of his meaning; and at times he may appear to misuse the passages which he quotes. The extent to which this licence is carried will appear from the following examples.

¹ *Dial. c. 114.* Credner (II. 246) remarks that Barnabas (c. xi.) connects the two former passages together; yet his text is wholly different from that of Justin. Cf. Semisch, 262 *ann.*

² *Ap. I. 52.* The clause *δυσονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν* is quoted in the *Dialogue* (c. 14) as from *Hosea*, *δυσ-*

ται ὁ λαὸς ὑμῶν καὶ γνώσει εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν. The reading in the LXX. is *ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο*, which arose from a double interchange of the Hebrew letters *ך* *ק*. The rendering which Justin gives occurs in John xix. 37, and also in Apoc. i. 7. Cf. Credner, pp. 293 ff.

(B) *Adaptation of texts.*

Chap. ii.

*In the
Dialogue.*

In speaking of the duty of proclaiming the truth which we know, and of the judgment which will fall on those who know and tell it not, he quotes the declaration of God by Ezechiel: '*I have placed thee as a watchman to the house of Judah. Should the sinner sin, and thou not testify to him, he indeed shall perish for his sin, but from thee will I require his blood; but if thou testify to him, thou shalt be blameless*' (Ezech. iii. 17—19). In this quotation only two phrases of the original text remain; but the remainder expresses the sense of the Prophet with conciseness and force¹. Again, when referring to Plato's idea of the cruciform distribution of the principle of life through the universe², he says, 'This likewise he borrowed from Moses; for in the writings of Moses it is recorded that at that point of time when the Israelites came out of Egypt and were in the wilderness venomous beasts encountered them, vipers and asps and serpents of all kinds, which killed the people; and that by inspiration and impulse of God Moses took brass and made an image of a cross, and set this on (ἐπί, dat.) the holy tabernacle, and said to the people: *Should you look on this image and believe in it, you shall be saved*. And he has recorded that when this was done the serpents died, and so the people escaped death³' (Numb. xxi. 8, 9, sqq.). The details of the fabrication of a cross rather than of a serpent,

¹ *Dial.* c. 82.² *Pl. Tim.* p. 36 B: ταύτην οὖν τὴν ξύστασιν πᾶσαν διπλὴν κατὰ μήκος σχίσας, μέσσην πρὸς μέσσην ἐκατέραν ἀλλήλαις οἶον (χ) προσβαλὼν κατέκαμψεν εἰς κύκλον... Justin's quotation of the passage is characteristic: Ἐχίασεν αὐτὸν [sc. τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ] ἐν τῷ παντί.³ *Ap.* I. 60. From the comparison of John iii. 15, I prefer to put the stop after ἐν αὐτῷ. Credner(p. 28) omits ἐν apparently by mistake. It will be observed that in the quotation each chief word is changed: προσβλέπειν is substituted for ἐπιβλέπειν, σώζεσθαι for ζῆν, and πιστεύειν is introduced as the condition of healing. These changes are also preserved in a general way in the second allusion to the passage, *Dial.* c. 94, which otherwise approaches more nearly to the LXX.

of the erection of the life-giving symbol on the tabernacle—that type of the outward world, of the address of Moses to the people, are due entirely to Justin's interpretation of the narrative. He gave what he thought to be the spirit and meaning of the passage, and in so doing has not preserved one significant word of the original text.

In many cases it is possible to explain these peculiarities of Justin's quotations by supposing that he intentionally deviated from the common text in order to bring out its meaning more clearly; in others he may have followed a traditional rendering or accommodation of scriptural language, such as are current at all times; but after every allowance has been made, a large residue of passages remains from which it is evident that the variations often spring from errors of memory. He quotes, for instance, the same passage in various forms; and that not only in different books, but even in the same book, and at short intervals. He ascribes texts to wrong authors; and that in the *Dialogue* as well as in the *Apology*, even when he shews in other places that he is not ignorant of their true source¹. And once more: the variations are most remarkable and frequent in short passages: that is exactly in those for which it would seem superfluous to unroll the MS. and refer to the original text².

If then it be sufficiently made out that Justin dealt in this manner with the Old Testament, which was sanctioned in each *jot and tittle* by the authority of Christ Himself, which was already inwrought into the Christian dialect by long and habitual use, which was familiarized to the

Chap. ii.

These variations in many cases must be errors of memory.

Application of Justin's Evangelic quotations.

¹ In the *Apology*: Zephaniah for Zechariah (c. 35); Jeremiah for Daniel (c. 51); Isaiah for Jeremiah (c. 53). In the *Dialogue*: Jeremiah for Isaiah (c. 12); Hosea for Zechariah (c. 14); Zechariah for Malachi (c. 49). The first passage (Zech. ix. 9) is rightly quoted in *Dial.* c. 53; the next (Dan. vii. 13) rightly alluded to in *Dial.* c. 76. Cf. Semisch, 240 *anm.*

² See note B at the end of the Section.

Chap. ii.

Christian disputant by continual and minute controversy:—can it be expected that he should use the text of the Gospels with more scrupulous care? that he should in every case refer to his manuscript to ascertain the exact words of the record? that he should preserve them free from traditional details? that he should keep distinctly separate cognate accounts of the same event, complementary narratives of the same discourse? If he combined the words of Prophets to convey to the heathen a fuller notion of their divine wisdom, and often contented himself with the sense of Scripture even when he argued with a Jew, can it be a matter of surprise that to heathen and to Jews alike he sets forth rather the substance than the letter of those Christian writings which had for them no individual authority? In proportion as the idea of a New Testament Canon was less clear in his time, or at least less familiarly realized by ancient usage, than that of the Old Testament; in proportion as the Apostolic writings were invested with less objective worth for those whom he addressed; we may expect to find his quotations from the Evangelists more vague and imperfect and inaccurate than those from the Prophets. So far as it is not so, the fact implies that personal study had supplied the place of traditional knowledge, that what was wanting to the Christian Scriptures in the clearness of defined authority was made up by the sense of their individual value.

It has been said that Justin's quotations are frequently made from memory¹. This appears to be an

¹ The hypothesis that Justin so quoted, is simply the supposition that he did what any one in a similar position would do still. He was steeped in the words of the Lord gathered from the Gospels and he brought them together as they rose before him in a connexion harmonious with his purpose. The aim of the Mis-

sionary or the Preacher is to convey the effect of that with which he is filled. No one, I imagine, supposes that Justin picked out phrases from his MS. any more than we ourselves pick out phrases from our printed Bibles when we link passage with passage.

inevitable conclusion from the fact, that where he quotes a saying twice the quotations for the most part present differences greater or less. Such differences would have been impossible if in each case he had referred to his 'written Gospel.' The examples of repeated quotations which I have noticed are the following:

Apol. 15.

But be ye kind and pitiful
(*χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες*)
as also your Father
is kind and pitiful,

and He maketh His sun to rise
upon *sinner*s and just men and
evil.

Dial. 96.

Be ye kind and pitiful (*χρηστοὶ
καὶ οἰκτίρμονες*)
as also your *heavenly* Father.
For we see the Almighty God
kind and pitiful,
making His sun to rise upon
unthankful men and just,
and raining upon holy men and
evil...

The addition of *χρηστός*, which is not found in our texts, in both passages points to a various reading.

Apol. 15.

Pray for *your* enemies (*τῶν ἐχθ.
ὑμῶν*),
and love those that hate *you*,
and bless those that curse *you*,
and pray for those that despite-
fully use you.

Dial. 133.

to pray *even* for enemies (*τῶν
ἐχθρ.*),
and to love those that hate,
and to bless those that curse.

Here the coincidences of *pray for* for *love*, and of *love* for *do good to*, mark a different form (perhaps oral) of the precept from that found in our text. Compare pp. 141 f.

Apol. 16.

When one came to him
and said,
Good Master, He answered
saying,
*No one is good
except only God
who made all things.*

Dial. 101.

When one said to him,
Good Master, He answered,
*Why callest thou me good?
One is good, my Father
which is in heaven.*

The difference here is complete.

Chap. ii.

Apol. 16.

But many shall say to me,
 Lord, Lord, did we not in Thy
 name
 eat and drink and *do mighty
 works?*
 And *then* I will say to them,
 Depart from me
Ye workers of iniquity.

Here again the differences are remarkable.

Apol. 16.

Whoso heareth me
and doeth what I say
 heareth Him that sent me.

Apol. 16.

For many shall *come* (ἔξουσιν)
 in my name
 clothed without *indeed* in sheep-
 skins,
 but *being* inwardly ravening
 wolves.

The coincidence of δέρματα προβάτων (sheep-skins) is remarkable and perhaps points to a distinct reading. Yet compare p. 139.

Apol. 63.

No man *knoweth* (ἔγνω)
 the Father, save the Son;
 nor the Son, save the Father
 and they to whom the Son
 reveals Him.

Compare p. 134 n.

Dial. 17.

whited sepulchres,
 appearing fair without
but full within of dead men's
 bones.

Dial. 76.

Many shall say to me *in that day*,
 Lord, Lord, did we not in Thy
 name
 eat and drink and *prophecy and
 cast out devils?*
 And I will say to them,
 Depart from me.

Apol. 62.

He that heareth me
 heareth Him that sent me.

Dial. 35.

Many shall *come* (ἐλεύσονται)
 in my name
 clothed without in sheep-skins,
 but inwardly *they are* ravening
 wolves.

Dial. 100.

No man *cometh to know* (γινώσκει)
 the Father, save the Son;
 nor the Son, save the Father
 and they to whom the Son
 reveals Him.

Dial. 112.

whited sepulchres,
 appearing fair without
and full within of dead men's
 bones.

Dial. 76 (cf. c. 51).

The Son of Man must suffer many things and be rejected *by the Scribes and Pharisees*, and be crucified and on the third day rise again.

Dial. 100.

The Son of Man must suffer many things and be rejected *by the Pharisees and Scribes*, and be crucified and on the third day rise again.

Chap. ii.

The insertion of '*the Pharisees*' must be noticed. See p. 139.

Dial. 49.

But He that is stronger than I shall come (*ἥξει*), whose sandals I am not worthy to bear.

Dial. 88.

For He that is stronger than I shall come (*ἥξει*), whose sandals I am not worthy to bear.

The occurrence of *ἥξει* in both places seems to mark a true various reading. Compare pp. 142 f.

A careful consideration of these crucial passages will, I believe, establish two conclusions which explain all the phenomena offered by Justin's quotations: the first is, that he quoted (often, at least,) from memory, and the second, that his Evangelic texts had several readings (like those of D, for example,) of which there are either few or no traces elsewhere.

To examine in detail the whole of Justin's quotations would be tedious and unnecessary. It will be enough to examine (1) those which are alleged by him as quotations, and those also which though anonymous are yet found repeated with the same variations either (2) in Justin's own writings or (3) in heretical books. It is evidently on these quotations that the decision hangs. If they be naturally reconcilable with Justin's use of the Canonical Gospels, the partial inaccuracy of the remainder can be of little moment. But if they be clearly derived from uncanonical sources, the general coincidence of the mass with our Gospels only shews that there was a wide uniformity in the Evangelic tradition.

How far Justin's quotations from the Gospel-narrative need be examined.

Chap. ii.

(a) *Express quotations from the Memoirs.*

Their agreement with the Gospel text.

In seven passages only, as far as I can discover¹, does Justin distinctly quote the Memoirs (γέγραπται); and in these passages, if anywhere, it is natural to expect that he will preserve the exact language of one of the Gospels which he used, just as in anonymous quotations we may conclude that he gives the substance of the common narrative². The result of a first view of these passages is striking. Of the seven five agree verbally with the text of St Matthew or St Luke, exhibiting indeed three slight various readings not elsewhere found, but such as are easily explicable³: the sixth is a compressed

¹ *Ap.* i. 66 (Luke xxii. 19, 20) and *Dial.* c. 103 (Luke xxii. 42—44) (cf. *Matt.* xxvi. 28) are not properly quotations of words, but concise narratives. The first runs as follows: οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς· τὸν Ἰησοῦν λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου· καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι. The reference, it will be observed, is to 'the Gospels' (plural) and to 'the Apostles,' and the account is oblique. No more is told than is sufficient to establish the parallel with the Mithraic mysteries which he draws. The marvel is, not that Justin should have compressed the record, but that he should have told so much of a sacrament which was carefully kept from public knowledge. *Comp. Dial.* 70.

The second passage has been already noticed p. 113, n. 5.

Differences in detail supposed to have been derived by Justin from the *Memoirs* will be examined in the next division (3).

² The general moral teaching of the Lord which is epitomised in *Ap.* i. 15—17 is introduced by the following phrases τοσοῦτον εἶπεν—ταῦτα

ἐδίδαξεν—ταῦτα ἔφη—οὕτως παρέκελεύσατο—ὥς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐμήνυσεν εἰπών—I venture to think that few will admit that words so introduced in the connexion in which they stand are "professedly literal quotations" from written documents (*Supernat. Rel.* i. pp. 375 ff.). The same general forms of reference (εἰρήκει, ἔφη, ἐδίδαξε, ἐβόα) are used in all cases (I believe) except those quoted in these paragraphs (a).

³ The passages are these:

1. *Dial.* c. 103: οὗτος ὁ διάβολος ... ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων γέγραπται προσελθὼν αὐτῷ καὶ πειράζων μέχρι τοῦ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ Προσκύνησόν μοι· καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι αὐτῷ τὸν Χριστὸν· Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου σατανᾶ· κύριον τὸν θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις=*Matt.* iv. 10. The addition ὀπίσω μου is supported by fairly good authority, though probably it is only a very early interpolation, as early as the time of Justin, like other readings of *D. Syr. Vt.* and *Lat. Vt.* The form of the quotation explains the omission of γέγραπται γάρ, which Justin indeed elsewhere recognizes, c. 125: ἀποκρίνεται γὰρ αὐτῷ· Γέγραπται· κύριον τὸν θεόν κ.τ.λ.

In the Clementine Homilies the answer assumes an entirely different

summary of words related by St Matthew: the seventh alone presents an important variation in the text of a verse, which is however otherwise very uncertain. Our inquiry is thus confined to the last two instances; and it must be seen whether their disagreement from the Synoptic Gospels is such as to outweigh the agreement of the remaining five.

The first passage occurs in the account which Justin gives of the Crucifixion as illustrating the prophecy in Psalm xxi.: 'Those who looked on Christ as He hung 'on the Cross shook their heads and pointed with their

Their disagreement.
Matt. xxvii.
29 sqq.
Mk. xv. 29ff.
Luke xxiii.
35-

complexion (*Hom. VIII. 21*): ἀποκρινάμενος οὖν ἔφη· Γέγραπται· Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις μόνον.

2. *Dial. c. 105*: ταῦτα εἰρηκέναι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι γέγραπται· Ἐὰν μὴ περισσείσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλείον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν=Matt. v. 20. The transposition ὑμῶν ἡ δικ. is certainly correct. For Clement's variations in quoting this verse see Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* II. 251.

3. *Dial. c. 107*: γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν συζητοῦντες αὐτῷ ἔλεγον ὅτι Δεῖξον ἡμῖν σημεῖον. Καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς· Γενεὰ πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλὶς σημεῖον ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτοῖς εἰ μὴ τό σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ=Matt. xii. [38], 39. The first part, as its form shews, is quoted freely; our Lord's answer differs from the text of St Matthew only in reading αὐτοῖς for αὐτῷ. Such a confusion of relatives with an antecedent like γενεὰ is very common. Cf. Luke x. 13 (καθηήμενοι -αι); Acts ii. 3 (ἐκάθισεν -αν). Winer, *N. T. Gramm.* § 58. 4. b, p. 458 (ed. 6).

4. *Dial. c. 49*: ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς εἰρήκει... Ἡλίας μὲν ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα· λέ-

γω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι Ἡλίας ἤδη ἦλθε, καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτὸν ἀλλ' ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ ὅσα ἠθέλησαν καὶ γέγραπται ὅτι τότε συνήκαν οἱ μαθηταὶ ὅτι περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτίστου εἶπεν αὐτοῖς=Matt. xvii. 11—13. The express quotation (ver. 13) agrees exactly with the text of St Matthew, and Credner admits that it must have been taken from his Gospel (p. 237). In the other part the text of St Matthew has ἔρχεται (πρώτον is certainly spurious), and ἐν αὐτῷ, but the preposition is omitted by ~~Ν~~ D F U ~~Θ~~ c., see however Mark ix. 13. Credner insists (p. 219) on the variation ἐλεύσεσθαι (repeated again in the same chapter); with how much justice the various readings in Luke xxiii. 29 may shew. See also Gen. xviii. 14: ἀναστρέψω (*Dial. c. 56*); ἀποστρέψω (*Dial. c. 126*); ἀναστρέψω (LXX.). Cf. p. 139, and the next note. [This passage is inserted with some doubt on account of the use of γέγραπται.]

5. *Dial. c. 105*: καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδούς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ εἶπε· Πάτερ εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου· ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων καὶ τοῦτο ἔμαθον=Luke xxiii. 46. The quotation is verbally correct: παρατίθεμαι, not παραθήσομαι, is certainly the right reading.

Chap. ii.

'lips and sneering said in mockery these things which 'are also written in the Memoirs of His Apostles: *He called Himself the Son of God; let Him come down and walk; let God save Him*¹.' These exact words do not occur in our Gospels. In St Matthew the taunts are: *Thou that destroyest the Temple and buildest it in three days, save Thyself: if Thou art the Son of God, come down from the Cross....He saved others: Himself He cannot save. He is the King of Israel: let Him now come down from the Cross and we will believe on Him. He trusted on God: let Him deliver Him now if He will have Him; for He said, I am the Son of God.* St Mark gives a slight variation of one phrase: *Let the Christ, the King of Israel, come down from the Cross, that we may see and believe.* St Luke's quotation is shorter: *He saved others; let Him save Himself, if this is the Christ of God, the Chosen.* The peculiarity of Justin's phrase lies in the word '[let Him] walk².' No Manuscript or Father (so far as we know) has preserved any reading of the passage with this peculiarity; and if it appear that Justin's quotation is not deducible from our Gospels, due allowance being made for the object which he had in view, that is, to give a summary account of the record of the Evangelic narratives, its source must remain concealed.

¹ *Dial. c. 101*: Οἱ θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν ἐσταυρωμένον καὶ κεφαλὰς ἕκαστος ἐκίνουν καὶ τὰ χεῖλη διέστρεφον καὶ τοῖς μυξωτήρσιν ἐν ἀλλήλοις † διερινοῦντες † ἔλεγον εἰρωνευόμενοι ταῦτα ἃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ γέγραπται. Τῶν θεῶν ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε, καταβὰς περιπατεῖτω σωσάτω αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός. The account in the *Apology* (I. 38) appears to prove that Justin gives only the substance of the Evangelic account: Σταυρωθέντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐξέστρεφον τὰ χεῖλη καὶ ἐκίνουν τὰς κεφαλὰς λέ-

γοντες· Ὁ νεκροῦς ἀναγέλρας ῥυσάσθω ἑαυτὸν. It is strange that in the quotation from the Psalm in *Dial. I. c.* the words σωσάτω αὐτὸν are omitted, though they are given in c. 98.

² It must be remarked that this word is not found in *Ap. I. 38* where the taunt is said to be (ὡς μαθεῖν δύνασθε) Ὁ νεκροῦς ἀναγέλρας ῥυσάσθω ἑαυτὸν. Nothing, I think, could shew more clearly that Justin purposes to give only the substance of the narrative which he quotes.

The remaining passage is more remarkable. While interpreting the same Psalm xxi. Justin speaks of Christ as *dwelling in the holy place, as the praise of Israel*, to whom the mysterious blessings pronounced in old times to the Patriarchs belonged; and then he adds: 'Yea and it is written in the Gospel that he said: *All things have been delivered to me by the Father; and no man knoweth the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father, and those to whomsoever the Son shall reveal [the Father and Himself]*'¹. The last clause occurs again twice in the Apology, with the single variation that the verb is an aorist (ἔγνω) and not a present (γινώσκει)².

There are here three various readings to be noticed. '*All things have been delivered to me* (παράδοται)' for '*all things were* (aor.) *delivered to me* (παρεδόθη)'—the transposition of the words *Father* and *Son*—the phrase '*those to whomsoever the Son shall reveal [Him]*' for '*he to whomsoever the Son shall please to [βούληται] reveal [Him]*'. Of these the first is not found in any other authority, but is a common variation³; and the last is supported by Clement, Origen, and other Fathers, so that it cannot prove anything against Justin's use of the Canonical Gospels⁴, while Justin himself in another place uses the present.

¹ *Dial. c. 100*: καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ γέγραπται εἰπὼν [ὁ Χριστός] Πάντα μοι παραδέδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς· καὶ οὐδὲς γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός· οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἱς ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ. The last word ἀποκαλύψῃ, as it has no immediate subject, is I believe equivalent to 'makes a revelation,' i.e. of His own nature and of the nature of the Father. So I find Augustine takes the passage: *Quest. Evv. i. i.*

² *Ap. i. 63* (bis). Credner (*i. 248*

ff.) insists on the appearance of this reading ἔγνω, as if it were a mark of the influence of Gnostic documents on Justin's narrative. It is a sufficient answer that the reading is not only found in Marcion and the Clementines, but also repeatedly in Clement of Alexandria and Origen (*Griesb. Symb. Crit. II. 271*). Cf. Semisch, p. 367.

³ Cf. John vii. 39: δεδομένον, δοθέν.

⁴ Cf. Griesbach, *Symb. Crit. l. c.*

The transposition of the words still remains; and how little weight can be attached to that will appear upon an examination of the various forms in which the text is quoted by Fathers like Origen, Irenæus, and Epiphanius, who admitted our Gospels exclusively. It occurs in them, as will be seen from the table of readings, with almost every possible variation¹. Irenæus in the course of one chapter quotes the verse first as it stands in the Canonical text; then in the same order, but with the last clause like Justin's; and once again altogether as he has given it, with the present (*γινώσκει*, *cognoscit*)²; and in another place he gives the first clause

¹ The extent of the varieties of reading found in early orthodox authorities independent of Justin is shewn in the following scheme :

St Matt. xi. 27	οὐδὲς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις	(1)
Clem. Strom. I. §178	,, ἔγνω ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, om.	(2)
Orig. c. Cels. VI. 17	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, om.	(3)
Orig. c. Cels. VII. 44	,, ,, ,, πατέρα ,, υἱός om. om. om. om.	(4)
Clem. Strom. V. §85 [οὐδὲς]	τὸν πατέρα ἔγνω ,, ,, om. om. om. om.	(5)
Orig. in Joh. I. § 42	οὐδὲς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα ,, ,,	
— in Joh. XXXII. 18,	,, ,, υἱόν ,, πατήρ	

(1)	ἐπιγνώσκει	εἰ	μή	ὁ	υἱὸς	καὶ	ὃς	ἐὰν	βούληται	ὁ	υἱὸς	ἀποκαλύψαι
(2)	om.	"	"	"	"	"	"	ἂν	om.	"	"	ἀποκαλύψῃ
(3)	om.	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	om.	"	"	"
(4)	om.	om.	om.	om.	om.	"	"	"	om.	"	"	"
(5)	om.	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	om.	"	"	"

Compare also Clem. *Pad.* I. § 20; *Strom.* VII. § 58. Orig. in *Joh.* XIII. § 25; XIX. § 1. From this evidence it is impossible not to believe that *ἐγώ* was found in some early MSS. of the Gospels.

Credner (I, p. 249) quotes from Irenæus (IV. 6. 1) 'et cui revelare *Pater* voluerit,' but I can find no authority for such a reading. The mistake at least shews how easy it is to misquote such a text.

² Iren. iv. 6. 1 Nemo cognoscit filium nisi pater neque patrem quis (1)

— IV. 6. 7 " " " " " " om. (2)

— IV. 6. 3 „ „ patrem „ filius „ filium om. (3)

Heretics ap. Iren. *l.c.* „ cognovit „ „ „ nec „ om. (4)

Iren. II. 14.	"	"	"	"	"
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Tertull. *c. Marc.* II. 27 " " " "

— *c. Marc. IV. 25* scit " " "

(1) cognoscit nisi filius et cui voluerit filius revelare

(2) *om.* " " " quibuscunque *om.* " revelaverit

(3) om. " pater " " om. "

(3)	om.	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
(4)	om.	„	„	„	cui	om.	„	„	„

Compare p. 135 n. 3.

as Justin with a 'past' (ἐγνων, *cognovit*)¹. Epiphanius likewise quotes the text seven times in the same order as Justin, and four times as it stands in the Gospels². If indeed Justin's quotations were made from memory, no transposition could be more natural; and if we suppose that he copied the passage directly from a Manuscript, there is no difficulty in believing that he may have found it so written in a Manuscript of the Canonical St Matthew, since the variation is excluded by no internal improbability, while it is found elsewhere, and its origin is easily explicable³.

This variation is the more remarkable since in IV. 6. 1, Irenæus attributes the reading of Justin to those qui peritiores Apostolis volunt esse.

¹ Iren. II. 14. 7: I can see nothing in this passage to indicate that Irenæus is using a reading which he rejects. So far is *novit* (*cognovit*) from being of a heretical stamp, that *novit* is the reading of the Old and Vulgate Latin, a few copies of the former only reading *cognoscit* (*agnoscit*). Augustine has both readings (*cognoscit*, *novit*).

² Semisch, p. 369. e.g. c. *Hæc*. II. 2. 43 (p. 766 C); II. 1. 4 (p. 466 B).

³ Semisch has well remarked (p. 366) that the word *πατρός* immediately preceding may have led to the transposition.

To avoid repetition it may be well to give the passage as it stands in various heretical books, that Justin's independence of them may be at once evident.

(a) MARCION (*Dial. ap. Orig.* § 1, p. 283): οὐδεὶς ἐγνων τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν τις γινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ. The reading of the Marcionite interlocutor is apparently accepted in the argument. Directly afterwards however the words are given: οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, and οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὸν υἱόν. These variations are found, it is to be remem-

bered, in an argument between *Christians*.

(β) CLEMENTINES, *Hom.* XVII. 4: οὐδεὶς ἐγνων τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν τις οἶδεν [εἶδεν, Cred.?] εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἱς ἂν βούληται [βούλεται, Cred., Cotel.] ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι. The text is repeated in the same words, *Hom.* XVIII. 4, 13, 20 (part). The difference of Justin's reading from this is clear and striking. Cf. *Recogn.* II. 47.

(γ) The MARCOSIANS, Iren. I. 20. 3: οὐδεὶς ἐγνων τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ ᾧ ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ. Irenæus does not criticize the reading. This differs from Justin's by καὶ (for οὐδὲ) and ᾧ (for οἱς). In the context *παρεδόθη* stands for Justin's *παρὰ δέδοται*.

The case appears to me to be quite simple, and to call for no argument. Origen (to take one example) unquestionably used our Canonical Gospels as alone of authority; yet he several times agrees with Justin both (1) as to order and (2) as to the tense *ἐγνων*. Either then he found the reading which he quoted in manuscripts of St Matthew, or made an error of memory. What he did Justin may have done also. It must be remembered also that Justin reads *γινώσκει* in the one express quotation which he makes.

Chap. ii.

(8) *Repetitions of the same variations from the Canonical text.*

If the direct quotations which Justin makes from the Apostolic Memoirs supply no adequate proof that he used any books different from 'our Canonical Gospels, it remains to be seen whether there be anything in the character of his indefinite references to the substance of the Gospels which leads to such a conclusion: whether there be any stereotyped variations in his narrative which point to a written source; and any crucial coincidences with other documents which shew in what direction we must look for it.

Cases when the repetition of a reading becomes important.

It has been remarked already that a false quotation may become a tradition. Much more is it likely to reappear from association in a writer to whom it has once occurred by accident, or been suggested by peculiar influences. It must be shewn that there is something in the variation in the first instance which excludes the belief that it is merely a natural error, before any stress can be laid upon the fact of its repetition, which within certain limits is even to be expected. Erroneous readings continually recur in the works of Fathers who have preserved the true text in other passages where for some reason or other there seemed to be especial need for accuracy¹. Justin himself has reproduced passages of the LXX. with persistent variations, of which no traces can be elsewhere found². Unless then it can be made out that the recurrent readings in which he differs from the text of the Evangelists, whom he did not profess to quote, are more striking or more numerous than those found in the other Fathers, and in his own quotations from the Old Testament, the fact that there are corre-

¹ See Semisch, pp. 330 sqq. Any critical commentary to the New Testament will furnish a crowd of instances. I intended to give a collection from Griesbach's *Symbolæ Criticæ*—only from Clement and Origen—but it proved too bulky.
² e. g. Isai. xlii. 6 sq. Credner, *Beiträge*, II. pp. 165, 213 sqq.

sponding variations in both cases serves only to shew that he treated the Gospels as they did, or as he himself treated the Prophets, and not that he was either unacquainted with their existence or ignorant of their peculiar claims.

The real nature of the various readings of Justin's quotations will appear more clearly by a comparison with those found at present in Manuscripts of the New Testament. Errors of quotation often find a parallel in errors of copying; and even where they differ in extent they frequently coincide in principle. If we exclude mistakes in writing, differences in inflexion and orthography, adaptations for ecclesiastical reading, and intentional corrections, the remaining various readings in the Gospels may be divided generally into synonymous words and phrases, transpositions, marginal glosses, and combinations of parallel passages¹. This classification will serve exactly for the recurrent variations in Justin; and as it was made for an independent purpose it cannot seem to have been suggested by them, however nearly it explains their origin.

In the first group of passages which Justin quotes in his Apology from the 'Precepts of Christ' he says: 'Now concerning our affection (*στέργειν*) for all men He taught this: *If ye love them which love you* what strange thing do ye? *for the fornicators do this...* And to the end that we should communicate to those who need... He said: *Give to every one that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn ye not away; for if ye lend to*

Chap. ii.

The chief classes of various readings in MSS.

Justin's readings to be examined according to this classification.

i. Synonymous phrases.

First instance.
Luke vi. 32.

¹ This classification is given by Schulz in his third edition of the first volume of Griesbach's New Testament, pp. xxxviii. sqq. He has illustrated each class by a series of examples, which may be well compared with Justin's quotations. I cannot admit that the grounds of explanation proposed are 'purely imaginary.' They lie in the historical investigation of the text of the Gospels.

'*them of whom ye hope to receive*, what strange thing do 'ye? this even the publicans do¹.' The whole form of the quotation, the context, the intertexture of the words of St Matthew and St Luke, shew that the quotation is made from memory. How then are we to regard the repetition of the phrase 'what strange thing do ye?' The corresponding words in St Luke in both cases are *what thank have ye?* in St Matthew, who has only the first passage, *what reward have ye?* This very diversity might occasion the new turn which Justin gives to the sentence; and the last words point to its source in the text of St Matthew: *If ye love them which love you, what reward have ye?* Do not even the publicans the same? *And if ye salute your brethren only*, what remarkable thing do ye? *Do not even the heathen so*²? The change of the word (καινός for περισσός) which alone remains to be explained—if indeed it were not suggested by the common idiom³—falls in with the peculiar object of

¹ *Ap. I. 15*: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ στέργειν ἅπαντας ταῦτα ἐδίδαξεν· Ἐὶ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε; (τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε; *Mt.* ποῖα ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν; *Lc.*) Καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρνοι (οἱ τελῶναι *Mt.* οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ *Lc.*) τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν (*Luke vi. 32; Matt. v. 46*)...Εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς δόξαν ποιεῖν ταῦτα ἔφη· Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι δίδοτε (δὸς *Mt.* δίδου *Lc.*) καὶ τὸν βουλούμενον (θέλοντα *Mt.*) δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆτε (-ῆς *Mt.* the text of *Lc.* is here quite different). Ἐὶ γὰρ δανείσετε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε; (*Mt.* omits this clause: *Lc. ut supra*) Τοῦτο καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ποιοῦσιν (*Matt. v. 42; Luke vi. 30, 34*). In all the quotations from Justin I have marked the *variations* from the text of the Gospels by *Roman* letters in the *Italicised* translation, and in the original by *spaced* letters. If there appear to be any fair MS. authority for a reading which

Justin gives I have not noticed it, unless it be of grave importance. For instance in the second passage λαβεῖν is read for ἀπολαβεῖν by **N B L**; and in the first τοῦτο for τὸ αὐτὸ by good Greek and (especially) Latin authorities.

² *Matt. v. 47*: τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε; In this verse we must read ἐθνικοὶ for τελῶναι, but τελῶναι is undoubtedly the right reading in the corresponding clause in ver. 46, and thus the connexion of the words is scarcely less striking than before. At the same time Justin *may* have read τελῶναι the verse is not quoted by Clement, Origen, or Irenæus.

³ The phrase καινὸν ποιεῖν occurs in Plato, *Resp.* III. 399 E. It is possible that περισσὸν ποιεῖν may be found elsewhere, but I doubt whether it would be used in the same sense; περισσὰ πράσσειν has a meaning altogether different.

Justin's argument, who wished to shew the *reformation* wrought in men by Christ's teaching. The repetition of the phrase in two passages closely connected was almost inevitable.

The recurrent readings in Justin offer another instance of the substitution of a synonymous phrase for the true text. He quotes our Lord as saying: '*Many shall come in my name clothed without in sheep-skins but being inwardly ravening wolves*'.¹ This quotation again is evidently a combination of two passages of St Matthew, and made from memory. The longer expression in Justin reads like a paraphrase of the words in the Gospel, and is illustrated by the single reference made to the verse by Clement, who speaks of the Prophetic Word as describing some men under the image of *wolves arrayed in sheep's fleeces*². If Clement allowed himself this licence in quoting the passages, surely it cannot be denied to Justin.

In close connexion with these various readings is another passage in which Justin substitutes a special for a general word, and replaces a longer and more unusual enumeration of persons by a short and common one. 'Christ cried aloud before He was crucified, *The Son of Man must suffer many things and be rejected* by (ὑπὸ) 'the scribes and Pharisees *and be crucified and on the third day rise again*'³. In another place the same words

Chap. ii.

Second instance.
Matt. vii. 17.

Another instance.

¹ *Dial.* c. 35 (*Ap.* 1. 16): Πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται (ἤξουσιν *Ap.*) ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου ἐξωθεν' (+ μὲν *Ap.*) ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἐσθθεν δέ εἰσι (ὄντες *Ap.*) λύκοι ἄρπαγες (*Matt.* xxiv. 5; vii. 15). Immediately below (*Dial.* l. c.) Justin quotes, Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν οἵτινες ἐλεύσονται (ἐρχονται *Mt.*) πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξωθεν, κ.τ.λ. (*Matt.* vii. 15: ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων). The phrase ἐνδύμασι προβάτων is very strange, and though there is apparently no variation in the MSS. δέρμασι has been conjectured. Cf. Schulz, in *l.* Semisch has remarked that ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα shews traces of the text of St Matthew (p. 340).

² *Clem. Al. Protr.* § 4: λύκοι κωδίοις προβάτων ἡμφιεσμένοι.

³ *Dial.* c. 76: Ἐβόα γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ σταυρωθῆναι· Δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώ-

Chap. ii.

occur with the transposition of the titles '...by the Pharisees and scribes.' Once again the text is given obliquely: '*Christ said that He must suffer many things of (ἀπὸ) the scribes and Pharisees and be crucified...*' In this last instance the same preposition is used as in St Luke, and the two variations only remain constant—'scribes and Pharisees' for 'elders and chief priests and scribes,' and 'crucified' for 'put to death'.¹ Though these readings are not supported by any Manuscript authority, they are sufficiently explained by other Patristic quotations. The example of Origen shews the natural difficulty of recalling the exact words of such a passage. At one time he writes *The Son of Man must be rejected of (ἀπὸ) the chief priests and elders...*; again...*of the chief priests and Pharisees and scribes...*; again...*of the elders and chief priests and the scribes of the people*². In corresponding texts a similar confusion occurs both in Manuscripts and quotations³. The second variation is still less remarkable. Even in a later passage of St Luke the word 'crucified' is substituted for 'put to death,' and Irenæus twice repeats the same reading. *From that time He began to shew to His disciples that He must go to Jerusalem and suffer many things from the priests and be rejected and crucified and the third day rise again*⁴. *The Son of Man must suffer many*

που πολλά παθεῖν καὶ ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι ὑπὸ (ἀπὸ Lc.) τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων (πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ἀρχιερέων καὶ γραμματέων Lc.) καὶ σταυρωθῆναι (ἀποκτανθῆναι Lc.) καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι. Cf. 100; 51: Luke ix. 22.

¹ In Matt. xvi. 21 παθεῖν ὑπὸ is read by D; in Mark viii. 31 it is supported by N B C D (which however proceeds καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχ.) &c. and must be received into the text; in Luke ix. 22 ἀπὸ is the reading of

the majority of the MSS. From this note it will appear how little weight could be rested on the reading ὑπὸ in Justin, even if it were constant.

² Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* p. 291.

³ See the various readings to Matt. xxvi. 3, 59; xxvii. 41.

⁴ Iren. III. 18. 4: *Ex eo enim, inquit, capit demonstrare discentibus (to his disciples) quoniam oportet illum Hierosolymam ire et multa pati a sacerdotibus et reprobari et crucifigi*

things and be rejected and crucified and the third day rise again¹. It is scarcely too much to say that both these passages differ more from the original text than Justin's quotations, and have more important common variations; and yet no one will maintain that Irenæus was unacquainted with our Gospels, or used other records of Christ's life.

Another quotation of Justin's which may be classed under this same division is more instructive, as it shews the process by which these various readings were stereotyped. Prayer for enemies might well seem the most noble characteristic of Christian morality. 'Christ taught us to pray even for our enemies, saying *Be ye kind and merciful, even as is your heavenly Father*².' 'We who used to hate one another...now pray for our enemies³...' The phrase as well as the idea was fixed in Justin's mind; and is it then strange that he quotes our Lord's teaching on the love of enemies elsewhere in this form: Pray for your enemies, and love them that hate you, and bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you⁴? The repetition of the key-word *pray* points to the origin of the change; and the form and context of the quotation shew that it was not made directly from any written source. But here again there are considerable variations in the readings of the passage. In St Matthew it should stand thus: *Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you*. The remaining clauses

Chap. ii.

A last instance shewing how the change was stereotyped.

et tertia die resurgere (Matt. xvi. 21; Luke ix. 22). The words *et reprobari* form no part of the text of St Matthew.

¹ *Id.* III. 16. 5: *Oportet enim, inquit, Filium hominis multa pati et reprobari et crucifigi et die tertio resurgere* (Luke ix. 22).

² *Dial.* c. 96. Comp. p. 127.

³ *Ap.* I. 14.

⁴ *Ap.* I. 15: *Εὑχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς (ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς Lc.) καὶ (om. Lc.) εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῶν καὶ εὔχεσθε (προσεύχεσθε Mt., and Lc. omitting καὶ) ὑπὲρ (περὶ Lc.) τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς* (Luke vi. 27, 28. Cf. Matt. v. 44).

Chap. ii.

appear to have been interpolated from St Luke. Origen quotes the text in this shorter form five times; and in the two remaining quotations he only substitutes *them that despitefully use you* from St Luke for *them that persecute you* in the last clause¹. Irenæus gives the precept in another shape: '*Love your enemies, and pray for them that hate you*'.² Still more in accordance with Justin's citation Tertullian says, 'It is enjoined on us to pray to God for our enemies, and to bless our persecutors'.³ It would be useless to extend the inquiry further.

2. Transpositions.

3. Glosses.

The prophetic use of the present tense.

Transpositions are perhaps less likely to recur than new forms of expression; at least I have not noticed any repeated in Justin. One or two examples however shew the nature of a large class of glosses. Every scholar is familiar with what may be called the *prophetic* use of the present tense. In the intuition of the seer the future is already realized, not completely but inceptively: the action is seen to be already begun in the working of the causes which lead to its accomplishment. This is the deepest view of futurity, which regards it as the outgrowth of the present. But more frequently we break the connexion: future things are merely things separated by years or ages from ourselves; and this simple notion has a tendency to destroy the truer one. It is not then surprising that both in Manuscripts and quotations the clearly defined future is confounded with the subtler present. Even in parallel passages of the Synoptic Gospels the change is sometimes found, being due to a slight alteration of the point of sight⁴. The

¹ Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* II. pp. 253 sq.

² c. *Her.* III. 18. 5: *Diligite inimicos vestros et orate pro eis qui vos oderunt.*

³ *Ap.* 31: *Præceptum est nobis ad redundantiam benignitatis etiam pro inimicis Deum orare et persecutoribus nostris bona precari.*

⁴ *Matt.* xxiv. 40; *Luke* xvii. 34

most important instance in Justin occurs in his account of the testimony of John the Baptist: '*I indeed am baptizing you with water unto repentance; but He that is mightier than I will come whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; He will baptize you with the Holy Ghost and fire*'... The whole quotation except the clause in question and the repetition of a pronoun agrees verbally with the text of St Matthew. This is the more remarkable because Clement gives the passage in a form differing from all the Evangelists², and Origen has quoted it with repeated variations, even after expressly comparing the words of the four Evangelists³. The series of changes involved in the reading of Justin can be traced exactly. In place of the phrase of St Matthew *but he that is coming is mightier than I*... St Mark and St Luke read *but he that is mightier than I is coming*... Now elsewhere Justin has represented this very verb *is coming* by two futures in different quotations of the same verse⁴. The fact that he uses two words shews that he intended in each case to give the sense of the original; and since one of them is the same as appears in the words of St

Chap. ii.

Instance of the interpretation of it in Justin.

(where however παραλαμβάνεται and ἀφίεται are read by D K & c. though they retain the futures in ver. 35). Compare John xxi. 18, where D gives a present instead of ὀφεί. Cf. Winer, *N. T. Grammatik*, § 40. 2. a (ed. 6).

¹ *Dial.* c. 49 (Cf. c. 88): 'Εγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετανοίαν· ἡ δὲ (γὰρ c. 88) ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου (ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστὶν *Mt.* ἐρχεται δὲ ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου *Lc.*) οὐ οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανός... πυρὶ· οὐ τὸ πῦρ αὐτοῦ (om. *Mt.*, *Lc.*) ἐν τῇ χ...ἀσβέστω (*Matt.* iii. 11, 12; *Luke* iii. 16, 17). For the insertion of αὐτοῦ compare Mark vii. 25 (N D Δ however omit the pronoun); Apoc. vii. 2. See Winer, § 22. 4. b.

² Clem. Alex. *Fragm.* § 25: ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς ὕδατι βαπτίζω, ἐρχεται δὲ μου ὀπίσω ὁ βαπτίζων ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι καὶ πυρὶ...τὸ γὰρ πῦρ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διακαθάραι τὴν ἄλω καὶ συναῖξει τὸν σίτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην (ἐπιθήκην Griesb.) τὸ δὲ... ἀσβέστω.

³ *Comm. in Joan.* vi. 16. *Id.* vi. 26: ἐπὶ βαπτίζω ἐν ὕδατι, ὁ δὲ ἐρχόμενος μετ' ἐμὲ ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστίν, αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. Cf. Griesb. *Symb. Crit.* II. 244, who seems to have confounded the Evangelist and the Baptist.

⁴ Cf. p. 139, note 1: *Matt.* vii. 15.

Chap ii.

4. Combination
(a) of words :

John its true relation to the text of the Gospels is established¹.

The remaining instances of variations which are repeated occur in the combination of parallel texts. In the first given the coincidence is only partial: the differences of the two quotations from one another are at least as great as their common difference from the text of the Gospels. *Many shall say to me in that day*,—so Justin quotes our Lord's words,—*Lord, Lord*, did we not in Thy name eat and drink *and prophesy and cast out devils?* *And I will say to them, Depart from me.* In the Apology the passage runs thus: *Many shall say to me, Lord, Lord*, did we not in Thy name eat and drink *and do mighty works?* *And then will I say to them, Depart from me, ye workers of iniquity*². It so happens that Origen has quoted the same passage several times with considerable variations, but four times he combines the words of St Matthew and St Luke as

¹ Good examples of 'glosses' occur *Apol.* i. 15 *ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ νοῦς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* for *ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ καρδία σου* (Matt. vi. 21). *Apol.* i. 16 *λαμψάτω τὰ καλὰ ἔργα* for *λαμψάτω φῶς* (Matt. v. 16). *Apol.* i. 16 *τότε ἐρῶ* for *τότε ὁμολογήσω* (Matt. vii. 23), &c. Some of these may have been incorporated in Justin's text: some he may have introduced himself. In each of the cases quoted there can be no doubt which is the original reading.

² *Dial.* c. 76: πολλοὶ ἐροῦσί μοι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ· Κύριε Κύριε οὐ
Apol. i. 16: πολλοὶ ἐροῦσί μοι Κύριε Κύριε οὐ
 Matt. vii. 22, 23: πολλοὶ ἐροῦσίν μοι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· Κύριε Κύριε οὐ
 D. τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐφάγομεν καὶ ἐπίομεν καὶ προεφητεύσαμεν καὶ
 A. τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐφάγομεν καὶ ἐπίομεν
 M. τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐπροφητεύσαμεν καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι
 D. δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν; καὶ
 A. καὶ δυνάμεις ἐποίησαμεν; καὶ
 M. δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποίησαμεν; καὶ
 D. ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς Ἀναχωρεῖτε ἀπ'
 A. τότε ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς Ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ'
 M. τότε ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς, ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ'
 D. ἐμοῦ.
 A. ἐμοῦ ... ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας.
 M. ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν.

See Luke xiii. 26, 27, from which the words peculiar to Justin's citation are derived.

Justin has done. *Many shall say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not in Thy name eat and drink, and in Thy name cast out devils and do mighty works? And I will say to them, Depart from me, because ye are workers of unrighteousness*¹. The parallel is as complete as can be required, and proves that Justin need not have had recourse to any Apocryphal book for the text which he has preserved. Indeed the very same insertions derived from St Luke xiii. 26, 27 are now found in Cureton's Syriac Version.

Sometimes a combination of different passages consists more in the intermixture of forms than of words. Of this Justin offers one good example. He twice quotes the woe pronounced against the false sanctity of the scribes and Pharisees with considerable variations, but in both cases preserves one remarkable difference from St Matthew whose words he uses. When exclaiming against the frivolous criticism of the Jewish doctors he asks, 'Shall they not rightly be called that which our Lord Jesus Christ said to them: *Whited sepulchres, without appearing beautiful and within full of dead bones, paying tithe of mint but swallowing a camel, blind guides*²?' 'Christ seemed no friend to you...when he cried, *Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye pay tithe of mint and rue but regard not the love of God and judgment; whited sepulchres, without appearing beautiful but within full of dead bones*³.'

(b) of forms.

False teachers are no longer *like to whited sepulchres*;

¹ Griesb. *Symb. Crit.* II. p. 262. μένοις ολίγας ἔσθον μὲν φαίνονται

² *Dial.* cc. 112, 17. The passage common to both runs thus: τάφοι νεκρῶν καὶ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας. For κεκονιαμένοι, ἔσθον φαίνόμενοι παρομοιάζετε Lachmann reads ὁμοιά-
 ωράιοι καὶ ἔσθον (ἔσ. δὲ c. 17) ζετε with B. Clement (*Griesb. Symb. Crit.* II. 327) has ὁμοιοί ἐστε (*Pæd.* III. 9. 47).
 is: ὅτι παρομοιάζετε τάφοις κεκονια- ³ *Dial.* c. 17.

Chap. ii.

they *are* very sepulchres. The change is striking. If this be explained, the participial form of the sentence creates no new difficulty, but follows as a natural sequence. The text of St Matthew however offers no trace of its origin. There indeed in different authorities three different expressions of comparison—*παρομοιάζετε, ὁμοιάζετε, ὅμοιοι ἔστε*—are found, but none omit it. Clement and Irenæus give the passage with a very remarkable variation¹, but they agree with the Manuscripts in preserving the connexion. The Naassenes or Ophites, according to the *Treatise against Heresies* attributed to Hippolytus², quoted the saying in a form more similar to that of Justin but with an additional change: ‘*Ye are whited tombs, [Christ] says, full within of dead ‘bones.’*’ Here the passing characteristic is transformed into a substantive description. The clue to the solution of the difficulty which arises from these various modifications of the Lord’s saying must be sought for in St Luke. He has not indeed a single word in common with Justin, but he has expressed the thought—at least according to very weighty evidence—in the same manner³: ‘*Woe to you, for ye are unseen tombs, and men ‘when they walk over them know it not.’*’ Justin has thus clothed the living image of St Luke in the language of St Matthew.

General
view of

These are all the quotations in Justin which exhibit

¹ Clem. *l. c.*: *ἔξωθεν ὁ τάφος φαίνεται ὡραῖος ἔνδον δὲ γέμει* ... Iren. iv. 18. 3: *A foris enim sepulcrum apparet formosum intus autem plenum est*..... The passage stands so also in D and d (monumentum paretur decorum).

² [Hipp.] *adv. Her.* v. 8, p. III ed. Miller. *Τούτο, φησὶν, ἐστὶ τὸ εἰρημένον Τάφος ἐστὲ κεκοιταμένοι γέμοντες, φησὶν, ἔσωθεν ὁστέων νεκρῶν.* I may add that though I

have cited this Treatise for convenience sake under the name of Hippolytus, I am by no means satisfied that the question of its authorship has been finally settled.

³ Luke xi. 44: *Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἔστε [om. ὡς τὰ] μνημεῖα [om. τὰ] ἀδηλα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπάνω περιπατοῦντες οὐκ οἶδασιν.* So D a b c d, Syr. Cr. Lucif.; Griesbach marks the reading as worthy of notice.

any constant variation from the text of the Gospels¹. In the few other cases of recurrent quotations the differences between the several texts are at least as important as their common divergence from the words of the Evangelist². This fact alone is sufficient to shew that Justin did not exactly reproduce the narrative which he read, but made his references generally by memory, and that inaccurately. Under such circumstances the authority of the earliest of the Fathers, who are admitted on all sides to have made constant and special use of the Gospels, has been brought forward to justify the existence and recurrence of variations from the Canonical text; and though it would have been easy to have chosen more striking instances of their various readings, still by taking those only which are found in the very passages to which Justin also refers the parallel gains in direct force at least as much as it seemingly loses in point.

Chap. ii.

these variations:

(a) on the supposition that the quotations were given from memory,

(b) that they were taken from a MS.

e.g. *Codex Bezae*.

But even if it were not so: if it had seemed that recurrent variations could be naturally explained only by supposing that they were derived from an original written source, that written source might still have been a Manuscript of our Gospels. One very remarkable type of a class of early Manuscripts has been preserved in the *Codex Bezae* (D)—the gift of the Reformer to the University of Cambridge—which contains verbal differences from the common text, and Apocryphal additions to it, no less remarkable than those which we here have

¹ I have not noticed the variation in the reference to Luke x. 16: ὁ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με (*Apol.* I. 63. Cf. c. 16), because it is contained in several MSS. and Versions: D a b d, Syrr., Arm., Æth., &c.

compared: *Dial.* c. 96; *Apol.* I. 15 = Luke vi. 36; Matt. v. 45. For the repetition of *χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες* compare Clem. *Strom.* II. 59. 100: *ἐλεήμονες καὶ οἰκτίρμονες. Dial.* c. 101; *Apol.* I. 16 = Matt. xix. 16, 17; Luke xviii. 18, 19.

² The following passages may be compared: pp. 127 ff.

Chap. ii.

to explain¹. The frequent coincidences of the readings of this Manuscript with those of Justin must have been observed already; and if it had perished, as it might well have done, in the civil wars of France², many citations in Clement and Irenæus would have seemed as strange as his peculiarities³. We are arguing on premises only partly true, but it is none the less important to notice that up to this point there is nothing in Justin's quotations, supposing them to have been drawn immediately from a written source, which cannot be explained from what we know of the history of the text of our Gospels.

Examples
of early
readings
diverging
from the
common
text.

One or two examples given somewhat more in detail will place this statement in a clearer light. If the following phrase had been found in Justin: 'your Father 'knoweth what things ye have need of before *you open* 'your mouth;' it would have been urged with great show of reason that it could not have been derived from our St Matthew's Gospel: that the peculiar form of expression had an air of originality: that Justin had evidently taken it from an Apocryphal record. But the words stand in fact in the *Codex Bezae* and one Latin copy in Matt. vi. 8. Or again if we had read in an early Father that Herod said to his servants on hearing of the fame of Jesus: *Can this be John the Baptist whom I beheaded?* it would have been pointed out that the sentence has points of similar-

¹ See Note C at the end of the Section.

² Initio belli civilis apud Gallos an. MDLXII. ex cœnobio S. Irenæi Lugduni postquam ibi diu in pulvere jacuisset nactus est Beza... Mill, *Proleg. N. T.* 1268.

³ The following examples will serve to confirm the statement:

Matt. xxiii. 26. *ἔξωθεν* ... Clem. *Ped.* III. 9. 48; Iren. IV. 18. 3.

Luke xii. 11. *φέρωσιν*. Clem. *Or.* (Griesb. *Symb. Crit.* II. 377).

Luke xii. 27. *οὐτε νήθει οὐτε ὑφαίρει*. Clem. *Ped.* II. 10. 102.

Luke xii. 38. *τῇ ἑσπερινῇ φυλακῇ*. Iren. V. 34. 2.

Luke xix. 26. *προστίθεται*. Clem. *Strom.* VII. 10, *προστιθήσεται*.

Cf. Hug, *Introduction*, I. § 22. It is needless to multiply instances.

ity with our three Synoptic Gospels, and also marked points of difference from them: that its vividness and force bespeak a source earlier than those which these represent: that it must be a fragment of the primitive Gospel according to the Hebrews. So however Herod's words stand in Matt. xiv. 2 in *Codex Bezae* and a number of old Latin authorities. Or to take another kind of illustration, could it be proved more triumphantly that an Apologist had made use of other records than the Canonical Gospels than by shewing that he had said that it was written in the Memoirs of the Apostles that the stone placed upon the sepulchre was one *which twenty men could scarcely roll?* Yet this addition is found at Luke xxiii. 53 in *Codex Bezae*, in a copy of the old Latin and in an Egyptian version, so that the words undoubtedly formed part of a text of the Canonical St Luke in the last quarter of the second century at the latest.

Illustrations could be multiplied indefinitely. But these samples will be sufficient to establish the conclusion which has been drawn from the wide variations in copies of the Canonical Gospels during the second century. We are not at present concerned with the solution of the problems of textual criticism which such variations offer. It is enough to repeat in the presence of these facts that differences from the present text of the Gospels such as are found in Justin are wholly inadequate to prove that passages so differing could not have been taken from copies of our Gospels.

But it is said that some of Justin's quotations exhibit coincidences with fragments of heretical Gospels, which prove that he must have made use of them, if not exclusively, at least in addition to the writings of the Evangelists.

(γ) *Coincidences with heretical Gospels.*

One such passage has been already considered inci-

Chap. ii.

Matt. xi. 27.

John iii. 3, 5.

dentally¹, and it has been shewn that the reading which Justin gives appears elsewhere in Catholic writers; and that in fact it may exhibit the original text. The remaining instances are neither many nor of great weight. The most important of them is the reference to our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus²: 'For Christ said *Except ye be born again (ἀναγεννηθῆτε) ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. But that it is impossible for those who have been once born to enter into their mother's womb is clear to all*³.' In the Clementines the passage reads: 'Thus sware our Prophet to us, saying *Verily I say unto you, except ye be born again (ἀναγεννηθῆτε) with living water into the name of the Father, Son, [and] Holy Spirit, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven*⁴.' Both quotations differ from St John in the use of the plural, in the word descriptive of the new birth, and in the phrase *ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven* instead of *he cannot enter into the kingdom of God*; but their variations from one another are not less striking, for the introduction of the phrase 'living water' and of the baptismal formula in the

¹ Cf. pp. 134 f.

² Cf. Semisch, § 25, pp. 189 ff.

³ *Ap. I.* 61: καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν. "Ὁ μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσελθῆτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. "Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἀπαξ ἑυνομένους ἐμβῆναι φανερόν πασι ἐστίν.

⁴ *Hom. XI.* 26: οὕτως γὰρ ἡμῶν ὡμοσεν ὁ προφήτης εἰπὼν. Ἄμην (+ ἄμην *Joh.*) ὑμῖν λέγω (λ. σοι *Joh.*) ἂν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε (τις γεννηθῆ *Joh.*) ὕδατι ζῶντι, εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς, υἱοῦ, ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσελθῆτε (οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν *Joh.*) εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν (τοῦ Θεοῦ *Joh.*). See *Matt.* xviii. 3 (*Schwegler*, i. p. 218). Cf. *Recog.* vi. 9: Sic enim nobis cum sacramento

verus propheta testatus est dicens: Amen dico vobis, nisi quis denuo renatus fuerit (ἀναγεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν) ex aquâ, non introibit in regna celorum. The natural confusion of the contents of the third and fifth verses in St John's record which is already seen in the passages quoted (*born again*, v. 3; *enter*, v. 5) is made still more puzzling by the reading of *Cod. Sinait.* in v. 5, εἰ μὴ τις ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου δύναται εἰσελθεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν [*τῶν οὐρανῶν* is the original reading of *Σ* and τοῦ Θεοῦ the correction of *Σ*^o, and not *vice versa* as has been lately stated]. The use of ἀναγεννηθῆτε seems to me to point certainly to the γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν of v. 3.

Homily is the most significant part of its variation from the text of St John.

If the familiar use of one phrase were in all cases a sufficient explanation of its substitution for another which is more strange, there would be little difficulty here. The whole class of words relative to the New Birth (*ἀναγεννᾶσθαι, ἀναγέννησις*) formed a part of the common technical language of Christians, and they occur repeatedly both in Justin and in the Clementines¹. The phrase in the Gospel (*γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν*) on the other hand is not only peculiar but ambiguous². Nor is this all: the passage as quoted in both cases is put in the form of a general address. If then the general formula was thus adapted from the Evangelist, one change might furnish occasion for the others. And it is not to be overlooked that Ephraem Syrus has given the words in a form which combines in equal proportions the peculiarities of St John and Justin³: '*Except a man be born again from above (ἀναγεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν) he shall not see the kingdom of heaven.*' So also in the *Apostolical Constitutions* the words are quoted thus: 'The Lord says *Except a man be born (γεννηθῇ) of water and Spirit, he shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven*'⁴. If these parallels are not sufficient to shew that the quotation of Justin is merely a reminiscence of St John, at least they indicate that it was not derived from any

Chap. ii.

Coincidences with Apocryphal Gospels no proof of their use.

¹ The earliest examples of this Christian use of the words are 1 Pet. i. 3, 23: *Clem. Hom.* vii. 8; xi. 26 (immediately before the quotation); xi. 35; Justin, *Ap.* i. 61. Cf. Credner, *Beiträge*, i. p. 301 f.

² In saying this I must add that the context appears to be decisive in favour of the sense *denuo*.

³ *De Penit.* iii. p. 183 (Semisch, p. 196): ἂν μὴ τις ἀναγεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν, οὐ μὴ ἴδῃ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν

οὐρανῶν. See also the reading of *Cod. Sinait.* given on p. 150, n. 4.

⁴ *Const. Apost.* vi. 15 (Semisch, l. c.): λέγει ὁ κύριος· ἂν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. For *γεννηθῇ*, the common reading is *βαπτισθῇ* which is probably a gloss on *γενν. ἐξ ὕ. καὶ πν.* No instance of *βαπτίζειν ἐκ τῶς* occurs to me.

Chap. ii.

Apocryphal Gospel, but rather from some such tradition of our Lord's words as has preserved peculiar types of other texts¹. Apocryphal Gospels were in fact only unauthorized collections of such traditionary materials; and it should be no matter of surprise if that which was recorded in them survived elsewhere as a current story or saying. The marvel is that early writers so constantly confined themselves within the circle of the Canonical narratives.

The next instance which is quoted as shewing a coincidence between Justin and the Clementine Gospel illustrates yet more clearly the existence of a traditional as well as of an Evangelic form of Christ's words. 'That we should not swear at all, but speak the truth 'always,' Justin says, 'Christ thus exhorted us: *Swear 'not at all; but let (ἔστω) your yea be yea: and your 'nay nay: but what is more than these is of the evil one*².' In the text of St Matthew the corresponding words are *I say unto you Swear not at all...but let your speech be Yea yea, Nay nay; but what is more than these is of the evil one*. It so happens however that St James has referred to the same precept: *Before all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by the heaven neither by the earth neither by any other (ἄλλος) oath: but let (ἦτω) your yea be yea and your nay nay*³... Clement quotes the latter

¹ Schwegler (I. 218) has pointed out a passage in the Shepherd of Hermas which alludes to the same traditional saying: 'Necesse est, inquit [pastor], *ut per aquam habeant ascendere ut requiescant. Non poterant enim in regnum Dei aliter intrare, quam ut deponerent mortalitatem prioris vitæ* (III. ix. 16). The coincidence of the latter clause with St John and not with Justin is to be remarked.

² *Apol.* I. 16 (*Clem. Hom.* XIX. 2;

Matt. v. 34, 37): *περὶ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ὀμνύναι ὅπως τὰ ληθῆ δὲ λέγειν αἰεὶ οὕτως παρεκελεύσατο· μὴ ὁμώσητε ὅπως· ἔστω δὲ (+ ὁ λόγος Mt.) ὑμῶν τὸ (om. Mt.) ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ (om. καὶ τὸ Mt.) οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονεροῦ (+ ἐστὶν Mt., Clem.).*

In *Clem. Hom.* III. 55 the passage stands: *ἔστω ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ, τὸ οὐ οὐ· τὸ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*

³ James v. 12: *Πρὸ πάντων δέ, ἀδελφοί μου, μὴ ὀμνύετε μήτε τὸν οὐρανὸν μήτε τὴν γῆν μήτε ἄλλον τινα*

clause in this form as 'a maxim of the Lord¹;' and Epiphanius says that the Lord in the Gospel commands us '*Not to swear, neither by the heaven neither by the earth neither by any other (ἕτερος) oath: but let (ἦτω)* 'your yea be yea and your nay nay: for *that which is more (περισσότερον) than these* is in its origin (ὑπάρχει) '*of the evil one*².' In the Clementine Homilies the words are: '[Our master] counselling us said: Let (ἔστω) your 'yea be yea and your nay nay; *but that which is more than these is of the evil one*³.' The differences of Epiphanius from the text of St Matthew are thus greater than those of Justin; and the coincidence of Justin with the Clementines is confined to words found in St James, and quoted expressly by some Fathers as Christ's words.

The many various readings of our Lord's words, when He limited the true application of the word 'good' to God only, are well known. It is recorded in different forms by the three Evangelists. Justin himself has quoted the passage twice, varying almost every word. It is brought forward repeatedly by other Fathers, with constant variations from the text of the Gospels. In the presence of these facts it would be impossible under any circumstances to lay great stress upon the coincidence of a few words in one of Justin's quotations with a reading recognized by the Marcosians⁴ and the Ebi-

Matt. xix. 17.
Mark x. 18.
Lu. xviii. 19.

δρκον· ἦτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναι ναι ἀλλ' ἦτω ὑμῶν τὸ ναι ναι καὶ τὸ καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ κρίσει οὐ οὐ· τὸ περισσώτερον γὰρ τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ὑπάρχει.

¹ Strom. v. 14. 100: τὸ κυρίου ῥήτον· ἔστω (not ἦτω) ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ. Cf. Lib. vii. 11. 67, where the sentence is again quoted in a similar form: ἔσται ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ.

² Epiph. adv. Hær. i. 20. 6 (1. p. 44): [τοῦ κυρίου] ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ λέγοντος· μὴ ὀμνῆναι μήτε τὸν οὐρανὸν μήτε τὴν γῆν μήτε ἕτερόν τινα δρκον·

³ Hom. xix. 2: συμβουλευόντων [ὁ διδάσκαλος] εἰρηκεν· ἔστω ὑμῶν τὸ ναι ναι καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ πέρισσον τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστίν.

⁴ We shall consider in another place (Ch. iv. § 8 and note) whether the passages quoted by Irenæus were corrupted by the Marcosians or simply misinterpreted.

onites. Yet the case is made still simpler when it is shewn that Catholic authority can be adduced for each word in which he agrees with those widely different sects. In the Apology the answer is given: '*No one is good save God alone, who made all things*¹.' In the Dialogue: '*Why callest thou me good? One is good, my Father which is in heaven*².' The Marcosians read in their text: '*Why callest thou me good? One is good, the Father in heaven.*' In the Clementines the words are: '*Call me not good: for the Good is One, the Father which is in heaven*³.' As to these quotations it is to be noticed that Epiphanius has connected the words of St Matthew and St Luke in a form similar to that found in the Marcosian Gospel and in Justin⁴. The last clause which is common to the three is the only remaining point of difference. Now not only are there traces of some addition to the text of St Matthew in several versions⁵: not only did Marcion and Clement and Ori-

¹ *Ap.* I. 16 (Mark x. 18; Luke xviii. 19): οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ μόνος (ἐκ *Mc.*, *Lc.*) ὁ (om. *Cod. Sinait.* in *Lc.*) Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα (om. *Mc.*, *Lc.*). In St Mark D d combine the former words, reading *μόνος εἰς Θεός*. Several other MSS. of the Old Latin give *solus* (Griesb. *I. c.*).

The concluding words occur just before, and are to be considered as 'an addition of Justin's suggested by the circumstances of the time and his late controversy with Marcion' (Credner, I. 243). Such a concession takes away much of the force of Credner's other arguments. If Justin might add a clause to guard against a heresy, surely he might adapt the language of the Evangelists so as best to meet the wants of his readers.

² *Dial. c.* 101 (Marcos. ap. Iren. I. 20. 2): τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν (*Lc.* xviii. 19); εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός (*Mt.* xix.

17 ὁ ἀγ.), ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ (om. *μου ὁ* Marcos.) ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

³ *Hom.* XVIII. 3: μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς εἰς ἐστίν, ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

⁴ *Epiph. adv. Her.* LXIX. 19 (I. p. 742), 57 (I. p. 780), gives the words as quoted by the Arians: τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν (*Mc.*, *Lc.*); εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός (*Mt.* ὁ ἀγ.), ὁ Θεός. He makes no comment upon the form of the reading, but in the course of his argument quotes the words himself in the form in which they are found in St Mark and St Luke (*adv. Her.* LXIX. 57, I. p. 781): τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς, ὁ Θεός. If these quotations are compared with those given in the next note it will be obvious how little regard was paid to exactness of quotation in passages which were used very familiarly.

⁵ It may be necessary to notice

gen recognize the words 'the Father¹;' but in one place Clement gives the whole sentence, '*No one is good except my Father which is in heaven*².' He has attached the last clause of Justin to the words of St Luke, exactly as in Epiphanius we find the last words of St Matthew added to the opening clauses of Justin.

The last instance which is quoted is not more important than those which have been examined³. After speaking of those *sons of the kingdom who shall be cast into the outer darkness*, Justin quotes the condemnation of the wicked as pronounced by Christ in these words: 'Go ye into the outer darkness *which my Father prepared for Satan and his Angels*⁴.' It occurs again in the same form in the Clementine Homilies. There are here two variations to be noticed—a change in the verb (*ὑπάργειν* for *πορεύεσθαι*), and the substitution of 'the outer darkness' for 'the eternal fire.' The first variation occurs elsewhere⁵:

Chap. ii.

Matt. xxv.
41.

that the true text in St Matthew xix. 17 is simply *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός*.

¹ Marcion read (Epiph. *adv. Her.* XLII. p. 315) *μή με λέγετε ἀγαθόν; εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός, ὁ πατήρ*. In the refutation (p. 339) his text is given: *μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν; εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Πατήρ*. For the passages of Clement (*ὁ πατήρ*) and Origen (*ὁ Θεὸς ὁ πατήρ*) see Griesb. *Symb. Crit.* II. pp. 305, 388.

² *Pad.* I. 8. 72: *διαρρήδην λέγει· οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*. Semisch, p. 372. The passage has been overlooked by Griesbach.

³ The connexion of *Dial.* c. 96 with *Hom.* III. 57 (Matt. v. 45) is noticed in Note D, p. 177. The reference to Luke xi. 52 in *Dial.* c. 17, where *τὰς κλεῖς ἔχετε* stands for *ἤρατε τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως*, is very different from that in *Hom.* III. 18, where the phrase is *κρατοῦσι τὴν κλεῖν*.

⁴ *Dial.* c. 76; *Clem. Hom.* XIX. 2; Matt. xxv. 41: *ὑπάγετε (+ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ Mt.) εἰς τὸ σκότος (πῦρ Mt.) τὸ ἐξώτερον (αἰώνιον Mt.) ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ (+ μου Mt.) τῷ σατανᾷ (διαβόλῳ Mt., Clem.) καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ*.

Ἔπαγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ is found in *Σ*; and the reading *ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ μου* is supported by D, 2 mss., MSS. of Old Lat., and many Fathers, so that we may suppose that it was early current in the Canonical Gospel. Irenæus again once omits *ἀπ' ἐμοῦ* (III. 23. 3); in two other places it is omitted by some manuscripts (IV. 33. 11; 40. 2); in the remaining place it appears to be read by all (IV. 28. 2). The omission of *οἱ κατηγοράμενοι* (or rather of *κατηγοράμενοι*, for the *οἱ* is probably spurious) does not require special notice.

⁵ The Old Latin version of Irenæus has in the first two quotations *abite*, and in the last two *discedite* (Vulg.). The variation is not no-

Chap. ii.

the naturalness of the second is shewn by the fact that in one Manuscript at least of St Matthew the original reading was *the outer fire*. And more than this: Clement of Alexandria has coupled the two images of 'the fire' and 'the outer darkness' in a passage which has a distinct reference to the words of St Matthew¹.

It would be easy to shew that the differences of Justin's quotations from the Gospel-passages in the Clementines are both numerous and striking². Their coincidences however are so few and of such a character as to lend no support to the belief that they belong to a common type. A comparison of all the passages which are found in both books places their independence beyond a doubt; but it is enough that important variations have been noticed in texts which exhibit the strongest resemblances. That the Apocryphal Gospels should exhibit points of partial resemblance to quotations made by memory from the written Gospels is most natural. They were not mere creations of the imagination, but narratives based on the original oral Gospel of which the written Gospel was the authoritative record. The same cause in both cases might lead to the

ticed by Lachmann. The words *πορ.* and *υπ.* are confounded in Luke viii. 42.

¹ *Quis Div. Salv.* § 13 (Semisch, p. 377).

How easily such a passage might be altered may be seen from Epi-phanius's quotation of the sentence of the just: *δεῦτε ἐκ δεξιῶν μου οἱ εὐλογημένοι οἱς ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ἔθετο τὴν βασιλείαν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· ἐπείνασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν· ἐδίψησα καὶ ἐποτίσατέ με· γυμνὸς καὶ περιεβάλετέ με* (*adv. Hær.* LXI. 4). The whole form of the blessing is here changed.

Justin himself has introduced 'the eternal fire' into his reference to Matt. xiii. 42, 43, in *Ap.* I. 16.

Any one who has had the patience to go through the examination of these passages will be in a position to judge of the fairness of M. Reuss' statement: *Toutefois il est remarquable que plusieurs des citations de Justin, dont le texte diffère du nôtre, se retrouvent littéralement* (the italics are his own) *dans d'autres ouvrages, par exemple dans les Clémentines...* (*Hist. du Canon...* p. 56). It is impossible to exaggerate the mischief done by these vague, general statements, which produce a permanent impression wholly out of proportion with the minute element of truth which is hidden in them.

² See Note D at the end of the Section.

Differences between Justin's citations and those in the Clementines.

introduction of a common word, a characteristic phrase, a supplementary trait. But there was this difference: in the one case these changes were limited only by the arbitrary rule of each particular sect; in the other they were restrained by an instinctive sense of Catholic truth, varying indeed in strength and susceptibility, but related to the bare individualism of heresy as the fulness of Scripture itself is related to the partial reflections of its teaching in the writings of a later age.

The relation of Justin to the Apocryphal Gospels introduces the last objection which we have to notice. It is said that his quotations differ not only in language but also in substance from our Gospels: that he attributes sayings to our Lord which they do not contain, and narrates events which are either not mentioned by the Evangelists, or recorded by them with serious variations from his account. It is enough to answer that he never does so when he proposes to quote the Apostolic Memoirs. Like other early Fathers tradition had made him familiar with some few words of our Lord which are not embodied in the Gospels. Like them he may have been acquainted with details of His life treasured up by such as the elder of Ephesus¹ who might have heard St John. But whatever use he makes of this knowledge, he never refers to the Apostolic Memoirs for anything which is not substantially found in our Gospels².

Justin's account of the Baptism, which might seem an exception to this statement, really confirms and explains it. It is well known that there was a belief long current that the Heavenly Voice addressed our Lord in the words of the Psalm which have been ever applied to Him, *Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee*. Augustine

Chap. ii.

(3) Coincidences of Justin's narrative with Apocryphal Traditions.

His account of the Baptism.

The Voice.

Ps. ii. 7.

¹ Dial. c. 3: παλαιός τις πρεσβύτης.

² All the passages are given above, pp. 130 ff.

Chap. ii.

mentions the reading as current in his time¹; and the words are found at present in the Codex Bezae (D) and in the Old Latin Version². Justin then might have found them in the manuscript of St Luke which he used; but the form of his reference is remarkable. When speaking of the Temptation he says: 'For the devil, of whom I just now spoke, as soon as [Christ] went up from the river Jordan—when the voice had been addressed to Him *'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee'*—is described in the Memoirs of the Apostles as having come to Him and tempted Him so far as to say to Him *Worship me*³.' The words which are definitely quoted form confessedly a part of the Evangelic text: and it does not appear from the construction of the sentence that Justin cites the Memoirs as his authority for the disputed clause⁴.

This apparent mixture of two narratives is still more noticeable in the passage in which Justin introduces the

*The Fire
kindled in
the Jordan.*

¹ August. *de Cons. Evv.* II. 14: Illud vero quod nonnulli codices habent secundum Lucam (iii. 22) hoc illā voce sonuisse quod in Psalmo scriptum est *Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te*; quanquam in antiquioribus codicibus græcis non inveniri perhibeatur, tamen si aliquibus fide dignis exemplaribus confirmari possit, quid aliud... This, it will be remembered, is in a critical work; elsewhere he quotes the words as uttered at the Baptism without remark: *Enchiridion*, c. 14 [XLIX.]. Cf. *Lectt. Varr.* given in T. VI. p. xxiv. ed. Paris, 1837.

² Cf. Griesb. and Tischdf. *ad Luc.* iii. 22. The quotation of the words by Clement of Alexandria (*Pæd.* I. 25) is omitted in Griesbach's *Symbolæ Criticæ* (II. 363).

³ *Dial.* c. 103: καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ διάβολος ἅμα τῷ ἀναβῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τῆς φωνῆς

αὐτῷ λεχθέλης Τίός μου εἰ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων γέγραπται προσελθὼν αὐτῷ καὶ πειράζων μέχρι τοῦ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ Προσκύνησόν μοι. The same words are quoted again (c. 88) without any reference to the Memoirs.

The words occurred in the Ebionite Gospel: *Epiph. adv. Hær.* xxx. 13. It is evident however that the narrative of the Baptism there given is made up from several traditions. That which it has in common with Justin must have been borrowed by both from some third source. Cf. Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, I. 378 (Ed. 2, quoted by Semisch, p. 407, n.).

⁴ Nothing depends upon this view. The textual authorities shew that the words of Ps. ii. formed part of St Luke's Gospel in MSS. of the second century.

famous legend of the fire kindled in Jordan when Christ descended into the water. 'When Jesus came to the Jordan where John was baptizing, when He descended to the water both a fire was kindled in the Jordan, and the Apostles of our Christ Himself recorded that the Holy Spirit as a Dove lighted upon Him¹.' Here the contrast is complete. The witness of the Apostles is claimed for that which our Gospels relate; but Justin affirms on his own authority a fact which, however beautiful and significant in the symbolism of the East, is yet without any support from the Canonical history².

The remaining uncanonical details in Justin are either such facts and words as are known to have been current in tradition, or natural exaggerations, or glosses on the received text generally suggested by some Prophecy of the Old Testament.

He tells us that 'those who saw Christ's works said that they were a magic show; for they dared to call Him a magician and a deceiver of the people³.' The

Chap. ii.

The remaining Apocryphal references in Justin.

Traditional facts.

¹ *Dial.* c. 88: καὶ τότε ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν ἐνθα ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισε, κατελθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ ἀνῆφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, καὶ ἀναδύντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπιπτήναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν. The conjectural emendation ἀνῆφθαι for ἀνήφθη destroys the contrast.

In the Ebionite Gospel (Epiph. *l. c.*) the legend is given differently: ὡς ἀνῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἡνολγῃσαν οἱ οὐρανοί...καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα. *Comp. Auct. de rebapt. ap. Cypr. Opp. Otto (ad loc.)* quotes a passage from 'a Syriac liturgy' which may indicate the origin of the tradition: Quo tempore adscendit ab aquis sol inclinavit radios suos. Justin ap-

pears to be the only Catholic writer who alludes to the appearance; unless the words of Juvencus *manifesta Dei presentia claret* also refer to it. It is however to be observed that in Manuscripts of the Old Latin ag¹ a similar addition occurs: *et cum baptizaretur (Jesus g¹) lumen ingens circumfulsit (l. magnum fulgebat g¹) de aqua ita ut timerent omnes qui advenerant (q. congregati erant g¹)*. Compare also the addition of k to Mark xvi. 4.

² The details of the Transfiguration furnish an illustration of the passage. Light is the symbol of God's dwelling-place; Exod. xiv. 20; 1 Kings viii. 11; 1 Tim. vi. 16. Light is the outward mark of special converse with him; Exod. xxxiv. 30.

³ *Dial.* c. 69: οἱ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα

Chap. ii.

Matt. xii. 24 ;
xxvii. 63 ;
John vii. 12.

Mark vi. 3.

Traditional
sayings.

Gospels have preserved the simplest form of this blasphemy ; and it survived even to the time of Augustine¹. Again in St Mark our Lord is called *the Carpenter*. The reading indeed was obliterated in the Manuscripts used by Origen, for he denied that our Lord 'was ever Himself called a Carpenter in the Gospels current in the 'Churches²;' but it is supported by almost all the authorities at present existing. The same pride or mistaken reverence which removed the word suppressed the tradition which it favoured ; but it is characteristic of the earliest age that Justin speaks of 'the Carpenter's works 'which Christ wrought when among men, ploughs and 'yokes, by these both teaching the emblems of righteousness and [enforcing] an active life³.'

In addition to these details Justin has recorded two sayings of our Lord not found in the Gospels. 'Our 'Lord Jesus Christ said : In whatsoever I find you, in 'this will I also judge you⁴.' Clement of Alexandria has quoted the same sentence with slight variations, but without any distinct reference to its source⁵. In later times it was attributed to Ezekiel, or some Prophet of the Old Testament⁶; and though it was widely current,

ὁρῶντες γινόμενα φαντασίαν μαγικὴν γίνεσθαι ἔλεγον· καὶ γὰρ μάγον εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐτόλμων λέγειν καὶ λαοπλάνον. Cf. *Ap. I.* 30, and Otto's notes.

¹ August. *de Cons. Ev.* I. 9: Christum propterea sapientissimum putant fuisse quia nescio quæ illicita noverat....

² *c. Cels.* VI. 36: οὐδαμοῦ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φερομένων εὐαγγελίων τέκτων αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀναγέγραπται.

³ *Dial.* c. 88: ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα εἰργάζετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὧν ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγά, διὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης σύμβολα διδάσκων καὶ ἑνεργῇ βίῳ. Otto refers to the Arabic *Gospel of the Infancy* (c. 38)

and to the *Gospel of Thomas* (c. 13) for similar traditions. The latter narrative (ἐπολεῖ ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγούς, said of Joseph) shews a remarkable coincidence of language with Justin.

The statement which Justin makes (*Dial.* 17, 108, quoted by Eusebius, *H. E.* IV. 18) as to emissaries sent out by the Jews to calumniate the Christians, does not belong to the Evangelic history.

⁴ *Dial.* c. 47: ὁ ἡμέτερος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἶπεν· Ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ. Cf. Otto, *in loc.*

⁵ Clem. *Quis Div. Salv.* § 40.

⁶ Semisch, p. 394.

there is no evidence to shew that it was contained in any Apocryphal Gospel. It may have been contained in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*¹; but even if it were so, the tradition must have existed before the record, and may have survived independently of it. The same holds true of the other phrase, 'Christ said: 'There shall be schisms and heresies².' If it were not for the mode in which Justin quotes them, the words might seem a short summary of our Lord's warnings against the false teachers and false prophets who should deceive many. In the Clementines the two prophecies are intermixed: 'There shall be, as the Lord said, false 'apostles, false prophets, heresies, lusts of rule³.' Lactantius also affirms that 'both Christ Himself and His 'ambassadors foretold that many sects and heresies 'would arise...⁴'

Elsewhere Justin generalizes the statements of the Gospels with what may seem natural exaggerations. 'Herod,' he says, 'commanded *all* the male children in 'Bethlehem to be slain *without exception*⁵;' yet he states in another place with more exactness that 'Herod slew

Matt. vii. 15;
xxiv. 5.

Exaggera-
tions.

¹ Cf. Credner, *Beiträge*, I. 247. *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, App. C. p. 426.

² *Dial.* c. 35: εἶπε γὰρ...ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἵρέσεις. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19. The passage is quoted by Justin between Matt. xxiv. 5 (comp. vii. 15) and Matt. vii. 15, and distinguished from them.

³ *Hom.* XVI. 21: ἔσονται γὰρ, ὡς ὁ κύριος εἶπεν, ψευδαπόστολοι, ψευδεῖς προφῆται, αἵρέσεις, φιλαρχίαι. The word ψευδαπόστολοι occurs likewise in St Paul (2 Cor. xi. 13), in Hegesippus (Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 22), in Justin (*l. c.* ἀναστήσονται πολλοὶ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδ-απόστολοι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πιστῶν πλανήσουσι), in Tertullian (*de*

Præscr. Hard. c. 4 quoted by Otto), and in other authors; so that it may point to some traditional version of our Lord's words. Cf. Semisch, p. 391, anm. In *Dial.* 116 I can only see a reference to Zech. iii. 4 ff. taken in connexion with the thought of Apoc. vii. 9.

⁴ *Inst. Div.* IV. 30 (Semisch, p. 393): Ante omnia scire nos convenit et ipsum et legatos ejus prædixisse quod plurimæ sectæ et hæreses haberent existere quæ concordiam sancti corporis rumperent. Cf. Tertull. *l. c.* where the passage is apparently referred to the text of St Paul.

⁵ *Dial.* c. 78: πάντας ἀπλῶς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐκέλευεν ἀνααιρεθῆναι.

Chap. ii.

'all the male children who were born in Bethlehem 'about the time of Christ's birth¹.' Again, when speaking of the calumnies of the Jews about the Resurrection, Justin not only gives the origin of the story as St Matthew does, but adds 'that they chose out men whom 'they sent *into the whole world* to announce the rise of 'a godless and lawless sect²;' a statement which explains the character of Christianity recorded in the Acts *that it is everywhere spoken against*.

Acts xxviii.
22.

Glosses:

More frequently he adds an interpretation to the text which he quotes; as when he says that Joseph 'was of Bethlehem,' as though that were his native village, but Nazareth only his dwelling-place³; or when he speaks of 'the magi from *Arabia*⁴.' And this very commonly happens when the gloss is suggested by a Prophecy. Thus he alludes to the cave in which our Lord was born, because Isaiah had said *He shall dwell in a high cave of a strong rock*⁵. He speaks of the Star which rose in *heaven*, not mentioning *the East*⁶, apparently because our Lord Himself is described as *the Day-spring* (ἀνατολή), *the Star of Jacob*. He tells us that the foal of the ass on which our Lord entered into Jerusalem was bound to a vine, as it was said of Judah that *he bound his foal unto the vine*⁷:—that 'there was 'no one not even one at hand to help Him [when

in connexion
with Pro-
phesies.Is. xxxiii. 16.
LXX.Zech. vi 12.
Nu. xxiv. 17.

Gen. xlix. 11.

¹ *Dial.* c. 103: [Ἡρώδου] ἀνελόν-
τος πάντας τοὺς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ ἐκείνου
τοῦ καιροῦ γεννηθέντας παῖδας. Ori-
gen quotes the passage with some
variations: πάντα τὰ παῖδια ἀνελ-
λε τὰ ἐν Βηθλεὲμ καὶ ἐν (= πᾶσι)
τοῖς ὄρισις αὐτῆς ἀπὸ διετούς κ.τ.λ.
Comm. in Matt. xvii. 11.

² *Dial.* c. 108: ἀνδρας χειροτονή-
σαντες ἐκλεκτοὺς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν
οἰκουμένην ἐπέμψατε κηρύσσοντας
ὅτι αἵρεσις τις θεοῦ καὶ ἀνομος ἐγή-

γεται ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ τινὸς Γαλιλαίου
πλάνου...

³ *Dial.* c. 78: ἀπογραφῆς οὐσης ἐν
τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ τότε πρώτης ἐπὶ Κυρηναίου
ἀνελήλυθει ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ ἐνθα ὦκει
εἰς Βηθλεὲμ ὅθεν ἦν ἀναγράψασθαι.

⁴ *Dial.* l. c. and c. 106.

⁵ Cf. p. 101, note 7.

⁶ *Dial.* c. 106; 78.

⁷ *Ap.* I. 32. Justin interprets the
prophecy in the same way in *Dial.*
c. 53, without affirming this particular.

'betrayed] as being without sin,' even as David had prophesied in the Psalm¹:—that the Jews when they mocked Him 'placed Him on a judgment-seat and said 'Judge for us,' as Isaiah had complained, '*they ask of me now judgment*²:'—that 'His disciples who were with 'Him were scattered till He arose³,'—that 'all His 'acquaintance departed from Him and denied Him⁴,' referring to the prophecy of Zechariah quoted by St Matthew, and the picture of Christ's sufferings and loneliness in Isaiah.

Chap. ii.
Ps. xxii. 11.

Is. lviii. 2.
LXX.

Zech. xiii. 7.
Mt. xxvi. 31.
Is. liii.

Recapitulation.

The essential character of Justin's quotations.

No trace in Justin of

Such is the analysis of Justin's quotations from the Memoirs of the Apostles, of his various readings in Evangelic phrases, of his Apocryphal additions to the Gospel history. The process is long, but a full examination of all the passages in question is the best answer to objections which appear strong because isolated instances are taken as types of general laws; and the result to which it necessarily leads is full of strength and satisfaction for those who feel that the Catholic Church cannot have arisen from a mere fusion of discordant elements at the end of the second century, and who still look anxiously and candidly into every document and every fact which marks the characteristics of its form and the stages of its growth. The details of Justin's quotations shew us something of the manner in which the Scriptures, and especially the Gospels, were used by the first Christian teachers, something of the variations which existed in different copies (of which other traces still remain), something of the extent and character of the oral records of Christ's life; but they afford no ground for the belief that the Memoirs were anything but the Synoptic Gospels which we have, and

¹ *Dial.* c. 103.

² *Ap.* I. 35.

³ *Dial.* c. 53.

⁴ *Ap.* I. 50.

Chap. ii.

*the use of
any written
document
other than
our Gospels.*

they exhibit no trace of the use of any other Evangelic records. Justin lived at a period of transition from a traditional to a written Gospel, and his testimony is exactly fitted to the position which he held. He refers to books, but more frequently he appears to bring forward words which were currently circulated rather than what he had privately read. In both respects his witness to our Gospels is most important. For it has been shewn that his definite quotations from the Memoirs are so exactly accordant with the text of the Synoptists as it stands now, or as it was read at the close of the second century, that there can be no doubt that he was as well familiar with their writings as with the facts related in them. And the wide and minute agreement of his notices of the life and teaching of our Lord with what they record of it proves that his knowledge of the Gospel history was derived from a tradition which they had moulded and controlled, if not from the habitual and exclusive use of the books themselves¹.

His coincidences with Heretical or Apocryphal narratives have been proved to be not peculiar to him, but fragments of a wide spread recension of the Canonical text. His simpler divergences from the received text have been illustrated by parallel examples of his quotations from the Septuagint and by recognized various readings in other authorities.

On a comprehensive view, all is seen to lead to the

¹ The relation between Justin's quotations and our Gospels is so intimate that they cannot have been independent. The only alternative, namely that the Synoptic Gospels embodied the oral Gospel as it was current in Justin's time, apart from historical considerations, is excluded by the fact that the Evangelists exhibit the narrative in the simplest form. At the same time it is evident that the original oral Gospel could not have been so long preserved in its essential purity without the counter-check of written Gospels. The tradition and the record mutually illustrate and confirm one another.

same conclusion. The lines which seemed at first to cross one another at random give a result perfectly complete and symmetrical when followed out in every case to their legitimate limit; and thus, even judging from a mere critical analysis, it appears to be a fact beyond doubt that Justin used the first three Gospels as we use them, as the authentic memoirs of Christ's life and work.

If we glance at his historical position we seem to gain the same result with equal certainty. He states that the Memoirs of the Apostles were read in the weekly services of the Church on the same footing as the writings of the Prophets; or in other words that they enjoyed the outward rank of Scripture. And since he speaks of their Ecclesiastical use without any restriction, it is natural to believe that he alludes to definite books, which were generally regarded in the same light, and which had acquired a firm place in the common life of Christians. He could not at any rate have been ignorant of the custom of the churches of Italy and Asia; and if his description were true of any churches it must have been true of those. Is it then possible to suppose that within twenty or thirty years after his death these Gospels should have been replaced by others similar and yet distinct¹? that he should speak of one set of books as if they were permanently incorporated into the Christian services, and that those who might have been his scholars should speak in exactly the same terms of another collection as if they had had no rivals within the orthodox pale? that the substitution should have been effected in such a manner that no record of it has been preserved, while smaller analogous reforms have been duly chronicled²? The complication of historical diffi-

Chap. ii.

*Justin's
historical
position*

*in relation
to the Mu-
ratorian
Canon and
to Irenæus.*

¹ Cf. pp. 74 f.

reproved certain in the church at

² As for example when Serapion Rhossus for the use of *the Gospel of*

Chap. ii.

*How far
Justin wit-
nesses to
St John's
Gospel*

*and to the
other books
of the New
Testament.
The Apo-
calypse.*

culties in such a hypothesis is overwhelming; and the alternative is that which has already been justified on critical grounds, the belief that Justin in speaking of Apostolic Memoirs or Gospels meant the Gospels which were enumerated in the early anonymous Canon of Muratori, and whose mutual relations were eloquently expounded by Irenæus.

It appears then to be established both by external and internal evidence that Justin's 'Gospels' can be identified with those of St Matthew, St Mark and St Luke. His references to St John are uncertain; but this, as has been already remarked, follows from the character of the fourth Gospel. It was unlikely that he should quote its peculiar teaching in apologetic writings addressed to Jews and heathen; and at the same time he exhibits types of language and doctrine, which, if not immediately drawn from St John, yet mark the presence of his influence and the recognition of his authority¹.

In addition to the Gospels the Apocalypse is the only book of the New Testament to which Justin alludes by name. Even that is not quoted, but appealed to

St Peter (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 12); or when Theodoret substituted the Canonical Gospels for the Harmony of Tatian, of which he found 'above two hundred in the churches.'

¹ Cf. pp. 105, 106, n. 4. Justin's acquaintance with the Valentinians proves (as I believe) that the Gospel could not have been unknown to him (*Dial.* c. 35). The references to St John have been collected by Otto (Illgen's *Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1841, II. pp. 77 ff.; 1843, I. 34 ff.; cf. Lücke, *Comm. ü. d. Ev. Joh.* pp. 29 ff., ed. 2). The chief passages are John iii. 3—5, *Ap.* I. 61, cf. p. 134; i. 13, *Dial.* c. 63; i. 12, *Dial.* c. 123; xii. 49, *Dial.* c. 56; vii. 12, *Dial.* c. 69; Lücke (pp. 34 ff.)

has shewn the connexion between Justin's doctrine of the Logos and the Preface to St John's Gospel. Otto (p. 81) also calls attention to his doctrine of the Eucharist as related to John vi. Compare also Just. *Fragm.* xi. ed. Otto, with Otto's note.

It may be worth while to notice, since the contrary has been asserted, that Justin makes no mention at all of the Last Supper in *Dial.* 111, still less does he contradict St John. Indeed his whole argument as to the correspondence of Christ and the Paschal lamb suggests that he, in agreement with St John, places the Crucifixion at the time of the sacrifice of the lamb, Nisan 14th.

generally as a proof of the existence of Prophetic power in the Christian Church¹. But it cannot be concluded from his silence that Justin was either unacquainted with the Acts and the Epistles, or unwilling to make use of them. His controversy against Marcion is decisive as to his knowledge of the greater part of the books, and various Pauline forms of expression and teaching shew that the Apostle of the Gentiles had helped to mould both his faith and his language². Thus he says 'We were taught that Christ is the *first-born* (πρωτότοκος) of 'God:' 'we have recognised Him as the first-born of 'God and before all creatures:' 'by the name of this 'very Son of God and *first-born of every creature* (πρωτότοκου πάσης κτίσεως)...every demon is overcome...' 'through Him God arranged (κοσμήσαι) all things³.' Elsewhere he uses the example of Abraham to shew that circumcision was for a sign and not for righteousness, 'since he, being in uncircumcision, for the sake of 'the faith with which he believed God was justified and 'blessed⁴.' 'By faith (πίστει) we are cleansed through 'the blood of Christ and his death who died for this⁵;' 'through whom we were called into the salvation prepared 'aforetime by our Father⁶.' 'Christ was the passover,

Chap. ii.

The writings of
St PAUL.

Colossians.

Romans.

¹ Cf. p. 120. *Ap.* i. 28: ὁ ἀρχηγέτης τῶν κακῶν δαιμόνων ὄφεις καλεῖται καὶ σατανᾶς καὶ διάβολος coincides remarkably with *Apoc.* xx. 2. The other passage to which Otto refers (*a. a. O.* 1843, i. 42) *Dial.* c. 45, *Apoc.* xxi. 4, seems more uncertain.

² Otto, *a. a. O.* 1842, ii. pp. 41 ff. The absence of all mention of the name of St Paul can create no difficulty when it is remembered that Justin speaks of St Peter as *ἓνα τῶν ἀποστόλων*, and of the sons of Zebedee as *ἄλλους δύο ἀδελφούς*. *Dial.* c. 106.

³ *Ap.* i. 46; *Dial.* c. 100; *Ap.* ii. 6; *Dial.* c. 85. Comp. c. 84, πρωτότοκον τῶν πάντων ποιημάτων; cf. *Col.* i. 15—17.

⁴ *Dial.* c. 23: καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ ὧν διὰ τὴν πίστιν ἦν ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ ἐδικαιώθη καὶ εὐλογήθη. The departure from the Pauline point of view is to be noticed; faith is here represented as the moving cause (*διὰ acc.*), and not as the instrumental (*διὰ gen.*) cause, or as the spring (*ἐκ*) of justification.

⁵ *Dial.* c. 13.

⁶ *Dial.* c. 131.

Chap. ii.

Corinthians.

2 Thessalo-
nians.

Hebrews.

Coincidences
between
Justin and
St Paul in
quotations
from the
Septuagint.

'who was sacrificed afterwards¹.' 'who shall come with glory from the heavens, when also the man of the falling away—the man of lawlessness (c. 32),—who speaketh strange things—blasphemous and daring (c. 32), even against the Most High, shall exert his lawless daring against us Christians².' Elsewhere he speaks of Christ as 'the Son and *Apostle* of God³.'

The most remarkable coincidences between Justin and St Paul are found in their common quotations from the Septuagint. It is possible indeed that these may have been derived from some third source, or grounded on a traditional rendering of the words of the Old Testament; but in the absence of all evidence of such a fact it is more natural to believe that the arguments of St Paul and the readings which he adopted were at once incorporated into the mass of Christian evidences, and reproduced by Justin so far as they fell within the scope of his works. One example will explain the nature of the agreement. Speaking of the hatred which the Jews shewed to Christians, Justin says to them that it is not strange; 'for Elias also making intercession about you to God speaks thus: *Lord, they killed Thy Prophets, and threw down Thy altars, and I was left alone, and they are seeking my life.*' And He answers

¹ *Dial.* c. 111; 1 Cor. v. 7: cf. Otto, *a. a. O.* 1843, I. 38 f. who refers to several other coincidences between the Epistles to the Corinthians and Justin. *Dial.* c. 14 || 1 Cor. v. 8: *Ap.* I. 60 || 1 Cor. ii. 4 f.

² *Dial.* c. 110 (cf. c. 32): δὺο παρουσίαι αὐτοῦ κατηγγεμέναι εἰσί· μία μὲν ἐν ᾗ παθητὸς καὶ ἄδοξος καὶ ἄτιμος καὶ σταυρούμενος κεκήρυκται, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἐν ᾗ μετὰ δόξης ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν πάρεσται, ὅταν καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀποστασίας ἄνθρωπος ὁ καὶ εἰς τὸν ὕψιστον ἐξαλλα λαλῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

ἀνομα τολμήσῃ εἰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς χριστιανούς. Comp. 2 Thess. ii. 3 ff.

³ *Ap.* I. 12, 63; cf. Hebr. iii. 1. The title is used nowhere else in the New Testament but in this passage of the Hebrews. Otto also quotes two other parallels to the language of the same Epistle: *Dial.* c. 13 || Hebr. ix. 13 f.: c. 34 || Hebr. viii. 7 f.

The references to the *Acts* are uncertain. Cf. *Ap.* I. 49 || Acts xiii. 27, 48. Otto, *a. a. O.* Still more so those to the *Pastoral* and *Catholic Epistles*.

'him: *I have still seven thousand men who have not bent knee, to Baal*¹.' The passage agrees almost verbally with the citation of St Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, and differs widely from the text of the LXX. Similar examples occur in other citations common to Justin and the Epistles to the Galatians and the Ephesians²: and thus he appears to shew traces of the influence of all St Paul's Epistles with the exception of the Pastoral Epistles and those to the Philippians³ and Philemon.

In the other writings commonly attributed to Justin besides the Apologies and Dialogue the references to the New Testament exhibit the same general range. In the fragment *On the Resurrection* there are allusions to words and actions of our Lord characteristic of each of the four Gospels⁴ without any trace of Apocryphal traditions; and besides this there are coincidences of language with St Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Philippians, and the First to Timo-

Chap. ii.

*References
to the New
Testament
in the frag-
ment de
Resurrec. ;*

¹ Otto, *a. a. O.* 1843, I. pp. 36 ff. *Dial.* c. 39 = Rom. xi. 3. 1 Kings xix. 10, 14, 18. In the LXX. the text stands in ver. 10, ζηλῶν ἐξήλωκα τῷ κυρίῳ παντοκράτορι ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπόν σε (τὴν διαθήκην σου v. 14, v. 1. σε) οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ (v. 14 + καὶ) τὰ θυσιαστήριά σου κατέσκαψαν (καθεῖ-
λαν v. 14) καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας σου ἀπέκτειναν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, καὶ ὑπολείμμαι ἐγὼ μονώτατος καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν μου λαβεῖν αὐτήν... v. 18: καταλείψεις ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα δὲ οὐκ ὠκλάσαν γόνυ τῷ Βάαλ...

² These passages are:

Ap. 1. 52 = Rom. xiv. 11. *Isa.* xlv. 23.
Dial. c. 27 = Rom. iii. 12—17. *Ps.* xiv. 3, 5, 10; cxxxix. 4.
— c. 95 = Gal. iii. 10. *Deut.* xxvii. 26.
Deut. c. 96 = *Dial.* iii. 13. *Gal.* xxi. 23.
— c. 39 = Eph. iv. 8. *Ps.* lxxviii. 18.

³ The reference of *Dial.* c. 12 to Phil. iii. 3 is very uncertain.

⁴ (α) St Matthew xxii. 29 (c. 9); 30 (c. 2); xxviii. 17 (c. 2).

(β) St. Mark xvi. 19 (c. 9). This reference is uncertain, but the occurrence of the word ἀνελήφθη, and the con-

nexion of the Ascension with the appearance after the Resurrection point rather to the present conclusion of St Mark than to the Acts or to St Luke.
(γ) St Luke xxiv. 38, 39, 42 (c. 9).
(δ) St John xiv. 2, 3 (c. 9); xx. 25, 27 (c. 9); xi. 25 (cf. c. 1).

Chap. ii.

*the Oratio
and Cohor-
tatio ad
Græcos.**General re-
sult.**Limits to
the Evidence
of Justin.*

thy¹. In the *Address and Exhortation to Greeks* there are apparently reminiscences of the Gospel of St John, of the Acts of the Apostles, and among the Epistles of St Paul of the First to the Corinthians and those to the Galatians and Colossians².

A combination of these different results will give the general conclusion of the whole section. And it will be found that the Catholic Epistles and the Epistles to Titus and Philemon alone of the writings of the New Testament have left no impression on the genuine or doubtful works of Justin Martyr.

But the evidence of Justin so far as it is preserved stops short of the conclusions of the next generation. It establishes satisfactorily his acquaintance with the chief books of the New Testament Canon, and his habitual use of them within the range covered by his extant writings. But on the other hand it does not offer any clear indications of his recognition of a definite collection of Apostolic books parallel to the Old Testament and of equal authority with it. It is possible, and indeed likely, that this defect may be due in some degree to the nature of the subjects with which he deals. His object was to establish a conviction on the first elements of the faith and not to develope Christian truth. The coincidence of the facts of the Gospel with the ancient Prophecies of the Jews furnished him with arguments which he could not have drawn from the essential character of the Apostolic teaching. For the rest the words of Christ rather than the precepts of His disciples offered those broad maxims of Christian morality which could be presented with the greatest effect to readers who

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 53 (c. 10). Philipp. iv. 20; *Cohort.* c. 35. 1 Cor. xii. 7 iii. 20 (cc. 7, 9). 1 Tim. ii. 4 (c. 8). —10; *Cohort.* c. 32. Galat. iv. 12,

² John viii. 44; *Cohort.* c. 21. v. 20, 21; *Orat.* c. 5. Coloss. i. 16; Acts vii. 22; *Cohort.* c. 10. 1 Cor. *Cohort.* c. 15.

were at best very imperfectly acquainted with the nature of Evangelic doctrine.

There are indeed traces of the recognition of an authoritative Apostolic doctrine in Justin, but it cannot be affirmed from the form of his language that he looked upon this as contained in a written New Testament. 'We have been commanded,' he says, 'by Christ Himself 'to obey not the teaching of men but those precepts 'which were proclaimed by the blessed Prophets and 'taught by Himself¹.' But this teaching of Christ was not strictly limited to His own words, as Justin explains in another passage: 'As [Abraham] believed on the voice 'of God *and it was reckoned to him for righteousness*, 'in the same way we also when we believed the voice 'of God which was spoken again by the Apostles of 'Christ, and the voice which was proclaimed to us by the 'Prophets, even to dying [for our belief], renounced all 'that is in the world².' Thus the words of the Apostles were in his view in some sense the words of Christ, and we are therefore justified in interpreting his language generally, so as to accord with the certain judgment of his immediate successors. His writings mark the era of transition from the oral to the written Rule³. His recognition of a New Testament was practical and not formal. As yet the circumstances of the Christian Church had not led to the final separation of the Canonical writings of the Apostles from others which claimed more or less directly to be stamped with their authority⁴.

¹ *Dial.* c. 48.

² *Dial.* c. 119: ὃν γὰρ τρόπον ἐκεῖνος τῇ φωνῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίστευσε...καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ φωνῇ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ διὰ τε τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ λαληθείσῃ πάλιν καὶ τῇ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κηρυχθείσῃ ἡμῶν πιστεύσαντες μέχρι τοῦ ἀποθνήσκειν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀπεταξάμεθα. Thus the Christian Gospel is

in some sense a 'republication' of the Gospel of the Prophets, and an obvious analogy is suggested between the book of the Prophets in relation to the Lawgiver and that of the Apostles in relation to Christ.

³ Compare pp. 51 f.

⁴ Justin's scholar Tatian will be noticed below in Chap. iv. § 10.

How far he recognizes a standard of Apostolic doctrine.

Chap. ii.

NOTE A : see page 122.

Norton has brought forward some good passages from the first *Apology* (Note E, § 2); and Semisch has carried out the investigation with considerable skill (pp. 239 ff.). Credner has collected Justin's quotations, and compared them elaborately with the MSS. of the LXX. It is superfluous to praise the care and ability by which his critical labours are always marked.

The following Table of the more remarkable instances of the freedom of Justin's quotations from the Old Testament, where the variations cannot be explained on the supposition of differences in MSS., will be useful to those who wish to examine the question for themselves:

(a) Free quotations, giving the sense of the original text :

Gen. i. 1—3	<i>Apol.</i> I. 59	
— iii. 15	<i>Dial.</i> c. 102	
— vii. 16	— c. 127	
— xi. 5	— —	
— xvii. 14	— c. 10	
Exod. iii. 2 &c.	<i>Apol.</i> I. 63	
— xvii. 16	<i>Dial.</i> c. 49	
— xx. 4	— c. 94	
— xxxii. 6	— c. 20	
2 Sam. vii. 14 sqq.	— c. 118	
1 Kings xix. 14 sqq.	— c. 39	
Job i. 6	— c. 79	
Ezra vi. 21 (?)	— c. 72	
Isai. i. 7	<i>Apol.</i> I. 47	
— — 9	<i>Dial.</i> c. 55	
— — 23	— c. 82	
— iii. 16	— c. 27	
— v. 25	— c. 133	
— ix. 6	<i>Apol.</i> I. 35	
— xxxv. 5 sqq.	— — 48.	Cf. Matt. xi. 5.
— xlii. 16	<i>Dial.</i> c. 122	
— liv. 9	— c. 138	
— lix. 7, 8	— c. 27	
— lxvi. 1	— c. 22	
Jerem. vii. 21, 22	— —	
— xxxi. 27	— c. 123	
Ezek. iii. 17—19	— c. 82	
— xiv. 20	— c. 45	
— xxxvii. 7	<i>Apol.</i> I. 52	
Hos. i. 9	<i>Dial.</i> c. 19	
Joel ii. 28	— c. 87	
Zech. ii. 6	<i>Apol.</i> I. 52	
— xii. 10 sqq.	— —	

(β) Adaptations of the text :

Gen. xxxv. 1	<i>Dial.</i> c. 60	
Exod. iii. 5	<i>Apol.</i> I. 62	
Numb. xxi. 8, 9.	— 60	
— —	<i>Dial.</i> c. 94	
Deut. xi. 16 sqq.	— c. 49	
— xxi. 23	— c. 96.	Cf. Gal. iii. 13.
— xxvii. 26	— c. 95.	Cf. Gal. iii. 10.
— xxx. 15, 19	<i>Apol.</i> I. 44	

(γ). Combinations of different passages :

1. Isai. xi. 1, 10 } Numb. xxiv. 17 }	<i>Apol.</i> i. 32
2. Psalm xxii. 17—19 } — iii. 5 }	— — 38
3. Isai. liii. 12 } — lii. 13—liii. 8 }	— — 50
4. Zech. ii. 6 } Isai. xliii. 5 } Zech. xii. 11 sqq. } Joel ii. 13 } Isai. lxiii. 17 } — lxiv. 11 }	<i>Apol.</i> i. 52
5. Ezek. xxxvii. 7 } Isai. xlv. 23 }	— —
6. Exod. iii. 2, 14, 15	— 63
7. Isai. vii. 10—16 } — viii. 4 } — vii. 16, 17 }	<i>Dial.</i> cc. 43, 66. Cf. c. 77.
8. Jerem. ii. 13 } Isai. xvi. 1 } Jerem. iii. 8 }	— c. 114

It will be noticed that the free quotations are found almost equally distributed in the *Apology* and the *Dialogue*, being chiefly short passages for which it was not unreasonable to trust to memory: that the adaptations are probably confined to the Pentateuch—the typical history of the establishment of Israel: that the combinations are almost peculiar to the first *Apology*, and consist of Prophecies fitted together according to the connexion of sense.

These passages will serve to illustrate the general principles of Justin's method of citation. In the following note will be found a table of the texts which he quotes more than once, from which may be seen the amount of verbal accuracy with which he contented himself.

NOTE B: see page 125.

A general view of the passages which Justin quotes more than once will give a better idea of the value of this argument than anything else. The following list is I believe fairly complete. The sign || indicates agreement in the citations between which it stands;)(difference;)()(difference from both the forms before given; v. l., vv. ll., mark the existence of one or more various readings apparently of less importance.

Gen. i. 1, 2	<i>Ap.</i> i. 59 <i>Ap.</i> i. 64 v. l.
— iii. 22	<i>Dial.</i> 62 <i>Dial.</i> 129
— xv. 6	— 92. Cf. c. 119
— xviii. 1, 2	— 56 <i>Dial.</i> 126 vv. ll.
— — 13, 14 sqq.	— 56 — 126 vv. ll.
— xix. 24	— 56)(— 127. Cf. c. 129
— xxviii. 14	— 58 — 120 v. l.
— xxxii. 24	— 58 Cf. c. 126

Chap. ii.

Gen. xlix. 10	<i>Dial.</i> 52 <i>Dial.</i> 120)(<i>Ap.</i> I. 32 (αὐτολεξεῖ), 54. Cf. Credner, <i>Beiträge</i> , II. pp. 51 sqq.
— — II	<i>Dial.</i> 54. Cf. c. 76
Numb. xxiv. 17	<i>Ap.</i> I. 32)(<i>Dial.</i> 106
Prov. viii. 21—25	<i>Dial.</i> 61 — 129 vv. ll.
Ps. i. 3	<i>Ap.</i> I. 40 — 86
— ii. 7, 8	— — — 122
— iii. 5	— 38)(— 96
— xix. 2—5	— 40 — 64; 42 (ver. 4)
— xxii. 16, 18	— 35)(<i>Ap.</i> I. 38)()(<i>Dial.</i> 98
— xxiv. 7	<i>Dial.</i> 36 <i>Dial.</i> 127)(c. 85)()(<i>Ap.</i> I. 51
— xlv. 6—17	<i>Dial.</i> 38 — 63 v. l.; 56 (vv. 6, 7); 86 (v. 7)
— lxxii. 1—5, 17—19	<i>Dial.</i> 34)(— 64)()(c. 121 (v. 17)
— xcvi. 1—4	— 73. Cf. <i>Ap.</i> I. 41 (1 Chro. xvi. 26 ff.)
— xcix. 1—7	— 37 <i>Dial.</i> 64 vv. ll.
— cx. 1—3	— 32 <i>Ap.</i> I. 45 (but 'Ιερ. for Σιών)
Isai. i. 3	<i>Ap.</i> I. 37 (λαὸς μου) <i>Ap.</i> I. 63 v. l. (λαὸς με)
— — 9	— 53)(<i>Dial.</i> 140. Cf. <i>Dial.</i> 55
— — 16—20	— 44 <i>Ap.</i> I. 61 (omitting v. 19)
— — 23	<i>Dial.</i> 82. Cf. c. 27
— ii. 5, 6	— 135. Cf. c. 24
— iii. 9, 10, 11	— 17 <i>Dial.</i> 133 v. l.; c. 136
— v. 18—20	— — — v. l.;)(<i>Ap.</i> I. 49 (v. 20)
— vi. 10	<i>Dial.</i> 12)(— — 33
— vii. 10—17 }	— 43 — — 66 vv. ll.
— viii. 4 }	
— xi. 1	<i>Ap.</i> I. 32 (Cf. Numb. xxiv. 17))(<i>Dial.</i> 87
— xxix. 13	<i>Dial.</i> 78)(<i>Dial.</i> 27)()(c. 140 (διαρρήδην)
— — 14	<i>Dial.</i> 32)(— 78)()(c. 38)()(c. 123
— xxxv. 4—6	<i>Ap.</i> I. 48)(— 69
— xlii. 1—4	<i>Dial.</i> 123)(<i>Dial.</i> 135
— lii. 15—liii. 1 sqq.	<i>Ap.</i> I. 50 — 13 vv. ll.
— lv. 3—5	<i>Dial.</i> 12)(— 14
— lvii. 1, 2	<i>Ap.</i> I. 48 — 16 vv. ll.
— lxiv. 10—12	— 47)(— 25)(<i>Ap.</i> I. 52 (v. 11)
— lxx. 1—3	<i>Ap.</i> I. 49)(— 24
— lxxvi. 1	— 37 — 22
Ezek. xiv. 20	<i>Dial.</i> 45)(— 44)()(c. 140
Dan. vii. 13	<i>Ap.</i> I. 51)(— 31
Micah v. 1, 2	— 34 — 78
Zech. ii. 11	<i>Dial.</i> 115)(— 119
Mal. i. 10—12	<i>Dial.</i> 28 — 41 vv. ll.

The only passage of any considerable length which exhibits continuous and important variations is Isai. xlii. 1—4. Cf. Credner, II. 210 sqq.

It will be noticed that the number of texts repeated with verbal accuracy is very small.

NOTE C: see page 148.

Though I am by no means inclined to assent without reserve to the judgment of Bornemann on D, yet it seems to me to represent in important features a text of the Gospels, if not the most pure, yet the most widely

current in the middle or at least towards the close of the second century. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the extent of its agreement with the earliest Versions and Fathers. It is sufficient to have the result indicated which seems to follow from it. The MS. was probably written about A.D. 500—550, but it was copied from an older stichometrical MS., which in turn was based upon another older still. Compare Scrivener, *Bezae Codex Cantab.* Introd. p. xxxiii.: Credner, *Beiträge*, I. 465.

In Luke xv., to take a single chapter as an illustration of the statement in the text, the following readings are found only in D and d (the accompanying Latin version),

- ver. 4. ὁς ἔξει.
 7. οὐχ ἔχουσι χρεῖαν (order).
 9. τὰς γείτονας καὶ φίλας (order).
 13. ἑαυτοῦ τὸν βίον for τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ.
 21. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ (order).
 23. ἐνέγκατε...καὶ θύσατε for φέρετε...θύσατε.
 24. ἄρτι εὐρέθη.
 27. τὸν σπειρευτὸν μόσχον αὐτῷ (omitting however αὐτῷ *ad inil.*).
 [28. ἤρξατο (? παρακαλεῖν) *coepit rogare Vulg.*]
 29. ἔριφον ἐξ αἰγῶν for ἔριφον (*haedum de capris d.*).
 30. τῷ δὲ υἱῷ σου τῷ καφαγόντι (sic) πάντα μετὰ τῶν πορνῶν καὶ ἐλθόντι ἔθυσας τὸν σ.μ. Comp. the reading of e.

These readings it is to be remembered are found in a MS. of the Canonical Gospels. Is it then incredible that Justin's quotations were drawn directly from another, which need not have differed more from the common text? For other reasons it seems highly improbable that it was so, but not from the character of the variations which they consistently preserve.

The greater interpolations of D are well known. Examples may be found in Matt. xx. 28; Luke vi. 5; xvi. 8; Acts xv. 2; xviii. 26, 27; &c. Credner has examined many of the readings of D (*Beiträge*, I. 452 ff.) but he has by no means exhausted the subject. See also Scrivener, *ib.* pp. xlviii. ff.

The peculiar readings of D are the best known and in many respects the most remarkable of those found in MSS. of the Canonical Gospels; but readings of a like character occur in considerable numbers in other of the most ancient Greek MSS., as for instance in *Cod. Sinait.* in 1 John, and in copies of the oldest Versions, as a & k of the *Vetus Latina*, and in the Curetonian Syriac, which happens to be the only copy of the *Vetus Syra* preserved to us.

Similar readings are also found in Greek and Latin MSS. of a much later date. Compare Scrivener, *Codex Augiensis*, pp. xl. ff. One of the most remarkable instances of a peculiar form of text in a detached narrative has been lately brought to light in a fragment of the ixth century discovered in the Library of Trin. Coll. Cambridge (W^d). It was found by Mr Bradshaw in the binding of a MS. which came from Mount Athos. The little scraps of which it is made up when rightly fitted together give the text of Mark vii. 30 δαιμόνιον—viii. 16 ὅτι ἄρτους with the exception of a few words, and about six other isolated verses of the same Gospel (vii. 3, 7, 8; ix. 2, 7, 8, 9). The larger fragment is of great interest, and as it has not been published it may be well to give the text of the first paragraph (ch. vii. 31—37), which contains one of the very few passages peculiar to St Mark:

Καὶ παλιν ἐξελθὼν ἀπο τῷ ὄρει
 ὀριων Τυρον καὶ Σιδ[ων]οσ

Chap. ii.

ηλθεν εἰς τὴν θαλα[σσ]αν
 τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀνα με[σο]ν
 των οριων τῆς Δ[εκαπολε]
 ως + καὶ φερουσιν αὐτῷ
 κωφὸν καὶ μογγιλαλὸν
 καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν
 ἰν.....χεῖρας + καὶ (omitting either τας or αὐτῷ)
 ἐπιλαβομένοσ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ
 τοῦ οἴλου κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπτύ-
 σεν εἰς τοὺς δακτύλους αὐ-
 τοῦ καὶ ἐβάλεν εἰς τὰ ὦτα
 τοῦ κωφοῦ. 'καὶ ἤψατο
 τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ μογγιλα-
 λου + κ[αὶ] ἀναβλεψας εἰς] τὸν
 οὐνὸν [α]νεστεναξεν καὶ
 λέγει αὐτῷ + ἐφάθα ὁ ἐσ-
 τιν δ[ιαν]υχ[θ]ῆτι καὶ δι | εὐθεωσ
 ηνοιχθῆσαν αὐτοῦ αἰ ἀκο-
 αὶ καὶ τοῦ μογγιλαλὸν εἶπεν
 τῆς γλ..... (αὐτοῦ probably omitted)
 ἐλάλη ὀρθῶς + καὶ διεστείλατο
 αὐ[τ]οῖς ἵνα μὴδενὶ λεγῶσιν
 Ὅσο[ν δ] ἐαυτοῖς διεστelleτο
 α[ὐτ]οὶ μᾶλλον περισσοτε-
 ρῶ[ς ε]κηνύσσον καὶ παν-
 τεσ [ἐξ]επλήσσοντο λεγόντες
 [καλ]ῶς πάντα ποιεῖ τοὺς
 κωφοὺς ποιεῖ ἀκούειν
 καὶ τοὺς ἀλαλοῦς λαλεῖν.

Thus we have in the space of seven verses, though there is no parallel narrative to disturb the text, the following readings in this Manuscript which are found *nowhere else*:

- vii. 31. ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων.
 32. παρεκάλουν.
 33. ἔπτυσεν εἰς τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐβάλεν εἰς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ
 κωφοῦ καὶ ἤψατο τῆς γλώσσης (sic) τοῦ μογγιλάλου.
 35. καὶ τοῦ μογγιλάλου.
 37. καὶ πάντες ἐξεπλήσσοντο.
 — πάντα ποιεῖ, τοὺς κ.

Nor are the peculiarities confined to this one narrative. In the remaining verses the following readings are found in this Manuscript alone:

- [vii. 8. ἀφέντες—ἀνθρώπων omitted by homœoteleuton.]
 viii. 1. συν[αχ]θέντος for ὄντος.
 — 4. χορτάσαι ὧδε (order).
 ix. 2. μεταμορφοῦται.
 — 7. ἀγαπητὸς ὃν ἐξελεξάμην. (Cf. Luke ix. 35, not *Rec.*)

In addition to absolute peculiarities there are also about ten other readings which it gives in common with one or two other Manuscripts.

Of the peculiar readings one it will be observed contains a repetition of a peculiarity (vv. 33, 35, the emphatic τοῦ μογγιλάλου); and another (ix. 7) is an adaptation of a familiar biblical phrase to a new connexion. Thus we

find within the compass of a few verses in a comparatively late MS. of the Canonical Gospels phenomena similar to those presented by the most remarkable of Justin's Evangelical quotations. All the fragments which remain of the early variations of the text of the Gospels are full of instruction; but it is wholly needless to have recourse to unknown or uncanonical books for details which were probably introduced from tradition into our Canonical texts as soon as they were embodied in Apocryphal Gospels, if in fact they did ever find a place in the latter.

NOTE D: see page 156.

An examination of the following passages common to Justin and the Homilies will shew how their citations differ:

Matt. iv. 10	Hom. viii. 21	Dial. cc. 103; 125
— v. 39, 40	— xv. 5	Apol. I. 16
cf. Lu. vi. 29		
Matt. vi. 8	— iii. 55	— 15
— vii. 15	— xi. 35	— 16; Dial. c. 35
— viii. 11	— vii. 4	Dial. c. 76
— x. 28	— xviii. 3	Apol. I. 19
— xi. 27	— — 4	— 63; Dial. c. 100
— xix. 16	— — 3	— 16; — c. 101
Luke vi. 36	— iii. 57	— 15; — c. 96
— xi. 52	— — 18	— 17

See Chap. iv.

§ 8. The Second Epistle of Clement.

The so-called *Second Epistle of Clement* offers a remarkable example of the transitional view of the New Testament Scriptures which has been observed in Justin. This fragment, which appears from its general style and form to be part of a Homily and not of a Letter, is found together with the *First Epistle* at the close of the Alexandrine MS. of the Greek Bible, where it is reckoned among the books of the New Testament. No other copy of it is known to exist, and in ancient times it seems to have been very little read. Eusebius is the earliest writer who mentions it, and he observes that it was 'not so well-known as the former one;' while from the tenour of his language it is evident that he questioned its genuineness¹. Jerome distinctly states that 'it was rejected by

The Second Ep. of Clement in the Alex. MS. probably a Homily.

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* III. 38: ὁμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ καὶ ταύτην γνώως καὶ δευτέρα τις εἶναι λέγεται τοῦ ριμον ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι μηδὲ καὶ τοὺς Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ οὐ μὴν ἐθ' ἀρχαίους αὐτῇ κεχρημένους ἴσμεν.

Chap. ii.

'the ancients,' though it is uncertain whether he had any independent evidence for his assertion¹; at a later time Photius repeats the same statement, and adds some unfavourable criticisms on the character of the book².

A Gentile
writing.

But however little claim the writing may have to the Canonical authority which was sometimes assigned to it in consideration of its supposed authorship³, there can be no doubt that it was an early orthodox Christian composition of a date not much later than the middle of the second century. And it is of the greater interest because the writer is a Gentile and addressing Gentiles. The peculiarities of Justin's quotations have been connected more or less plausibly with his supposed Ebionitic connexions and tendencies; but no such explanation is admissible in this case. If it were allowable to assume the existence of any special tendency in the writer it would be towards *the Gospel of the Uncircumcision*; but on the contrary he speaks as the confident exponent of catholic truth, and his evidence may be received as the natural expression of the usage not of a party but of the age.

Its scope.

The chief scope of the Homily is an exhortation towards the perfection of Christian life. It is addressed to Christians, and therefore the fundamental doctrines of the faith are assumed. The importance of works is insisted on, not that they may earn salvation, but because Christ 'saved us' when 'He saw that we had no hope of salvation except that which comes from Him⁴.' 'We must not think meanly of our salvation,' such is the opening of the discourse, 'we must think of Jesus

¹ Hieron. *de Virr. Ill. c. 13*: *stolic Canons*, Can. 76 (85), Alexius Fertur et secunda ejus nomine epistola, quæ a veteribus reprobatur. Aristenus *ad Can. Apost. l. c.*, though not, as some writers have said, in

² Photius, *Biblioth. pp. 156, 163* Johannes Damascenus, *de Fid. Orth.* (ed. Hoesch.). IV. 17. See App. D. No. v.

³ As in the *Cod. Alex.*, the *Apo-* ⁴ c. i.

'Christ as God, as the Judge of quick and dead.' 'Our reward is [that He will confess us] if we confess Him 'through whom we were saved'. To quicken the perception of the need of this confession and to dwell on the necessity of holiness is the immediate purpose of the argument, as it must be with every preacher, but no phrase occurs which points to holiness as necessary otherwise than as the condition of realizing salvation.

In support of his teaching the writer appeals to the Old Testament² and to the words of the Lord. Though the writings of the Apostles would have furnished him with almost every phrase which he needs, yet he never appeals to any one of them as of primary authority. And this silence was not due to ignorance and still less to any divergence from Apostolic doctrine. He was acquainted with the writings of St Paul and St John³, and he incorporates their thoughts and words into his Homily in a manner which shews that they had become his own. But still even up to his time the New Testament had no certain and defined existence as coordinate with the Old. The full extent of the teaching which it ratifies was received: the elements of which it consists were known and recognized: but its actual

*Use of Scrip-
ture.*

¹ c. iii.

² The very remarkable anonymous reference (λέγει ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος, c. xi.) to some Apocryphal book of the Old Testament (? a *Book of Enoch*) is found also in Clem. Ep. i. 23, from which it may have been borrowed. The passage contains a striking coincidence with 2 Peter iii. 4.

³ For ST PAUL see especially c. vii.: εἰς τοὺς φθαρτοὺς ἀγῶνας καταπλέουσιν πολλοὶ ἀλλ' οἱ πάντες στεφανοῦνται εἰ μὴ οἱ πολλὰ κοπιῶσάντες καὶ καλῶς ἀγωνισθέντες κ.τ.λ. as compared with 1 Cor. ix. 24.

c. ix.: δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς ὡς ναὺν Θεοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν σάρκα. 1 Cor. iii. 16; vi. 19.

c. xi. 1 Cor. ii. 9; the Septuagint gives quite a different rendering. To these may be added c. i.: ἀποθέμενοι ἐκείνο ὃ περικελμεθα. νέφος. Hebr. xii. 1.

For ST JOHN see c. ix.: εἰς Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος ὁ σῶσας ἡμᾶς ὧν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον πνεῦμα ἐγένετο σὰρξ καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐκάλεσεν. John i. 14. Compare also the phrases ἐγνωμεν δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας (c. iii.), παράκλητος (c. vi.).

Chap. ii.

Quotations
of the Lord's
words.

authority was not formally or consciously acknowledged, though the Gospel at least was quoted as 'Scripture,' and, as will be seen in the next section¹, the 'Scriptures' of the Lord' were formed into a collection and distinguished from other Christian writings.

The form of the quotations may have been influenced in fact by the character of the writing. In a Homily it is more natural to quote the Gospels as the words of Christ than as the narrative of the Evangelist. But after due allowance has been made for this usage enough still remains to shew the freedom which was popularly allowed at the middle of the second century in dealing with Evangelic references and the influence still exercised by Apocryphal records. Of nine passages cited from the Lord's teaching two only are referred to written sources. After quoting a passage of Isaiah with the same application of it as is made by St Paul², the writer continues, 'And moreover another Scripture saith I *'came not to call righteous men but sinners'*;³ a saying which is exactly contained in St Matthew and St Mark. 'The Lord saith in the Gospel,' he adds in another place, 'If ye kept not that which is small who will give you that which is great? For I say unto you that he *'that is faithful in very little is faithful also in much'*.' Of this passage the last clause occurs verbally in St Luke xvi. 10, but the first part is not found in our

¹ See page 188, n. 2.

² Is. liv. 1; Gal. iv. 27. The passage is taken verbally from the LXX.

³ c. ii.: καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφή λέγει ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς. The words occur Matt. ix. 13; Mark ii. 17. In the parallel passage of St Luke (v. 32) εἰς μετένοιαν is added, in which form it is quoted in Barn. Ep. c. v., and Just.

M. Ap. I. 15.

It will be remembered that a passage of St Matthew is quoted as 'Scripture' by Barnabas: see p. 51, n. 2.

⁴ c. viii.: λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· Εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστίν. On the use of τὸ εὐαγγέλιον see p. 112, n. 1.

Gospels. There is however some evidence to shew that it was once an alternative rendering of Luke xvi. 11, as it is quoted in the same form in the early Latin translation of Irenæus¹, though no Latin text of the Gospel at present preserves it. Of the anonymous quotations only one agrees verbally with our present Evangelic text, and that with St Luke². Two or perhaps three others are free renderings of sayings preserved by St Matthew. '[Christ] says Himself: *Him that confesses me in the face of men will I confess in the face of my Father*³.' '*For what is the profit if a man shall gain the whole world and lose his soul*⁴?' 'Let us not therefore only call Him *Lord*, for this will not save us; for he says, *Not every one who saith to me Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that doeth righteousness*⁵.'

The remaining four quotations are unquestionably derived from Apocryphal sources so far as their form is concerned, though they have points of close connexion with the Canonical writings. 'For this reason the Lord said: Should you be gathered with me in my bosom, and not do my commandments, I will cast you away, and will say to you: Get you from me: I know you not whence ye are, workers of lawlessness⁶.' 'The Lord

Apocryphal
Quotations

¹ c. Her. II. 34. 3.

² c. vi.: Luke xvi. 13, οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἐστὶν δύνάται δυοὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν, and just afterwards θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ. In Matt. vi. 24 οὐκ ἐστὶν is not found.

³ c. iii.: λέγει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ὁμολογήσαντά με ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογήσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρὸς μου. Compare Matt. x. 32. No closer parallel is preserved.

⁴ c. vi.: τί γὰρ τὸ ὄφελος ἐάν τις τὸν ὄλον κόσμον κερδήσῃ τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ζημιωθῇ; compare Matt. xvi. 26. The phrase τί [τὸ] ὄφελος is

found in James ii. 14, 16, and 1 Cor. xv. 32.

⁵ c. iv.: ...λέγει γάρ. Οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι Κύριε Κύριε σωθήσεται ἀλλὰ ὁ ποιῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην. Compare Matt. vii. 21. No closer parallel is found.

⁶ c. iv.: ...ἐὰν ᾗτε μετ' ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποιῇτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβαλὼ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν Ἵπάγετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πότεν ἔστε ἐργάται ἀνομίας. Compare Matt. vii. 23; Luke xiii. 27. The words are very variously quoted, but nowhere else in this form.

Chap. ii.

'says ye shall be as lambs *in the midst of wolves*. But 'Peter answering says to him: [What] then if the wolves 'should tear the lambs in pieces? Jesus said to Peter: 'Let not the lambs fear the wolves after their death; 'and fear ye not those who kill you and can do nothing ' [more] to you: but fear Him who after you are dead 'has power over soul and body to cast them into hell 'fire¹.' We have no data for ascertaining whence these passages were taken. Their length and style seem to indicate that they were derived from writings and not from oral tradition, but whether they were taken from any of the numerous Apocryphal Gospels, or from *Traditions* like those named after Mathias, or *Expositions* like that of Papias, is wholly unknown. The two quotations which are still left can be certainly connected with two Apocryphal Gospels, even if they were not immediately taken from them. 'The Lord said: My brethren are these who do the will of my Father².' The idea of the passage is contained in St Matthew, but the turn of expression, which is noticeable, recurs in a quotation made by Epiphanius from the 'Ebionites,' and it cannot be doubted that the writer of the Homily derived it from some such source. The remaining quotation is much more remarkable. 'The Lord 'Himself having been asked by some one When His

¹ c. v.: λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος· Ἔσθ-
σθε ὡς ἀρνία ἐν μέσῳ λύκων. Ἀπο-
κριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος αὐτῷ λέγει Ἐὰν
οὖν διασπαράξωσιν οἱ λύκοι τὰ ἀρνία;
εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ Πέτρῳ· Μὴ φο-
βείσθωσαν τὰ ἀρνία τοὺς λύκους μετὰ
τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτά· καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ φο-
βείσθε τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ
μηδὲν ὑμῶν δυναμένους ποιεῖν· ἀλλὰ
φοβείσθε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς
ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος
τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν πυρός. Com-
pare Matt. x. 16, 28; Luke x. 3;

xii. 4, 5. No other trace of the con-
versation is preserved.

² c. ix.: εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος Ἀδελφοί
μου οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα
τοῦ πατρὸς μου. Compare Matt. xii.
50. The passage quoted by Epi-
phanius from the Ebionites—it is not
said from what exact source—is: οὗ-
τοι εἰσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ
οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τοῦ πα-
τρὸς μου. For the plural τὰ θελή-
ματα see Cod. B Mark iii. 35; and
also Cod. N Matt. vii. 21.

'kingdom will come? said, When the Two shall be One, 'and that which is Without as that which is Within, and 'the Male with the Female neither Male nor Female¹.' This passage Clement of Alexandria, who also quotes it, says 'was contained, as he believed, in the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*.'

It is however of comparatively little moment from what special source the sayings were derived, for there is no reason to believe that they were taken from any one book². The majority of the quotations are more like passages of the Canonical text than any other known record, and the two which are connected with other books are connected with books which appear to have been widely different in scope and character. No question therefore arises whether a Gospel was used which occupied the place of the Canonical Gospels. The phenomenon to be observed is that these were not regarded as the sole record of the teaching of the Lord. The feeling which led men to the words of Christ still survived even when the record of them had received the name of Scripture. It was not confined to any one party, but was common to all: to the Gentile no less than to the Jewish Churches. And it co-existed with that spirit which found its fitting expression in the next generation, and finally separated our four Gospels from all others both in popular use as well as in intrinsic and recognized authority³.

¹ c. xii.: ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ὑπὸ τινος πότε ἤξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία εἶπεν "Ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡς τὸ ἔσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ. Compare Galat. iii. 28. Cf. *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 427 n.

² It may be noticed in particular that they differ from corresponding passages in the *Clementines*. Compare c. v.; Matt. x. 28; *Clem. Hom.* xvii. 5; Just. *Ap.* i. 19. c. vi.: Luke xvi. 13; *Clem. Recogn.* v. 9.

³ The quotations which occur in the two *Epistles to Virgins* assigned to Clement, which are preserved in a Syriac translation, deserve more notice

Chap. ii.

than they have received, and this will be the most convenient place for calling attention to them. The Epistles in question were first published by Wetstein as an Appendix to his New Testament in 1752. He found them in a Manuscript of the Syriac New Testament written at Mardin in 1469, which he obtained from Aleppo. The Manuscript contains all the books of the Syrian Canon with the Ecclesiastical Lections, and as an Appendix the remaining four Catholic Epistles (2 *Peter*, 2, 3 *John*, *Jude*) and the two *Epistles of Clement to Virgins* (Wetstein, *Proleg.* III. IV.). The *Apocalypse* is not contained in it. No other known Manuscript, as far as I am aware, contains the Epistles, so that like the two Greek Epistles they depend upon a single copy.

It would be impossible to enter into the question of the authenticity of the Epistles, which has found a zealous advocate in their latest editor, Card. Villecourt. They cannot I believe be much later than the middle of the second century, and it is hardly probable that they are much earlier. The picture of Christian life which they draw belongs to a very early age; and the comparison of the use made of Scripture in them with that made by Clement in his genuine Epistle shews that a considerable interval is required for a satisfactory explanation of the difference of manner.

As in all the writings which have been examined hitherto so here the mass of quotations is anonymous; but it is hardly too much to say that whole paragraphs of these Epistles are a mosaic of Apostolic phrases. Some of the references to the Christian Scriptures however are more explicit, though no book of the New Testament (nor yet of the Old) is mentioned by name. Thus 'the divine Apostle' is cited for the condemnation in 2 *Thess.* iii. 11 ff., 1 *Tim.* v. 11¹. The words in 2 *Cor.* xi. 29 are quoted as 'words of the Apostle²;' and *Rom.* xiv. 15 and 1 *Cor.* viii. 12 as 'sayings of Paul³.' 'It is written,' it is said again, 'of the Lord Jesus Christ, that when His disciples came and saw Him conversing apart near a well 'with the Samaritan woman, they wondered that he talked with a woman⁴.' 'We read,' it is said in the same chapter, 'that women ministered to the 'Apostles and to Paul himself⁵.' Other passages are quoted with the formulas applied to Scripture from 1 *Peter*, *James*, *Romans*, 1 *Corinthians*, *Colossians*, *Hebrews*, and 2 *Timothy*⁶.

The anonymous quotations extend over a wider range and include passages from St Matthew, St Luke (*Ep.* I. 3, 6; II. 15), St John (*Ep.* I. 8, 13; II. 15), Acts (*Ep.* I. 9), 1 *Peter*, *James*, 1 *John* (*Ep.* II. 16), and probably from all the Epistles of St Paul, including *Hebrews*, except that to Philemon (for Titus see *Ep.* I. 4).

There are not however any quotations out of St Mark, 2 *Peter*, 2, 3 *John*, *Jude*, and the *Apocalypse*. This is by no means surprising with regard to St Mark. The comparative fewness of the Evangelic citations in the two Epistles and the small number of peculiarities in his Gospel render it extremely unlikely that any passage certainly derived from it should have been found. The same may be said, though with far less likelihood, of the shorter Catholic Epistles; but if the writer had been acquainted with the *Apocalypse* he could hardly have failed to quote such a passage as xiv. 4, which has the closest connexion with his argument.

In general it will be observed that (with the obviously accidental omission of St Mark and Philemon) quotations are made from every book

¹ *Ep.* I. 10; II. 13.² *Ep.* I. 12.³ *Ep.* II. 5.⁴ *Ep.* II. 15; John iv. 27.⁵ *Ibid.* Cf. *Rom.* xvi. 1, 2, &c.⁶ *Ep.* I. 11 (*James* iii. 2; 1 *Peter* iv. 11; 1. 8 (*Rom.* viii. 9); 1. 6 (1 *Cor.* iv. 16. Cf. c. 11. and *Ep.* II. 13); 1. 11 (*Coloss.* iv. 6); 1. 6 (*Hebr.* xiii. 7); 1. 3 (2 *Tim.* iii. 5).

included in the Syrian Canon and from these only. The fact is significant, and probably points to the country whence the Epistles derived their origin, though it is clear from internal evidence that they were originally written in Greek.

One indication of the early date of the Epistles may be noticed in addition to the anonymous form of the quotations. The enumeration of the primary authorities binding on the Christian is given in the form 'the Law and the Prophets and the Lord Jesus Christ¹,' just as it was given by Hegesippus, as we shall see afterwards. But while the formula witnesses to the antiquity of the record, the usage of the writer shews convincingly that it did not exclude the fullest recognition of the authority of St Paul and of the Three.

Compare Lardner's *Dissertation* (Works, Vol. XI. pp. 197 ff.); and Card. Villecourt's *Dissertatio Prævia* reprinted by Migne, *Patr. App.* I. 355 ff. Beelen, *S. Clementis Epp. ii. de Virginitate*, Lovanii, 1856.

¹ *Ep.* I. 12.

§ 9. *Dionysius of Corinth and Pinytus.*

Ecclesiastical usage prepared the way to the recognition of the authority of the New Testament. It has been shewn from the testimony of Justin Martyr that the reading of *the Memoirs of the Apostles*¹ formed part of the weekly services of Christians: two fragments of Dionysius of Corinth throw light upon this usage. Dionysius appears to have been bishop of Corinth at the time of the martyrdom of Justin²: and the passages in question are taken from a letter to Soter bishop of Rome. His testimony is thus connected both chronologically and locally with that of Justin. There is no room left for the accomplishment of any such change in the organization of the Church as should cause their words to be applied to different customs:

'To-day was the Lord's-day [and] kept holy,' Dionysius writes to Soter, 'and we read your Letter; from the reading of which from time to time we shall be able to derive admonition, as we do from the former

Chap. ii.

*Connexion
of Dionysius
with Justin
Martyr.*

C. 170—175
A.D.

*His account
of the pres-
ervation of
Christian
writings.*

¹ p. III.

² Hieron. *de Virr.* III. c. 27: Clau-
ruit sub Imp. L. Antonino Vero et
L. Aurelio Commodo. Routh (I. p.

177) fixes his death about 176, when
Commodus began to reign jointly
with his father.

Chap. ii.

'one written to us by the hand of Clement¹.' There are several points to be noticed here: it is implied that the public reading of Christian books was customary—that this custom was observed even in the case of those which laid no claim to Canonical authority—that it had been practised from the Apostolic age. Tertullian in a well-known passage² appeals to the copies of the Epistles still preserved by the Churches to which they were first written. The incidental reference of Dionysius shews that he is not using a mere rhetorical figure. If the Letter of the companion of Apostles was treasured up by those whom it reproved, it is past belief that the Churches of Ephesus or Colossæ or Philippi should have received, as Apostolic Letters addressed to themselves, writings which were not found in their own archives, and which were not attested by the tradition of those who had received them. The care which was extended to the Epistle of Clement would not have been refused to the Epistles of St Paul.

Dionysius it is true says nothing in this passage directly bearing on the writings of the New Testament; but in referring to the ecclesiastical use of Clement's Epistle he proved that the Corinthian Church must have retained throughout the doctrine of St Paul, to whose authority it gives the clearest witness. And not only this, but so far as the Epistle of Clement was found to be marked by a peculiarly Catholic character³, the reception of that document is in itself a proof of the

*How far
what he says
bears upon
the New
Testament.*

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 (Routh, p. n. 1.

180): Τὴν σήμερον οὖν Κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγόμεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνέγνωμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔχομεν ἀεὶ ποτε ἀναγινώσκοντες νοουθετεῖσθαι ὡς καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῶν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν. The plural pronoun (ὑμῶν) is to be noticed. Cf. p. 57, and

The first clause is somewhat obscure. If Κυριακὴν be not a gloss, ἁγίαν ἡμέραν must be taken I think as a predicate, as I have translated it.

² *de Præscr. Hæret.* c. 36.

³ Cf. pp. 24 ff.: see also p. 204.

perpetuity of the complete form of faith which it exhibits. The Catholicity of the Corinthian Church is indeed expressly affirmed in another fragment. Just as Clement appealed to the labours of St Peter and St Paul, placing them in clear and intimate connexion¹. Dionysius describes the Churches of Rome and Corinth as their joint plantation. 'For both,' he says, 'having come to our city Corinth and planted us, taught the like doctrine; and in like manner having also gone to Italy and taught together there, they were martyred at the same time'².

The intercourse of Dionysius with foreign Churches—his 'inspired industry' as it has been called³—gives an additional weight to his evidence. Besides writing to Rome, he addressed 'Catholic Letters' to Lacedæmon and Athens and Nicomedia, to Crete and to Pontus, for instruction in sound doctrine, for correction of discipline, for repression of heresy⁴. The glimpse thus given of

His testimony important from his intercourse with foreign Churches.

¹ Clem. *ad Cor.* i. 5.

² Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25 (Routh, *I. c.*): Ταῦτα (al. ταύτη) καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νοουθεσίας τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτεῖαν γεννηθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε. καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμοίως διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν. It is difficult to fix the exact sense of *ὁμοίως* and *ὁμοίως* is in the last clause. I believe that *ὁμοίως* is to be taken with the whole sentence and not with *διδάξαντες*, and that *ὁμοίως* expresses simply 'to the same place.' Bishop Pearson's interpretation (Routh, p. 192) seems to rest on false analogies.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23: ἐνθεὸς φιλοπονία.

⁴ Euseb. *I. c.* The description which Eusebius gives of the Letters accords with what might have been

conjectured of the characteristic faults of the churches. 'Ἡ μὲν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ὀρθοδοξίας κατηχητικὴ, εἰρήνης τε καὶ ἐνώσεως ὑποθετικὴ ἢ δὲ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους διεργετικὴ πίστews καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείας ... ἄλλη δὲ... πρὸς Νικομηδείας φέρεται ἐν ᾗ τὴν Μαρκίωνος αἵρεσιν πολεμῶν τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίσταται κανὼν... The Cretan churches he warns against 'the perversion of heresy,' and cautions Pinytus bishop of Gnossum against imposing continence. The churches of Pontus—the home of Marcion—he urges to welcome those who came back to them after falling into wrong conversation or heretical deceit. From these casual traits we can form a picture of the early Church real and life-like, though differing as widely from that which represents it without natural defects as from that which deprives it of all historical unity. There is nothing to shew what 'the

Chap. ii.

the communication between the Churches shews their general agreement, and the character of Dionysius confirms their orthodoxy. There is no trace of any wide revolution in doctrine or government—nothing to support the notion that the Catholic Creed was the result of a convulsion in Christendom, and not the traditional embodiment of Apostolic teaching.

There were indeed heresies actively at work, but their progress was watched. Some of their leaders ventured to corrupt orthodox writings, but they were detected. 'When brethren urged me to write letters,' Dionysius says, 'I wrote them; and these the apostles of the devil 'have filled with tares, taking away some things and 'adding others, for whom the woe is appointed' (Comp. Apoc. xxii. 18). 'It is not wonderful then that some 'have attempted to adulterate the Scriptures of the New 'Testament (τῶν κυριακῶν γραφῶν), when they have 'formed the design of corrupting those which make no 'claims to their character (ταῖς οὐ τοιαύταις [*sic*] ἐπιβε- 'βουλεύκασι).¹ It is thus evident that 'the Scriptures 'of the Lord'—the writings of the New Testament²—were

'divine scriptures' were of which he added expositions in his letter to the Church at Amastris. Euseb. *l. c.*

¹ Euseb. *l. c.*: 'Ἐπιστολὰς γὰρ ἀδελ-
φῶν ἀξιοσάντων με γράψαι ἔγραψα·
καὶ ταύτας οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπόστολοι
ζιζανίων γεγέμεκαν, ἃ μὲν ἐξαιρούντες
ἃ δὲ προστιθέντες, οἷς τὸ οὐαὶ κέεται.
οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἄρα εἰ καὶ τῶν κυριακῶν
ῥαδιουργῆσαι τινες [τινας Routh] ἐπι-
βέβληνται γραφῶν, ὅποτε καὶ ταῖς οὐ
τοιαύταις ἐπιβεβουλεύκασι. It is men-
tioned that Bacchylides and Elpistus
urged him to write to the churches of
Pontus (Euseb. *l. c.*); it is then pos-
sible that he alludes to the corruption
of this very letter by the Marcionites.
The parallel thus becomes complete.
The New Testament Scriptures and

the letters of Dionysius were cor-
rupted by the same men and for the
same purpose.

² αἱ κυριακαὶ γραφαὶ form the cor-
relative to αἱ Ἰουδαϊκαὶ γραφαὶ (comp.
p. 94). The phrase is just one of
those which naturally indicate a be-
lief not expressly stated. Of course
it is not affirmed that the collection
here called αἱ κυριακαὶ γραφαὶ was
identical with our 'New Testament,'
but simply that the phrase shews
that a collection of writings belong-
ing to the New Testament existed.
The whole usage of κυριακός in Chris-
tian writers is decisive against the
application of the word to the Scrip-
tures of the Old Testament in this
connexion. The comparison of the

*His direct
reference to
the New
Testament
Scriptures.*

at this time collected, that they were distinguished from other books, that they were jealously guarded, that they had been corrupted for heretical purposes. The allusion in the last clause will be clear when it is remembered that Dionysius according to Eusebius 'warred against 'the heresy of Marcion, and defended the Rule of truth' (*παρίστασθαι κανόνι ἀλ.*)¹. The Rule of Truth and the Rule of Scripture, as has been said before, mutually imply and support each other.

The language of Dionysius bears evident traces of his familiarity with the New Testament. The short fragment just quoted contains two obvious allusions, one to the Gospel of St Matthew and one to the Apocalypse; and in another passage he adopts a phrase from St Paul's first Epistle to the Thessalonians².

One sentence only has been preserved of an answer to his Letters, but that is marked by the same spiritual tone. The few words in which Pinytus asks for further instruction tend to shew that the familiar use of Apostolic language was a characteristic not of the man but of the age. He urges Dionysius to 'impart at some 'time more solid food, tenderly feeding the people committed to him with a Letter of riper instruction, lest by 'continually dwelling on milk-like teaching they should 'insensibly grow old without advancing beyond the 'teaching of babes³.' The whole passage is built out of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and throughout the Letter, Eusebius adds, the orthodoxy of the faith of Pinytus was most accurately reflected.

title of the work of Papias *λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις* with this definite phrase *αἱ κυριακαὶ γραφαὶ* is full of interest.

¹ Cf. p. 187, note 4.

² Euseb. *l. c.*:...τοὺς ἀνύοντας ἀδελφοὺς ὡς τέκνα πατὴρ φιλόστοργος (cf. Rom. xii. 10) παρακαλῶν.

³ Euseb. *l. c.*:...ἀντιπαρακαλεῖ δὲ στερροτέρας ἤδη ποτὲ μεταδιδόναι τροφῆς τελειοτέροις γραμμασιν ἐσαυθὺς τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαὸν ὑποθρέψαντα, ὡς μὴ διατέλους τοῖς γαλακτώδεσιν ἐνδιατρύζοντες λόγοις τῇ νηπιῳδεὶ ἀγωγῇ λάθοιεν καταγράσαντες. Cf. Hebr. v. 12—14.

Chap. ii.

Coincidences of language with separate books.

Mt. xiii. 24 ff.
Apoc. xxii.
18, 19.
1 Th. ii. 11.

Fragment of PINYTUS.

Heb. v. 12—14.

Chap. ii.

*The value of
these frag-
ments.*

If our records be scanty, at least they have been found hitherto to be harmonious. It may seem of little importance to note passing coincidences with Scripture; and yet when it is observed that all the fragments which have been examined in this section do not amount to more than thirty lines, they prove more clearly than anything else could do how completely the words of the Apostles were infused into the minds of Christians. They offer an exact parallel to modern usage in quoting the New Testament, and so far justify us in attributing our own views of the worth of the Apostolic Scriptures to the first Fathers; for as they treated them in the same manner as we do, they could hardly have rated them less highly.

§ 10. *Hermas.*

*A general
view of the
Church
necessary
to the right
criticism of
individual
writers.*

As we draw nearer to the close of this transitional period in the history of Christianity, it becomes of the utmost importance to notice every sign of the intercourse and harmony of the different Churches. In the absence of fuller records it is necessary to realize the connexion of isolated details by the help of such general laws as are discoverable upon a comparison of their relations. The task, however difficult, is not hopeless; and in proportion as the induction is more accurate and complete, the result will give a more trustworthy picture of the time. Even when a flood has covered the ordinary landmarks, an experienced eye can trace out the great features of the country in the few cliffs or currents which diversify the waters. This image will give a fair notion of the problem which must be solved by any real History of the Church of the second century. There is a fact here, a tendency there: and little is gained by describing the one or following the other, unless they are referred

to the solid foundation which underlies and explains them.

This is not the place to attempt to give any outline of the history of Christianity. But it is not the less necessary to regard the different elements which meet at each crisis in its course. For the moment Rome is our centre. The metropolis of the world becomes the natural meeting-place of Christians. There, at the middle of the second century¹, were to be found representatives of distant churches and of conflicting sects. At Rome Justin the Christian philosopher opened his school, and consecrated his teaching by his martyrdom. At Rome Polycarp the disciple of St John conferred with Anicetus on the celebration of Easter, and joined with him in celebrating the Eucharist². At Rome Hegesippus a Hebrew Christian of Palestine completed, if he did not also commence, the first History of the Church. On the other side it was at Rome that Valentinus and Cerdo and Marcion sought to propagate their errors, and met the champions of orthodoxy. Nor was this all: while the attractions of the Imperial City were powerful in bringing together Christians from different lands, the liberality of the Roman Church extended its influence abroad. 'It has been your custom,' Dionysius

Chap. ii.

The condition of the Church of Rome at the middle of the second century.

¹ The space might be limited even more exactly to the Episcopate of Anicetus (157—168 A.D.). Hegesippus came to Rome during that time, and Valentinus was then still alive (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22; Iren. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 11). The *Proverbs of Xystus* (c. 119 A.D.), published in a Syriac translation by Lagarde (*Anal. Syr.* 1—31), probably represent a still earlier activity in the Roman Church. It is difficult to say how far the book is genuine in its present form. Ewald (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1859, pp. 261 ff., and *Gesch.* vii. 321 ff.) attributes the highest value to it, and places it among the most precious relics of early Christian literature. It contains no definite references to the New Testament, but shews certain traces of the influence of the thoughts and language of the Synoptic Gospels, of St James and of St John (especially Ep. i.). The influence of St Paul is less marked. Comp. Ewald *ll. cc.*

² Iren. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24.

Chap. ii.

of Corinth writes to Soter, 'from the first to confer manifold benefits on all the brethren, and to send supplies to the many churches in every city...supporting moreover the brethren who are in the mines;...in this always preserving as Romans a custom handed down to you by your Roman forefathers¹.' Everything points to a constant intercourse between Christians which was both the source and the fruit of union. Heresy was at once recognized as such, and convicted by Apostolic tradition. The very differences of which we read are a proof of the essential agreement between the Churches. The dissensions of the East and West on the celebration of Easter have left a distinct impress on the records of Christianity; and it is clear that if the Churches had been divided by any graver differences of doctrine, much more if their faith had undergone a total revolution, some further traces of these momentous facts would have survived than can be found in the subtle disquisitions of critics. Once invest Christianity with life: let the men whose very personality seems to be lost in the fragments which bear their name be regarded as busy workers in one great empire, speaking a common language and connected by a common work: and the imaginary wars of Judaizing and Pauline factions within the Church vanish away. In each city the doctrine taught was 'that proclaimed by the Law, the Prophets and the Lord².'

*Different
elements
combined in
Catholicity.*

These general remarks seem to be necessary before any satisfactory examination can be made of the writings of Hermas and Hegesippus, which are commonly brought forward as unanswerable proofs of the Ebionism of the Early Church, and therefore of the impossibility

¹ Dionys. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 23. Routh, I. p. 179.

² Hegesippus ap. Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 22. Cf. p. 191, note 1.

of the existence of any Catholic Canon of Holy Scripture. But even if it were to be admitted that those Fathers lean towards Ebionism, the general character of their age must fix some limit to the interpretation of their teaching. The real explanation of their peculiarities lies however somewhat deeper. While the true unity of the early Churches is to be most firmly maintained, yet nothing can be more alien from the right conception of this unity than to represent them all as moulded in one type, or advanced according to one measure. The freedom of individual development is never destroyed by Catholicity. The Roman Church, in which we have seen collected an epitome of Christendom, had yet its own characteristic tendency towards form and order. Of this something has been said already in speaking of Clement¹; but it appears in a simpler and yet maturer form in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the next work which remains to witness of its progress.

This remarkable book—a threefold collection of Visions Commandments and Parables—is commonly published among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, and was for some time attributed to the Hermas saluted by St Paul. Evidence however both internal and external is decisive against a belief in its Apostolic date; and the mode in which this belief gained currency is an instructive example of the formation of a tradition. The earliest mention of the *Shepherd* is found in the Muratorian Fragment on the Canon to which we shall soon revert². The anonymous author says: ‘Hermas ‘composed the *Shepherd* very lately in our times in ‘the city of Rome, while the Bishop Pius his brother ‘occupied the chair of the Roman Church³.’ The same

Chap. ii.

The characteristics of the Roman Church

represented by the Shepherd of Hermas.

The history of the Shepherd.

Rom. xvi. 14.

External evidence of its date.

¹ Cf. p. 26.

² See below, § 12.

³ Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma

statement is repeated in an early Latin poem against Marcion, and in a letter ascribed to Pius himself¹. It comes from the place at which the book was written, and dates from the age at which it appeared. There is no interval of time or separation of country to render it uncertain, or suggest that it was a conjecture. But the character of the book and its direct claims to inspiration gave it an importance which soon obscured its origin. The protest of the anonymous author just quoted shews that this was the case even in his time. 'It should therefore be read,' he adds, 'but it can never be publicly used in the Church either among the Prophets...or the Apostles².' In the next generation Irenæus quotes with marked respect a passage which is found in the first of the Commandments, but he does not allude to *Hermas* by name, nor specify the book from which he derived it³. Clement of Alexandria mentions *Hermas* three times⁴, but he does not distinguish

[*Hermas*] conscripsit, sedente [in] cathedrâ urbis Romæ ecclesiæ Pio episcopo fratre ejus. Et ideo legi eum quidem oportet: se publicare vero in ecclesiâ populo neque inter Prophetas completum [completo] numero neque inter Apostolos in finem temporum potest. The Fragment is given at length in App. C.

¹ Cf. Routh, I. p. 427; Hefele, p. lxxxii., where the authorities are given at length. The objections urged against this evidence by Dr Donaldson (*History of Christian Literature*, I. pp. 259 f.) simply rest on the fact that the Muratorian Fragment as well as the poem is anonymous. It is difficult to see how this affects the authority of the statement if the Fragment is genuine. A contemporary Roman writer would be likely to know more about the authorship than Origen, who after all only offers his opinion as a conjecture. See page 195, note 1.

² Cf. p. 193, n. 3.

³ Iren. (IV. 20) ap. Euseb. *H. E. v.* 8: καλῶς οὖν εἶπεν ἡ γραφή ἡ λέγουσα, Πρῶτον πάντων πίστευσον ὅτι εἰς ἑστὶν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας, καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἑῶν (*Pastor*, *Mand. i.*). It may be reasonably supposed that *Hermas* here uses words sanctioned by common usage.

⁴ *Str.* I. 17. 85; I. 29. 29; II. 1. 3. In three other places he quotes the book simply by the title of the *Shepherd*: *Str.* II. 12. 55; IV. 9. 67; VI. 6. 46.

The references which Tertullian makes to the book (*de Pudicitia*, cc. 10, 20) throw no direct light upon its date or authorship. He simply affirms that it was 'classed by every council of the Churches among the false and Apocryphal books.' The original text is important: Cederem tibi si scriptura Pastoris quæ sola mœchos amat divino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter

his name by any honorary title, and is wholly silent as to his date and position. The identification of the author of the *Shepherd* with his namesake in the Epistle to the Romans is due to Origen, and is in fact nothing more than a conjecture of his in his commentary on the passage in St Paul. 'I fancy,' he says, 'that that Hermas is the author of the tract which is called the *Shepherd*, a writing which seems to me to be very useful, and is, as I fancy, divinely inspired¹.' If there had been any historic evidence for the statement it could scarcely have escaped Origen's knowledge, and had he known any he would not have spoken as he does. When the conjecture was once made it satisfied curiosity and supplied the place of more certain information. But though it found acceptance, it acquired no new strength. Eusebius and Jerome, the next writers who repeat 'the report,' do not confirm it by any independent authority². It remained to the last a mere hypothesis, and cannot stand against the direct assertion of a contemporary.

Internal evidence alone is sufficient to prove that the

Chap. ii.

Origen first identifies its author with the Apostolic Hermas.

The character of the Book.

apocrypha et falsa judicaretur, adultera et ipsa et inde patrona sociorum (*de Pud.* 10). Even if due allowance is made for the rhetorical character of the passage it is evident that the Canonicity of books was a question debated in Christian assemblies in Tertullian's time: that varieties of opinion on the Canon existed and were known to exist: that the Catholic Canon (etiam *vestrarum*) was more comprehensive than that of sects. In other words Marcion was but one out of many against whose arbitrary judgments the Church maintained with regard to Holy Scripture the whole truth. Compare *de Pudic.* 20: Et utique receptor apud ecclesias epistola Barnabæ (*i. e.* the *Epistle to*

the Hebrews) illo apocrypho Pastore mœchorum. Here two disputed books are placed side by side, and a balance of external authority struck.

¹ Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* Lib. x. 31. Puto tamen quod Hermas iste sit scriptor libelli ejus qui Pastor appellatur, quæ scriptura valde mihi utilis videtur et ut puto divinitus inspirata. He then goes on to explain the omission of any remark upon his name, shewing that he is speaking from conjecture and not from knowledge. In § 24 he raises the question whether *Apelles* (Rom. xvi. 10) be not identical with *Apollos*. Cf. *Hom. in Luc.* xxv.

² Euseb. *H. E.* III. 3 (φασίν). Hieron. *de Virr.* III. c. 10 (asserunt).

Chap. ii.

Its theological importance.

Legal in tone, but not Judaizing.

Shepherd could not have been written in the Apostolic age. The whole tone and bearing shews that it is of the same date as Montanism: and the view which it opens of church discipline, government, and ordinances, can scarcely belong to an earlier period¹. Theologically the book is of the highest value, as shewing in what way Christianity was endangered by the influence of Jewish principles as distinguished from Jewish forms. The peril arose not from the recollection of the old but from the organization of the new: its centre was not at Jerusalem but at Rome. At Jerusalem Christian doctrine was grafted on the Jewish ritual; but at Rome a Judaizing spirit was busy in moulding a substitute for the Mosaic system². The one error was necessarily of short continuance: the other must continue to try the Church even to the end. This 'legal' view of Christianity is not without a Scriptural basis; but here again the con-

¹ The following appear to be some of the weightiest proofs of its late date:

(a) The teaching on penitence (*Vis.* iii. 7; *Mand.* iv. 1; *Sim.* vii.), and fasting (*Sim.* v.). The allusions to *stationes* (*Sim.* v. 1), and *subintroductæ* (*Sim.* ix. 11).

(β) The account of the Orders in the Church (*Vis.* iii. 5).

(γ) The teaching on Baptism (*Sim.* ix. 16) as necessary even for the Patriarchs. The revival in Mormonism of this belief is one of many singular coincidences with early errors which that system exhibits.

The direct historical data are few. The Church had endured much persecution (*Vis.* iii. 2), which was not yet over, and was conducted deliberately and not merely in popular outbursts (*Vis.* iii. 6; *Vis.* iv.; *Sim.* ix. 28). The Apostles were already dead (*Sim.* ix. 16). It is uncertain whether the introduction of 'Clemens and Grapte' (*Vis.* ii. 4) is part

of the fiction of the book, or spiritually symbolic. Origen (*Philoc.* i. 11) interprets it in the latter sense.

² Hermas uses the number twelve to symbolize the universality of the Church—the spiritual Israel. τὰ ὅρη τὰ ὅδεκα φύλαί εἰσιν αἱ κατοικοῦσαι ὅλον τὸν κόσμον (*Sim.* ix. 17). The common Latin text gives Duodecim montes...duodecim sunt gentes, and the repeated δώδεκα might easily have fallen out of the Greek text; but the word is not found in *Cod. Palat.* The passage itself points to the true interpretation of Apoc. vii.

I have given the Greek text of the quotations from the *Shepherd*. The discovery of the *Codex Sinaiticus* has placed the substantial authenticity of Simonides' copy beyond all reasonable doubt. Dr Donaldson's arguments (i. p. 399) prove too much, for *Cod. Sinait.* dates from a period *within* 'the first five centuries of the Christian era.'

trast between the harmonious subordination of the elements of Scripture and the partial exaggerations of early patristic writings is most apparent. The *Shepherd* bears the same relation to the Epistle of St James as the Epistle of Barnabas to that to the Hebrews¹. The idea of a Christian Law lies at the bottom of them both: but according to St James it is a law of liberty, centering in man's deliverance from corruption within and ceremonial without; while Hermas rather looks for its essence in the rites of the outward Church. Both St James and Hermas insist on the necessity of works; but the one regards them as the practical expression of a personal faith, while the other finds in them an intrinsic value and recognizes the possibility of supererogatory virtue². Still throughout the *Shepherd* the Law-giver is Christ and not Moses. It contains no allusion to the institutions of Judaism, even while insisting on ascetic observances. And so far from exhibiting the predominance of Ebionism in the Church, it is a protest against it; inasmuch as it is an attempt to satisfy by a purely legal view of the Gospel itself the feelings to which Ebionism appealed. It consists as it were of a system of Christian ethics based on ecclesiastical ideas.

The *Shepherd* contains no definite quotation from either Old or New Testament. The single reference by name is to a phrase in an obscure Apocryphal book

Chap. ii.

*Relation to
the Epistle
of St James.*

*Scriptural
allusions.*

¹ Cf. p. 44. The Epistle of St James, as has been often noticed, is remarkable for allusions to nature, and so also is the writing of Hermas; he says at the opening of his Visions: ἐδόξαζον τὰς κτίσεις τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅτι μεγάλαι καὶ δύνανται καὶ εὐπρεπεῖς εἶναι. The beauty of language and conception in many parts of the *Shepherd* has never been sufficiently appreciated. Much of it

may be compared with the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and higher praise than this cannot be given to a book of its kind.

² *Sim.* v. 3: ἐάν γέ τι ἀγαθὸν ποιήσης ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ σεαυτῷ περιποιήσῃ δόξαν περισσοτέραν καὶ ἔσῃ ἐνδοξότερος παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ οὐ ἔμελλες εἶναι. Cf. *Mand.* iv. 4, in connexion with 1 Cor. vii. 39, 40.

Chap. ii.

St James.
Apocalypse.

The Gospels.

Eldad and Modat, which is found in an ironical sentence apparently directed against the misuse made of it¹. The scope of the writer gave no opportunity for the direct application of Scripture. He claims to receive a divine message, and to record the words of Angels. His knowledge of the New Testament can then only be shewn by passing coincidences of language, and these do in fact occur throughout the book. The allusions to the Epistle of St James² and to the Apocalypse³ are naturally most frequent, since the one is most closely connected with the *Shepherd* by its tone, and the other by its form. The numerous paraphrases of our Lord's words prove that Hermas was familiar with some records of His teaching⁴. That these were no other than our Gospels is at least rendered probable by the fact that he makes no reference to any Apocryphal narrative: and the opinion is confirmed by clear allusions to St John⁵ and

¹ *Vis.* ii. 3: 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μαξιμῷ, Ἰ. δού θλίψις ἔρχεται· ἐάν σοι φανῇ πάλιν ἀρνήσθαι (l. ἀρνῆσαι)· ἐγγὺς κύριος τοῖς ἐπιστρεφόμενοις, ὥς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἑλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάτ τοῖς προφητεύσασιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῷ λαῷ. So *Cod. Sinait.* The reading Μαξιμῷ is also given by *Cod. Palat.*, and there can be no doubt that it is correct. In form the message corresponds with the commissions to Clement and Grapte which follow in the next section, and it is very hard to see how any difficulty could have been found in the reading. The sense of the passage seems to be: You may if you please deny Christ again in persecution, vainly relying on general promises of repentance. Cf. Numb. xi. 26, 27.

² The coincidences of Hermas with St James are too numerous to be enumerated at length. Whole sections of the *Shepherd* are framed with evident recollection of St James's Epistle: e.g. *Vis.* iii. 9; *Mand.* ii.,

ix., xi.; *Sim.* v. 4. Of the shorter passages one or two examples will suffice: *Mand.* xii. 5, 6 = James iv. 7, 12; *Sim.* viii. 6 = James ii. 7.

³ The symbolism of the Apocalypse reappears in the *Shepherd*. The Church is represented under the figure of a woman (*Apoc.* xii. 1; *Vis.* ii. 4), a bride (*Apoc.* xxi. 2; *Vis.* iv. 2): her enemy is a great beast (*Apoc.* xii. 4; *Vis.* iv. 2). The account of the building the tower (*Vis.* iii. 5) and of the array of those who entered into it (*Sim.* viii. 2, 3) is to be compared with *Apoc.* xxi. 14; vi. 11; vii. 9, 14.

⁴ The Similitudes generally deserve to be accurately compared with the Gospel Parables. Cf. Matt. xiii. 5—8, with *Sim.* ix. 19, 20, 21; Matt. xiii. 31, 32, with *Sim.* viii. 3; Matt. xviii. 3, with *Sim.* ix. 29. Of other passages compare Matt. x. 33 with *Vis.* ii. 2.

⁵ See pp. 199 f.

the Acts¹. In several places also St John's teaching on 'the Truth' lies at the ground of Hermas' words²; and the parallels with the First Epistle of St Peter are well worthy of notice³. The relation of Hermas to St Paul is interesting and important. His peculiar object, as well as perhaps his turn of mind, removed him from any close connexion with the Apostle; but their divergence has been strangely exaggerated. In addition to marked coincidences of language with the First Epistle to the Corinthians and with that to the Ephesians⁴, Hermas distinctly recognizes the great truth which is commonly regarded as the characteristic centre of St Paul's teaching. 'Faith,' he says, 'is the first of the seven virgins by which the Church is supported. She keeps 'it together by her power; and by her the elect of God 'are saved. Abstinence the second virgin is her daughter; and the rest are daughters one of the other. And 'when the Christian observes the works of their mother, 'he is able to live⁵.' Clement of Alexandria paraphrasing the passage says: 'Faith precedes: Fear edifies: 'Love perfects⁶.' Whatever may be Hermas' teaching

Chap. ii.

St John.
The Acts.
1 Peter.

The relation of Hermas to St Paul.

His doctrine of Faith.

¹ *Vis.* iv. 2 = Acts iv. 12.

² *Mand.* iii.: 'Ἀλήθειαν ἀγάπα... ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ θεὸς κατέκτισεν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ταύτῃ ἀληθὲς εὐρεθῇ... καὶ οὕτω δοξασθῇσεται ὁμοῦ ὃ ἐν σοὶ κατοικῶν, ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἀληθινὸς ἐστὶν ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι καὶ οὐδὲν παρ' αὐτῷ ψεῦδος. Comp. 1 John ii. 27; iv. 6. [James iv. 5.]

³ *Vis.* iv. 3 = 1 Pet. i. 7; *Vis.* iv. 2 = 1 Pet. v. 7.

⁴ *Sim.* v. 7 = 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; *Sim.* ix. 13 = Eph. iv. 4; *Mand.* iii. (cf. *Mand.* x. 1) = Eph. iv. 30.

⁵ *Vis.* iii. 8: ὁ πύργος (the symbol of the Church) ὑπὸ τούτων βαστάζεται κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ κυρίου· ἀκούε νῦν τὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτῶν. ἡ μὲν πρώτη αὐτῶν ἡ κρατοῦσα τὰς χεῖρας Πί-

στις καλεῖται· διὰ ταύτης (ταύτην *Cod. Sinait.*) σώζονται οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα ἡ περιεζωσμένη καὶ ἀνδριζομένη Ἐγκράτεια καλεῖται· αὕτη θυγάτηρ ἐστὶν τῆς Πίστews... αἱ δὲ ἑτέρας... πέντε... θυγατέρες ἀλλήλων εἰσὶ... ὅταν οὖν τὰ ἔργα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν πάντα ποιήσης δύνασαι ζῆσαι. For the last clause *Cod. Palat.* gives *omnes poteris videre*, and the common text *omnia poteris custodire*. In the former *videre* is an obvious mistake for *vivere*, *omnes* being taken with *operas* (sic *Palat.*): the latter is a distinct reading.

⁶ *Clem. Str.* II. 12: Προηγείται μὲν πίστις, φόβος δὲ οἰκοδομεῖ, τελειοὶ δὲ ἡ ἀγάπη.

Chap. ii.

Christology
of *Hermas*
in connexion
with St
John.

on works, this passage alone is sufficient to prove that he assigned to Faith its true position in the Christian Economy. The Law, as he understands it, is implanted only in the minds of those who have believed¹.

The view which *Hermas* gives of Christ's nature and work is no less harmonious with Apostolic doctrine, and it offers striking analogies to the Gospel of St John². Not only did the Son 'appoint Angels to preserve each 'of those whom the Father gave to Him;' but 'He 'Himself toiled very much and suffered very much to 'cleanse our sins...And so when He Himself had 'cleansed the sins of the people, He shewed them the 'paths of life by giving them the Law which He received from His Father³.' He is 'a Rock higher than 'the mountains, able to hold the whole world, ancient, 'and yet having a new gate⁴.' 'His name is great and

¹ *Sim.* viii. 3: ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος ὁ μέγας καὶ ἑνδοξος Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἔχων τὴν ἐξουσίαν τούτου τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ διακυβερνῶν· οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ διδοὺς αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον εἰς τὰς καρδίας τῶν πιστευόντων. ἐπισκέπτεται οὖν αὐτοὺς οἷς ἔδωκεν εἰ ἄρα τετηρήκασιν αὐτόν.

² The general cogency of these analogies lies in the attribution to a historic Person of the functions of 'the Son' or of 'the Word.' Of such a doctrine I know no trace in pre-Christian times: though it is quite true that in parts of St Paul's Epistles and in the Epistle to the Hebrews this type of doctrine is found, derived (as I believe) from the teaching preserved for us by St John. It seems to be forgotten that the term 'the Word' is found only in two verses in St John's Gospel.

³ *Sim.* v. 6: καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐκαθάρισε πολλὰ κοπίδας καὶ πολλοὺς κόπους ἠγληκώς... αὐτὸς οὖν καθάρισας τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς τρίβους τῆς ζωῆς δούς αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον ὃν ἔλαβε

παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. The last clause is characteristic of the Lord's discourses in St John: e.g., xv. 15.

⁴ *Sim.* ix. 2: ἔδειξέ μοι πέτραν μεγάλην λευκὴν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀναβεβηκέναι· ἡ δὲ πέτρα ὑψηλοτέρα ἦν τῶν ὁρέων τετράγωνος ὥστε δύνασθαι δολὸν τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι (*sustinere* Int. Lat.) παλαιὰ δὲ ἦν ἡ πέτρα ἐκείνη πύλην ἐκκεκομμένην ἐχουσα· ὡς πρόσφατος δὲ ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι ἡ ἐκκόλαψις τῆς πύλης. ἡ δὲ πύλη οὕτως ἔστειλεν ὑπὲρ τὸν ἥλιον ὥστε μεθαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῇ λαμπρότητι τῆς πύλης.

Sim. ix. 12: ἡ πέτρα, φησὶν, αὕτη καὶ ἡ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶ. Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, ἡ πέτρα παλαιὰ ἐστὶν ἡ δὲ πύλη καινὴ; Ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ σὺν ἐσύνετε. Ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ προγενέστερος ἐστίν, ὥστε σύμβουλον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτοῦ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παλαιὸς ἐστίν. Ἡ δὲ πύλη διὰ τί καινὴ, φημί, κύριε; Ὅτι, φησὶν, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς συντελείας φανερός ἐγένετο, διὰ τοῦτο

'infinite, and the whole world is supported by Him¹.
'He is older than creation, so that He took counsel
'with the Father about the creation which He made².
'He is the sole way of access to the Lord; and no one
'shall enter in unto Him otherwise than by His Son³.
To Hermas, that is to the Christian of these later times,
He appears 'by the Spirit in the form of the Church⁴.'

It would be difficult to find a more complete contrast to Ebionism than these passages afford. Hermas indeed could never have been charged with favouring such a heresy unless the manifold developments of Christian character had been forgotten. His tendency towards legalism—a tendency peculiar to no time and no dispensation—was first transformed into an adherence to Jewish legalism; this was next identified with Ebionism; and then it only remained to explain away such phrases as were irreconcilable with the doctrines which it was assumed that he must of necessity have held. True criticism reverses the process, and sets down every element of the problem before it attempts a solution. Then it is seen how truly the teaching of St Paul and St John is recognized in the *Shepherd*, though that of St James gives the tone to the whole. The personality of its author is clearly marked, but his peculiar opi-

*False views
of his doc-
trine.*

καινη ἐγένετο ἡ πύλη, ἵνα οἱ μέλλον-
τες σώζεσθαι δι' αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν βασι-
λείαν εἰσελθῶσι τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹ *Sim.* ix. 14: τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ
τοῦ θεοῦ μέγα ἐστὶ καὶ ἀχώρητον καὶ
τὸν κόσμον ὅλον βαστάζει.

² *Sim.* ix. 12: quoted above.

³ *Sim.* ix. 12: ἡ δὲ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ
θεοῦ ἐστίν· αὕτη μία εἰσοδὸς ἐστι πρὸς
τὸν κύριον. ἄλλως οὐκ οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύ-
σεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ
αὐτοῦ. The allusion to the words
recorded by St John (xiv. 6) appears

to me to be unmistakeable. The
different turn of Acts iv. 12 will make
this clearer.

⁴ *Sim.* ix. 1: ...ὅσα σοι ἔδειξε τὸ
πνεῦμα τὸ λαλήσαν μετὰ σοῦ ἐν μορ-
φῇ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας· ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τὸ
πνεῦμα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν. The
conception is well worthy of notice.
This is however not the place to enter
into the details of Hermas' doctrine
of the Trinity—especially of the rela-
tion of the Son to the Holy Spirit.
Cf. Dorner, I. 195 ff.

Chap. ii.

nions do not degenerate into heresy. The book is distinguished from the writings of the Apostles by the undue preponderance of one form of Christian truth; from those of heretics by the admission of all.

§ II. *Hegesippus.*

*The relation
of Hege-
sippus to
Ebionism.*

The name of Hegesippus has become a watchword for those who find in early Church history a fatal chasm in the unity of Christian truth which is implied in Holy Scripture. It has been maintained that he is the representative and witness of the Ebionism of 'the Twelve' or rather of 'the Three,' the resolute opponent of St Paul¹. Many circumstances lend plausibility to the statement. Every influence of birth and education likely to predispose to Ebionism is allowed to have existed in his case.

He was it appears of Hebrew descent², conversant with Jewish history, and a zealous collector of the early traditions of his Church. The well-known description which he gives of the martyrdom of St James the Just shews how highly he regarded ritual observances in a Jew, and with what simple reverence he dwelt on every detail which marked the zeal of the 'Bishop of the Circumcision³.' It is probable that he felt that same devoted attachment to his nation which was characteristic of St Paul no less than of the latest Hebrew convert of our own time⁴; but of Ebionism as distinguished

¹ In this as in many other instances later critics have only revived an old controversy. Cf. Lumper, III. 117 ff.; Bull maintained the true view in answer to Zwicker.

² Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 22. Cf. p. 189, II. 2.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* II. 23. Routh, I. 208 ff. The details however of his life are not all drawn from Nazaritic asceticism.

⁴ It is strange that the conduct of St Paul is not more frequently taken as a commentary on his teaching. Apart from the testimonies in the Acts, St Paul himself says in

from the natural feelings of a Jew we find no trace in his views either of the Old Covenant or of the Person of Christ. There is not one word in the fragments of his own writings or in what others relate of him which indicates that he looked upon the Law as of universal obligation, or indeed as binding upon any after the destruction of the Temple. There is not one word which implies that he differed from the Catholic view of 'Christ' the 'Saviour' and the 'Door' of access to God. The general tone of his language authorizes no such deductions; and what we know of his life excludes them.

It is not necessary however to determine his opinions by mere negations. Eusebius, who was acquainted with his writings, has given the fullest testimony to his Catholic doctrine by classing him with Dionysius, Pinytus, and Irenæus, among those 'champions of the truth' whose 'orthodoxy and sound faith conformable to the 'Apostolic tradition was shewn by their writings².' Hegesippus in fact proves that the faith which we have already recognized in its essential features at Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome, was indeed the faith of Christendom.

Not being content to examine the records of his native Church only, Hegesippus undertook a journey to Rome³, and visiting many bishops on his way 'found

Chap. ii.

Eusebius' testimony to his orthodoxy.

His inquiries in foreign Churches. c. 155 A.D.

an Epistle universally acknowledged that he became as a Jew to the Jews (1 Cor. ix. 20). The whole relation of the Church to the Synagogue in the Apostolic age requires a fresh investigation.

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 7, 8: *παρῆγεν εἰς μέσον ἡ ἀλήθεια πλείους ἐαυτῆς ὑπερμάχους... δι' ἐγγράφων ἀποδείξεων κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων αἰρέσεων στρατευομένων ἐν τούτοις ἐγνωρίζετο Ἡγή-*

σιππος...

² Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 21: *ὧν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἡ τοῦ ὑγιоῦς πίστεως ἐγγραφὸς κατῆλθεν ὀρθοδοξία.* On such a point the evidence of Eusebius is conclusive.

³ This journey took place during the bishopric of Anicetus (157—168 A.D. Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 11), and Hegesippus appears to have continued at Rome till the time of Eleutherius

Chap. ii.

'everywhere the same doctrine¹.' Among other places he visited Corinth, where he was refreshed by the right principles (ὁρθὸς λόγος) in which the Church had continued up to the time of his visit². What these 'right principles' were is evident from the fact that he found there the Epistle of Clement, which was still read in the public services³. The witness of Hegesippus is thus invested with new importance. He not only proves that there was one rule of faith in his time, but also that it had been preserved in unbroken succession from the first age⁴. His inquiries confirmed the fact which we have seen personified in the life of Polycarp, that from the time of St John to that of Irenæus the Creed of the Church was essentially unchanged.

Hegesippus embodied the results of his investigations in five books or Memoirs. These according to Jerome⁵ formed a complete history of the Church from the death of our Lord to the time of their composition; but this statement is probably made from a misunder-

The character of his Memoirs.

(177—190 A.D.). The Paschal Chronicle fixes his death in the reign of Commodus (Lumper, III. 108). Jerome speaks of him (*de Virr. Ill. 22*) as *vicinus Apostolicorum temporum*, so rendering, as it appears, the phrase of Eusebius ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς (*H. E. II. 23*). This would represent him as a younger contemporary of Polycarp.

¹ Euseb. *H. E. IV. 22*: τὴν αὐτὴν παρὰ πάντων παρείληφε διδασκαλίαν.

² Euseb. *H. E. IV. 22*: καὶ ἐπέμεινεν ἡ Κορινθίων ἐν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ μέχρι Πρίμου ἐπισκοπεύοντος ἐν Κορίνθῳ οἷς συνέμειξα πλείων εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ συνδιέτριψα τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἡμέρας ἱκανάς ἐν αἷς συνανεπήμην τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ.

³ Euseb. *I. c.* Cf. *H. E. III. 16*; and p. 169. The Catholic character

of Clement's Epistle, with the clear recognition of the Apostolic dignity of St Paul which it contains (see pp. 25, 26, 56), gives peculiar force to this casual testimony.

⁴ Euseb. *I. c.*: ἐν ἐκάστῃ διὰδοχῇ (in each episcopal succession) καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει οὕτως ἔχει ὡς ὁ κύριος κηρύττει καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ κύριος. This last phrase has been already noticed as occurring in the Syriac Epistles of Clement (p. 185), which alone shews the error of Credner's supposition that the use of κύριος precludes the Canonical authority of the Epistles, *Gesch. d. N. T. Kanon*, p. 35. Compare Dr Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 311.

⁵ *De Virr. Ill. I. c.*: ...omnes a passione Domini usque ad suam ætatem Ecclesiasticorum Actuum texens historias...

standing of Eusebius, who says that Hegesippus 'wrote 'Memoirs in five books of the unerring tradition of the 'Apostolic message in a very simple style', 'leaving 'in these,' as he adds in another place, 'a very full 'record of his own opinion'. It appears then that his object was theological rather than historical. He sought to make out the oneness and continuity of Apostolic doctrine; and to this end he recorded the succession of bishops in each Church, with such illustrative details as the subject required³.

The compilation of such a book of Chronicles gave little opportunity for the quotation of Scripture or for the exposition of any views on Scripture; but in the absence of direct reference to the historical books of the New Testament it is interesting to observe the influence of their language on the fragments of Hegesippus which survive. There are forms of expression corresponding to passages in the Gospels of St Matthew and St Luke and in the Acts which can scarcely be attributed to chance⁴; and when he speaks of 'the Door

Traces of scriptural language in the fragments which remain.

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 8: ἐν πέντε δὴ φελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Cf. Matt. xxvi. οὖν συγγράμμασιν οὗτος τὴν ἀπλανῆ 64. For the variation καὶ μέλλει παράδοσιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπλουστάτη συντάξει γραφῆς ὑπομνηματισάμενος... ἐρχεσθαι for ἐρχόμενον cf. p. 142, n. 1. Δίκαιος εἰ καὶ πρόσωπον οὐ λαμβάνεις. This phrase πρ. λαμ. only occurs in Luke xx. 21 and Gal. ii. 6. Μάρτυς οὗτος ἀληθῆς Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἕλλησι γεγένηται ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός ἐστι. Cf. Acts xx. 21.

² Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 22: ἐν πέντε τοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσιν ὑπομνήμασι τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης πληρεστάτην μνῆμην καταλείπειν.

³ The arrangement of his Memoirs cannot have been purely chronological, for the account of the martyrdom of St James the Just is taken from the *fifth* book. There is no definite quotation from any earlier book.

⁴ The chief passages occur in the account of the martyrdom of St James: Euseb. *H. E.* II. 23: [Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου] κάθηται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως καὶ μέλλει ἐρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νε- The last words of St James as recorded by Hegesippus are still more remarkable: ἤρξαντο λιθάσαι αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ καταβληθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ στραφεὶς ἔθηκε τὰ γόνατα λέγων· Παρακαλῶ Κύριε θεὲ πάτερ ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τι ποιοῦσιν. The last clause agrees verbally with Luke xxiii. 34. In the *Clementine Homilies* the text is given: Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν, οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν ἃ ποιοῦσιν (XI. 20).

Chap. ii.

*His use of
Apocryphal
books.*

'of Jesus' in his account of the death of St James, there can be little doubt that he alludes to the language of our Lord recorded by St John¹.

It appears however that Hegesippus did not exclusively use Canonical writings. As a historian he naturally sought for information from every source; and the Apocryphal Gospels were likely to contain many details suited to his purpose. It is not strange then that Eusebius says that 'he sets forth certain things 'from the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the 'Syriac [Gospel] and especially from the Hebrew language; thus shewing that he was a Christian of Hebrew descent; and he mentions other facts moreover, 'as it was likely that he would do, from unwritten Jewish tradition².' He went beyond the range of the

It is to be noticed that he refers to Herod's fear of Christ, recorded in Matt. ii., which chapter was not found in the *Ebionite* Gospel: see Euseb. *H. E.* III. 20.

¹ The sense of this difficult phrase seems to be 'the Door of which 'Jesus spoke.' The claim 'I am the 'Door' (John x. 7, 9) was that of exclusive right to admit into the fold of God; and it is easy to see how, when this claim was pressed, the question would arise: What then is the door of Jesus? The Greek admits equally this translation and the translation 'The Door to Jesus,' and whether the interpretation given be right or wrong, it is both intelligible and pertinent.

It has been supposed that Hegesippus in a Fragment given in Photius, *Bibl.* 232, alludes to a passage in St Paul (1 Cor. ii. 9) as 'vainly said' and contrary to our Lord's words (Matt. xiii. 16). It is enough to answer that the passage in question is quoted by St Paul from the Old Testament (Isa. lxiv. 4, *καθὼς γέγραπται*), and that it is immediately followed by *ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπε-*

κάλυψεν κ.τ.λ. Hegesippus evidently refers to some sect (*τοὺς ταῦτα φημένους*) who claimed for themselves the true and sole possession of spiritual mysteries. Cf. Routh, I. pp. 281, 282: Dr Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 311 n. The quotation is said to have been found in the *Ascensio Esaie* and the *Apocalypsis Elie*. Cf. Routh, I. c.; Dörner, I. 228. It is very common in early Christian writings; and it has been supposed that it was incorporated in a very ancient, perhaps Apostolic, Christian Hymn.

The fact that Eusebius does not expressly quote Hegesippus as recognizing the Pauline Epistles has been supposed to shew that he disallowed their authority. The argument is worthless. See note at the end of the Chapter.

In one passage Eusebius (*H. E.* III. 32) quoting Hegesippus freely uses the phrase *ἡ ψευδώνυμος γρῶσις* (1 Tim. vi. 20), but it cannot be certain that the words stood so in the original text.

² Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 22: *ἐκ τε τοῦ*

Scriptures both of the Old and of the New Testament. Tradition helped him in one case, and unauthoritative writings in the other. But he did not therefore disallow the Canon, or cast aside all criticism; for in immediate connexion with the words last quoted we read 'that when determining about the so-called Apocrypha 'he records that some of the books were forged in his 'own time by certain heretics¹.' There is indeed nothing to shew distinctly that he refers to the Apocryphal books of the New Testament, but there is nothing to limit his words to the Old; and when he speaks of the teaching of 'the Lord,' in the same manner as 'of 'the Law and of the Prophets²,' he clearly implies the existence of some written record of its substance. No further direct evidence however remains to identify this with the sum of our Canonical books, unless we accept the conjecture of a distinguished scholar of our own day, who has gone so far as to assert that the anony-

καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἐαυτὸν πεπιστευκέναι· καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὡς ἂν ἐξ Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀγραφῆς παραδόσεως μνημονεύει. By τὸ Συριακὸν we must I think understand the Aramaic recension of the Gospel according to St Matthew. Melito, as Routh has observed, speaks of ὁ Σύρος καὶ ὁ Ἑβραῖος in reference to a reading in the LXX. where the natural meaning is the Syrian translation (translator) and the Hebrew original. There is nothing in the language of Eusebius to lend support to the conclusion that Hegesippus used only this Semitic Gospel, as even Reuss most strangely assumes (*Hist. du Canon*, 42). The reference to unwritten tradition points the other way. At any rate it is absolutely necessary in such a case

to keep strictly within the lines of the evidence; and I do not know of any direct evidence whatever in support of the assertion that 'Hegesippus made exclusive use of the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' (*Supernat. Rel.* i. 419, 438 f.). There is no direct evidence that he did use other Gospels than this—and I have given reasons why we cannot expect that there should be—but that is a very different thing. Comp. p. 161, n. 3.

¹ Euseb. *l. c.*: καὶ περὶ τῶν λεγόμενων δὲ ἀποκρύφων διαλαμβάνων, ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ χρόνων πρὸς τινῶν αἱρετικῶν ἀναπεπλάσθαι τινὰ τούτων ἱστορεῖ. Elsewhere (v. 8, vi. 13) Eusebius mixes together the controverted books of the Old and New Testaments.

² Cf. p. 204, n. 4.

Chap. ii.

mous Fragment which will be the subject of the next section is in fact a translation from 'the historical work 'of Hegesippus'.

§ 12. *The Muratorian Fragment on the Canon—
Melito—Claudius Apollinaris.*

General ac-
count of the
Fragm. de
Canone.

A notice of the Latin Fragment on the Canon, first published by Muratori in his *Antiquitates Italicae*², forms a natural close to this part of our inquiry. This precious relic was discovered in the Ambrosian Library at Milan in a Manuscript of the seventh or eighth century, which originally belonged to Columban's great Monastery at Bobbio³. It is mutilated both at the beginning and end; and is disfigured throughout by remarkable barbarisms, due in part to the ignorance of the transcriber, and in part to the translator of the original text; for there can be little doubt that it is a version from the Greek. But notwithstanding these defects it is of the greatest interest and importance. Enough remains to indicate the limits which its author assigned

¹ Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, I. p. 314. The evidence of the *Clementines* is noticed below in Chap. IV. § 2.

² *Antiquit. Ital. Med. Ævi*, III. 851 sqq. (Milan, 1740). The best edition of the Fragment is in Routh, *Rel. Sacrae*, I. 394 sqq. (ed. 1846), who obtained a fresh collation of the Manuscript. Credner has also examined it in his *Zur Geschichte des Kanons*, 71 sqq. (1847), and again in his posthumous *Geschichte des N. T. Kanon*, 1860, to which the editor (G. Volkmar) has added an Appendix of his own upon the text and interpretation of this 'Tractate' as he prefers to call it. The complete text and context of the Fragment is given in App. C. The

edition by Dr Tregelles accompanied by a facsimile (Oxford, 1867) is in every way the most complete which has appeared, and is practically exhaustive. [The new monograph by F. H. Hesse (*Das Muratori'sche Fragment*, Giessen 1873) is still more elaborate and full than that of Dr Tregelles. The learned author, in his desire to leave no difficulty unsolved, has overlooked in many cases the actual conditions of the problem offered by a careless copy of an archetype already imperfect. I cannot see that he takes any account of the most instructive phenomena furnished by the Fragment of Ambrose. 1874.]

³ Murat. I. c.: Adservat Ambrosi-

to the Canon; and the general sense is sufficiently clear to shew the authority which he claimed for it.

The date of the composition of the Fragment is given by the allusion made in it to Hermas, which has been already quoted. It claims to have been written by a contemporary of Pius, and cannot on that supposition be placed much later than 170 A.D.¹ Internal evidence fully confirms its claim to this high antiquity; and it may be regarded on the whole as a summary of the opinion of the Western Church on the Canon shortly after the middle of the second century². Though it adds but little to what has been already obtained in detail from separate sources, yet by combination and contrast it gives a new effect to the general result. It serves to connect the isolated facts in which we have recognized different elements of the Canon; and by its accurate coincidence with these justifies the belief that it was confined approximately within the same limits from the first.

There is no sufficient evidence to determine the authorship of the Fragment. Muratori supposed that it was written by Caius the Roman Presbyter, and his opinion for a time found acceptance³. Another scholar

Chap. ii.

The date of its composition.

Different theories as to its authorship.

ana Mediolanensis Bibliotheca membranaceum codicem e Bobiensi acceptum, cujus antiquitas pæne ad annos mille accedere mihi visa est. Scriptus enim fuit litteris majusculis et quadratis. Titulus præfixus omnia tribuit Joanni Chrysostomo, sed immerito. Mutilum in principio codicem deprehendi...Ex hoc ergo codice ego decerpsi fragmentum antiquissimum ad Canonem Divinarum Scripturarum spectans. A more complete description of the Manuscript is given in App. C.

poribus nostris in urbe Roma Herma conscripsit, sedente cathedra urbis Romæ ecclesiæ Pio episcopo fratre ejus. Cf. p. 193. The date of the episcopate of Pius is variously given 127—142 and 142—157. The statement in the text of the Fragment is perfectly clear, definite, and consistent with its contents, and there can be no reason either to question its accuracy or to interpret it loosely.

² The Books it omits are noticed below, p. 216.

³ Cf. Routh, i. p. 398 ff.

¹ Pastorem vero nuperrime tem-

Chap. ii.

Probably a
fragment of
some Greek
Apologetic
work.

confidently attributed it to Papias, and perhaps with as good reason¹. Bunsen again affirms that it is a translation from Hegesippus². But such guesses are barely ingenious; and the opinions of those who assign it to the fourth century, or doubt its authenticity altogether, scarcely deserve mention³.

The exact character of the work to which the Fragment belonged is scarcely more certain than its authorship⁴. The form of composition is rather apologetic than historical, and it is not unlikely that it formed part of a Dialogue with some heretic⁵, unless indeed, as seems probable, it is made up of detached pieces taken from different parts of a considerable work⁶. One point alone can be made out with tolerable certainty. The recurrence of Greek idioms appears conclusive as to the fact that it is a translation⁷, and this agrees well with its

¹ [Simon de Magistris] *Daniel secundum LXX...*MDCCLXXII. *Disser.* IV. pp. 467 ff.

² *Hippolytus and his Age*, I. p. 314.

³ Such is also the decision of Credner, a most impartial judge: *Zur Gesch. d. K.* p. 93.

⁴ It is not necessary to enter into the theory of Credner; which has been also supported by Volkmar, that the Fragment is in fact a complete *Tractatus de Libris quos Ecclesia Catholica Apostolica recipit* (*Gesch. d. N. T. Kanon*, 153): The internal character of the Fragment seems to me to be absolutely decisive against such a view; and it would be hardly possible to indicate the circumstances under which any Christian writer would have ventured to publish such a tract in such a form, while the substance of the Fragment would naturally fall within the scope of a discussion with some non-Catholic adversary. Happily little or nothing turns upon the

view which is taken of the original form of the Fragment.

It may be well to add that, though the details of the text are obscure and in part corrupt, the general sense of the Fragment is perfectly clear, so far as concerns the reception or rejection of particular books.

⁵ e.g. *De quibus singulis necesse est a nobis disputari... Recipimus... Quidam ex nostris.*

⁶ *Comp.* p. 216.

⁷ Hesse maintains at some length the originality of the Latin text (§§ 25—39). In such a case the judgment must depend on a perception of style, and not simply on isolated phrases. If the Fragment be thus studied as a whole, I can scarcely suppose that any one who has had much experience in Greek and Latin composition will question that the Latin text is a translation. Special arguments are more or less precarious, but the following deserve consideration. 1. The usage of the

Roman origin, for Greek continued to be even at a later period the ordinary language of the Roman Church.

The Fragment commences with the last words of a sentence which evidently referred to the Gospel of St Mark¹. The Gospel of St Luke, it is then said, stands third in order [in the Canon], having been written by 'Luke the physician' the companion of St Paul, who, not being himself an eye-witness, based his narrative on such information as he could obtain, beginning from the birth of John. The fourth place is given to the Gospel of St John 'a disciple of the Lord²,' and the occasion of its composition is thus described: 'At the 'entreaties of his fellow-disciples and his bishops John 'said: *Fast with me for three days from this time, and 'whatever shall be revealed to each of us* [whether it be 'favourable to my writing or not]³ *let us relate it to one*

Chap. ii.

The testimony which it bears (a) to the Gospels, and

particles is rather Greek than Latin: *e.g. quibus tamen...et ita...; dominum tamen nec ipse...et eundem...ita et...non solum...sed et...sed et...; sed et principium; et. Johannes enim.*

2. Some phrases appear to reflect a Greek form: *nihil differt credentium fidei* (οὐδὲν διαφέρει τῇ πίστει); *quæ recipi non potest* (ἀ παραλαμβάνεσθαι οὐ δυνατόν or οὐ δύναται); *finctæ ad hæresim* (πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν); *dicens in semetipso*. Perhaps the form *Spania* (Σπανία) for *Hispania* may be added.

3. The writing evidently emanated from Rome (profectionem Pauli ab urbe), and there is no trace of any Latin writing at Rome as early as the Fragment (comp. Part ii. c. ii. § 3). It may be added that Hesse fixes the composition of the Fragment at Rome, (§§ 43 ff.) some time 'before Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian' (§ 48). The volume in which the Fragment is found contains among other pieces translations from Chrysostom.

¹ The Fragment is given at length in App. C, to which reference must

be made for the original text of the passages here quoted, and for the necessary critical remarks.

² Credner insists on this title *disciple* when compared with the title *one of the Apostles* given to Andrew, as shewing that the writer of the Fragment distinguishes the 'disciple' 'John' the author of the Gospel and the first Epistle from the 'Apostle' 'John' the author of the Apocalypse and the second and third Epistles (a. a. O. pp. 159 ff.). The title is probably borrowed from St John's own usage: vi. 3; xii. 4; xiii. 23; &c., and especially xix. 26 f.; xxi. 24. Nothing in the Fragment itself suggests a distinction between the Johns whom it names.

³ In spite of Hesse's objections I can find no other sense in the words. The whole tenor of the passage appears to me to exclude the idea that each was to await revelations which should furnish the contents of the new gospel, whether in the way of a quickened memory (John xiv. 26),

Chap. ii.

1 John i. 1.

the importance of this testimony,

'another. On the same night it was revealed to Andrew 'one of the Apostles that John should relate all things 'in his own name, aided by the revision of all'¹... 'what 'wonder is it then that John brings forward each detail 'with so much emphasis even in his Epistles², saying of 'himself, *what we have seen with our eyes and heard with 'our ears and our hands have handled, these things have 'we written to you?* For so he professes that he was 'not only an eye-witness, but also a hearer, and more-'over a historian of all the wonderful works of the Lord 'in order'³.'

Though there is no trace of any reference to the Gospel of St Matthew, it is impossible not to believe that it occupied the first place among the four Gospels of the anonymous writer⁴. Assuming this, it is of importance to notice that he regards our Canonical Gospels as essentially one in purpose, contents, and inspiration. He draws no distinction between those which were written from personal knowledge, and those which rested on the teaching of others. He alludes to no doubt as to

or a better understanding (John xvi. 13), Hesse, p. 91. The *oldager* in St John. xxi. 24 seems to point to 'the revision.'

¹ Cf. Routh, I. pp. 409 sq. 'The 'particulars as to the fast and the 'revelation of which Jerome says *ecclesiastica narrat historia* (*De Virr.* III. ix.) seem to be found in no 'extant writer except this Fragment.' Tregelles, p. 35. The passage in Jerome is important as indicating probably the general character of the book to which the Fragment belonged.

² Or *Epistle*, for the plural is used in post-classical writers (as Justin) for a single letter.

³ The writer evidently refers the *scripsimus*—a reading which is still found in two at least of the most

ancient Latin copies in 1 John i. 4—to the Gospel. He may have had a false reading and he may have been mistaken in his interpretation, but I see no justification for the statement that 'in his zeal [he] goes so far as 'to falsify a passage of the Epistle...' (*Supernat. Rel.* II. 385).

⁴ As bearing upon the authorship of the Fragment it may be noticed that the order of the Gospels is not that of the African Church, in which according to the oldest authorities Matthew and John stood first. And if the Fragment was not of African origin it follows almost certainly that it was not originally written in Latin. There is no evidence of the existence of Christian Latin literature out of Africa till about the close of the second century.

their authority, no limit as to their reception, no difference as to their usefulness. 'Though various ideas (*principia*) are taught in each of the Gospels, it makes 'no difference to the faith of believers, since in all of 'them all things are declared by one sovereign Spirit¹ concerning the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, the 'conversation [of our Lord] with His disciples, and His 'double Advent, first in humble guise, which has taken 'place, and afterwards in royal power, which is yet future².' This the earliest recognition of the distinctness and unity of the Gospels, of their origin as due to human care and Divine guidance, is as complete as any later testimony. The Fragment lends no support to the theory which supposes that they were gradually separated from the mass of similar books. Their peculiar position is clear and marked; and there is not the slightest hint that it was gained after a doubtful struggle or only at a late date. Admit that our Gospels were regarded from the first as authoritative records of Christ's Life even when they did not supersede the living record of Apostolic tradition, and then this new testimony explains and confirms the fragmentary notices which alone witness to the earlier belief: deny that it was so, and the language of one who had probably conversed with Polycarp at Rome becomes an unintelligible riddle. It would be necessary in that case to suppose that the Gospels had usurped a place during his lifetime to which before they had only made claim in common

¹ Uno ac *principali* Spiritu. *Principalis* is used to translate ἡγεμονικός in Ps. li. 12 Vulg., and Iren. c. *Her.* III. 11. 8 [bis].

² It is frequently asserted that we have in this passage, taken in connexion with the context, 'an apolo-

'getic defence of the fourth Gospel, 'which necessarily implies antecedent 'denial of its authority and apostolic 'origin.' As far as I can see, the explanation applies equally to the four Gospels, and not to any one in particular.

Chap. ii.

(β) to the
Acts,(γ) to the
Epistles of
St Paul,

with other rivals, and yet he speaks of them as if they had always occupied it.

Next to the Gospels the book of the Acts is mentioned as containing a record by St Luke 'of those acts 'of all the Apostles which fell under his own notice.' That this was the rule which he prescribed to himself is shewn, it is added, by 'the omission of the martyrdom 'of Peter and the journey of Paul to Spain¹.'

Thirteen Epistles are attributed to St Paul; of these nine were addressed to Churches, and four to individual Christians. The first class suggests an analogy with the Apocalypse. As St John when writing for all Christendom wrote specially to seven Churches, so St Paul also 'wrote by name only to seven Churches, shewing thereby 'the unity of the Catholic Church, though he wrote 'twice to the Corinthians and Thessalonians for their 'correction².' The order in which these Epistles are enumerated is remarkable: 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Romans. This order may have been determined by a particular view of their contents, since it appears that the author attributed to St Paul a special purpose in each Epistle, saying that 'he wrote at greater length 'first to the Corinthians to forbid heretical schism; afterwards to the Galatians to put a stop to circumcision; 'then to the Romans, according to the rule of the [Old 'Testament] Scriptures, shewing at the same time that 'Christ was the foundation of them³.' The second class

¹ This appears to be the sense of the clause, though the text is undoubtedly corrupt. See App. C. It may be observed that this is the first reference to the book of the Acts by name.

² Routh has a good note (i. pp. 416 sqq.) on the symbolism of the number seven.

³ It will be observed that the

relative chronological order of these epistles is rightly given. Cf. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 44 ff.

If the reading *ordinem* be adopted, the sense will be 'pointing out the 'rule—the consistent revelation—of 'the Old Testament, and at the same 'time that.....'

includes all that are received now: 'an Epistle to Philemon, one to Titus, and two to Timothy,' which though written only 'from personal feeling and affection, are 'still hallowed in the respect of the Catholic Church, for '(or in) the arrangement of ecclesiastical discipline.'

At this point the Fragment diverges to spurious or disputed books, and the exact words are of importance. 'Moreover,' it is said, 'there is in circulation an Epistle 'to the Laodiceans, [and] another to the Alexandrians 'forged under the name of Paul bearing on the heresy of 'Marcion¹, and several others which cannot be received 'into the Catholic Church. For gall ought not to be 'mixed with honey. The Epistle of Jude however (*sane*) 'and two Epistles bearing the name of John² are received in the Catholic [Church] (or are reckoned among 'the Catholic [Epistles])³. And the book of Wisdom

Chap. ii.

(8) to the disputed Catholic Epistles as distinguished from certain Apocryphal books,

¹ Nothing is known of the *Epistle to the Alexandrians*. The attempt to identify it with that to the *Hebrews* is not supported by the slightest external evidence. The *Epistle to the Laodiceans* is also involved in great obscurity. The *Epistle to the Ephesians* bore that name in Marcion's collection of St Paul's Epistles, and the text may contain an inaccurate allusion to it. In Jerome's time there was an 'Epistle to the 'Laodiceans rejected by all.' Cf. Routh, i. pp. 420 sqq. The remarkable cento of Pauline phrases which is frequently found in Manuscripts of the Vulgate under this name was undoubtedly of Latin origin. The first evidence of its existence occurs in the *Speculum* published by Mai, and the Latin Manuscript of La Cava (viiith cent.), both of which recognize the spurious clause in 1 John v. 7. From the sixth century downward it is very commonly found in Manuscripts of the Vulgate; and

seems to have been especially popular in the English Church. See below, Part III.

² Hesse rightly, as I now believe, objects to the rendering 'John who 'has been mentioned above' (§ 234). The translation given will hold equally whether *superscripti* or *super-scriptæ* be read.

³ The reading of the Manuscript is *in Catholica*, and Routh (i. 425; III. 44) has shewn that Tertullian (*de Præscr. Hæc.* 30) and later writers sometimes omit *ecclesia*. The context on the other hand favours the correction *in Catholicis*, and I find that it has been adopted by Bunsen (*Hippolytus*, II. 136), who first gave what is certainly the true connexion of the passage. I do not know whether there is any earlier instance of *καθολικὴ ἐπιστολή* than in a fragment of Apollonius (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18), who was a contemporary of Tertullian.

Chap. ii.
(e) and to
the Apoca-
lypse.

Other
writings
mentioned.

Its omis-
sions.

The true ex-
planation of
them,

'written by the friends of Solomon in his honour [is 'acknowledged']. We receive moreover the Apocalypses 'of John and Peter only, which [latter] some of our body 'will not have read in the Church.'

After this mention is made of the Shepherd ¹, and of the writings of Valentinus, Basilides, and others: and so the Fragment ends abruptly.

It will then be noticed that there is no special enumeration of the acknowledged Catholic Epistles—I Peter and 1 John²: that the Epistle of St James, 2 Peter, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, are also omitted: but that with these exceptions every book in our New Testament Canon is acknowledged, and one book only added to it—the Apocalypse of St Peter—which it is said was not universally admitted.

The character of the omissions helps to-explain them. The first Epistle of St John is quoted in an earlier part of the Fragment, though it is not mentioned in its proper place, either after the Acts of the Apostles, or after the Epistles of St Paul: there is no evidence that the first Epistle of St Peter was ever disputed, and it has been shewn that it was quoted by Polycarp and Papias: the Epistle to the Hebrews and that of St James were certainly known in the Roman Church, and they could scarcely have been altogether passed over in an enumeration of books in which the Epistle of St Jude, and even Apocryphal writings of heretics, found a place. The cause of the omissions cannot have been ignorance or doubt. It must be sought either in the character of the writing, or in the present condition of the text.

The present form of the Fragment makes the idea of

¹ See page 19; note 3.

² The context tends to shew that the 'two Epistles of St John' are the

Second and Third Epistles. Compare however p. 76, n. 2: Iren. c. Hær. III. 16. 8; and App. C.

a chasm in it very probable; and more than this, the want of coherence between several parts seems to shew that it was not all continuous originally, but that it has been made up of three or four different passages from some unknown author, collected on the same principle as the quotations in Eusebius from Papias, Irenæus, Clement, and Origen¹. On either supposition it is easy to explain the omissions, and if it is urged that these explanations of the omissions in the Fragment are conjectural, it must be admitted at once that the objection is valid against their positive force. But on the other hand it is to be noticed that the position in the Christian Canon which was occupied by the books which are passed over calls for some explanation. The Epistle to the Hebrews for example is just that of which the earliest and most certain traces are found at Rome². Any one who maintains the integrity of the text must be able to shew how it came to be left out in the enumeration³.

One other point must be noted as to the general character of this Fragment. The writer speaks throughout of a received and general opinion. He does not suggest a novel theory about the Apostolic books, but states what was held to be certainly known. He does not hazard an individual judgment, but appeals to the practice of 'the Catholic Church.' There was not indeed complete unanimity with regard to all the writings claim-

Chap. ii.

The judgment of the writer not a new one.

¹ The connexion appears to be broken in at least two places; but as the general sense of the text is not affected by this view a detailed examination of it is reserved for the Appendix.

² See p. 23.

³ It is not, I now think, possible to lay any stress on Bunsen's suppo-

sition that the reference to Proverbs (Wisdom) as written 'by the friends of Solomon' was occasioned by the mention of the Epistle to the Hebrews as written by the friend of St Paul; nor yet on the conjecture *in Catholicis* as implying a central group of 'Catholic' Epistles among which 2, 3 John and Jude were reckoned.

Chap. ii.

MELITO
witnesses to
the existence
of a Canon.

ing to be apostolical, but the frank recognition of the divergence of opinion on the *Revelation of Peter* gives weight to the assumed agreement as to the authority and use of the other books.

A fragment of Melito Bishop of Sardis in the time of Marcus Antoninus adds a trait which is wanting in the Fragment on the Canon¹. In that the books of the New Testament are spoken of as having individual authority, and being distinguished by ecclesiastical use; but nothing is said of them in their collected form, or in relation to the Jewish Scriptures. The words of Melito on the other hand are simple and casual, and yet their meaning can scarcely be mistaken. He writes to Onesimus a fellow-Christian, who had urged him 'to make 'selections for him from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Saviour and the Faith generally, and furthermore desired to learn the accurate account of the 'Old (*παλαιῶν*) Books;' 'having gone therefore to the 'East,' Melito says, 'and reached the spot where [each 'thing] was preached and done, and having learned accurately the Books of the Old Testament, I have sent a 'list of them.' The mention of 'the Old Books'—'the 'Books of the Old Testament,'—naturally implies a recognition of 'the New Books,' of 'the Books of the New Testament,' a written antitype to the Old². But

¹ Melito presented an Apology to Marcus Antoninus after the death of Aurelius Verus (A.D. 169); and, as appears from a passage quoted by Eusebius (*μετὰ τοῦ παιδός*, IV. 26), at a time when Commodus was admitted to share the imperial power (A.D. 176). His treatise on the Passover probably belongs to an earlier date. The persecution 'in which 'Sagaris was martyred' (Euseb. *l.c.*)

was probably that in which Polycarp also suffered (A.D. 167).

² Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 26. This appears to be the natural interpretation of phrases like *μαθεῖν τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἐβουλήθη ἀκριβείαν*, and *ἀκριβῶς μαθεῖν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία*. Unless these ancient books were contrasted with others there could be no meaning in the two complementary phrases. Reuss' remark

there is little evidence in the fragment of Melito to shew what writings he would have included in the new collection. He wrote a treatise on the Apocalypse, and the title of one of his essays is evidently borrowed from St Paul—‘On the obedience of Faith.’

An ‘Oration of Melito the philosopher who was in ‘the presence of Antoninus Cæsar’ has been preserved in a Syriac translation; and though if it be entire it is not the Apology with which Eusebius was acquainted, the general character of the writing leads to the belief that it is a genuine book of Melito of Sardis. Like other Apologies this Oration contains only indirect references to the Christian Scriptures. The allusions in it to the Gospels are extremely rare and, except so far as they shew the influence of St John’s writings, of no special interest. But the conception of God as the ‘Father ‘and God of Truth’, the Absolute and Self-existent², ‘Who is Himself Truth and His Word Truth’,³ as contrasted with the vanity of idols, is a remarkable proof of the manner in which the highest Christian doctrine was used in controversy with heathen adversaries. The coincidences with the Epistles are more numerous. Those with St James and I Peter are particularly worthy of notice⁴;

Chap. ii.

Rom. i. 5:
xvi. 26.
His Apology.

is instructive: Eusèbe a transcrit la préface de cet ouvrage qui contient une énumération de tous les livres de l’ancienne Alliance et qui en parle de manière à faire voir que Méliton n’avait aucune idée d’une autre collection de livres sacrés (*Hist. du Canon*, 43). The point of the argument lies in the reference to ‘the Books,’ ‘the Books of the Old Testament,’ and its force will be felt by a comparison with Origen’s words: ...ἐκ τῶν πεπιστευμένων ἡμῶν εἶναι θεῶν γραφῶν τῆς τε λεγομένης παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καὶ τῆς καλουμένης καινῆς (*De Princ.* IV, 1).

p. 42.

² *Id.* p. 41.

³ *Id.* p. 45.

⁴ ‘Light without envy is given to ‘all of us that we may see thereby’ (*id.* p. 42). ‘With [the Lord] there ‘is no jealousy of giving the knowledge of Himself to them that seek ‘it’ (*id.* p. 48). Compare James i. 5 ff.

‘When thou Cæsar shalt learn ‘these things thyself and thy children also with thee, thou wilt bequeath to them an eternal inheritance which fadeth not away’ (*id.* p. 51). Compare I Peter i. 4.

¹ Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*,

Chap. ii.

His writings also illustrate the extent of early Christian thought.

and one passage offers a very remarkable resemblance to 2 Peter¹.

But the evidence which remains of the remarkable literary activity of Melito is more important than the direct bearing which the fragments of his books have upon the Christian Canon. The titles of his works which have been preserved by Eusebius—and he implies that the list is not complete—bear a striking witness to the energy of speculation within the Church in the second century. Scarcely any branch of theological inquiry was left untouched by him: and the variety of his treatises is a witness to the variety of Christian culture in his age. And more than this: it is a presumptive argument of the greatest force against the possibility of any revolution in the Creed and constitution of the Church, such as is supposed to have been effected in his time by a series of supposititious Apostolic writings. The character of his inquiries shews that the broad outlines of Christianity were already clearly defined. Morality, Ritual, Psychology, Dogma, had already become subjects for systematic treatment. Thus in addition to the books already

¹ 'There was once a flood and a wind and the chosen men were destroyed by a mighty north wind... at another time there was a flood of waters... So also it will be at the last time: there shall be a flood of fire, and the earth shall be burnt up together with its mountains, and men shall be burnt up together with their idols... and the sea together with its isles shall be burnt; and the just shall be delivered from the fury like their fellows in the Ark from the waters of the deluge' (*id.* pp. 50, 51). Compare 2 Peter iii. 5—7.

The first allusion in the quotation is to the destruction of the tower of Babel, which is mentioned in similar terms in the *Sibylline Oracles*, III.

110 ff. In the same passage of the Sibyllines there is also a description of the future destruction of the world by fire: *Καὶ πέσεται πολύμορφος ὅλος πόλος ἐν χθονὶ διὰ καὶ πελάγει· βούσει δὲ πῦρὸς μαλεροῦ καταράκτης Ἀκμάτος, φλέξει δὲ γαῖαν φλέξει δὲ θάλασσαν.* In other passages the same final catastrophe is described in similar terms: II. 196 ff.; VII. 118 ff. &c., and it is impossible therefore to affirm that the reference in Melito is to 2 Peter and not rather to the Sibyllines or to the wide-spread tradition on which they rested. [Dr Tregelles' argument (*Can. Murat.* pp. 103—4) leaves me still unable to admit the certainty of the reference to 2 Peter. 1869.]

quoted he wrote on Hospitality—on Easter, and on the Lord's day (περὶ κυριακῆς)—on the Church, on [Christian] Citizenship (περὶ πολιτείας) and Prophets, on Prophecy, on Truth, and on Baptism (περὶ λουτροῦ)—on the Creation (κτίσις) and Birth of Christ, on the Nature of Man, and on the Soul and Body—on the Formation of the World (περὶ πλάσεως), and (according to one reading) on the Organs of sense—on the Interpretation of Scripture (ἡ κλείς)—on the Devil, and on the Incarnation¹ (περὶ ἐνσωμάτου θεοῦ).

Of these multifarious writings very few fragments remain in the original Greek, but the general tone of them is so decided in its theological character as to go far to establish the genuineness of those which are preserved in the Syriac translation. One of these said to be taken from the treatise *On Faith* is a very striking expansion of the early historic Creed of the Church, and deserves on every account to be quoted in full². 'We 'have made collections from the Law and the Prophets 'relative to those things which have been declared re-

Chap. ii.

*A fragment
of his Treatise
On
Faith.*

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26. It may be well to add Dr Cureton's translation of the Syriac version of this passage, which differs in some places from the Greek: 'The treatises [of 'Melito] with which we have become 'acquainted are the following: On 'Easter two, and On Polity and On 'the Prophets; and another On the 'Church and another On the First 'Day of the Week; and again another On the Faith of Man (*i. e.* 'περὶ πίστεως, not περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου) and another On his Formation; and again another On the 'hearing of the Ear of Faith; and 'besides these [one] On the Soul 'and Body; and again On Baptism 'and On the Truth and On the 'Faith; and On the Birth of Christ 'and On the word of his Prophecy; and again On the Soul and on the 'Body; and another On the love of 'Strangers, and On Satan and On 'the Revelation of John; and again 'another On God who put on the 'Body; and again another which he 'wrote to the Emperor Antoninus' (*Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 57). Some of the variations are interesting, as in the clauses corresponding to ὁ περὶ ὑπακοῆς πίστεως [καὶ ὁ περὶ] αἰσθητηρίων and περὶ κτίσεως καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ. One treatise (ἡ κλείς) is omitted, and one (περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος) reckoned twice.

² It should however be added that this fragment is attributed in an Armenian version and in a shorter Syriac version to Irenæus. Comp. Pitra, *Spicil. Solesm.* i. 3 ff.; ii., viii. and 59.

Chap. ii.

‘specting our Lord Jesus Christ¹, that we may prove to
 ‘your love that He is perfect Reason, the Word of God;
 ‘Who was begotten before the light; Who was Creator
 ‘together with the Father; Who was the Fashioner of
 ‘man; Who was all in all; Who among the Patriarchs
 ‘was Patriarch; Who in the law was the Law; among
 ‘the priests Chief Priest; among kings Governor; among
 ‘prophets the Prophet; among the Angels Archangel;
 ‘in the Voice the Word; among spirits Spirit; in the
 ‘Father the Son; in God God, the King for ever and
 ‘ever. For this was He who was Pilot to Noah; Who
 ‘conducted Abraham; Who was bound with Isaac;
 ‘Who was in exile with Jacob; Who was sold with Jo-
 ‘seph; Who was Captain with Moses; Who was the
 ‘Divider of the inheritance with Jesus the son of Nun;
 ‘Who in David and the Prophets foretold His own suf-
 ‘ferings; Who was incarnate in the Virgin; Who was
 ‘born at Bethlehem; Who was wrapped in swaddling
 ‘clothes in the manger; Who was seen of shepherds;
 ‘Who was glorified of Angels; Who was worshipped by
 ‘the Magi; Who was pointed out by John; Who as-
 ‘sembled the Apostles; Who preached the kingdom;
 ‘Who healed the maimed; Who gave light to the blind;
 ‘Who raised the dead; Who appeared in the Temple;
 ‘Who was not believed on by the people; Who was be-
 ‘trayed by Judas; Who was laid hold on by the Priests;
 ‘Who was condemned by Pilate; Who was pierced in
 ‘the flesh; Who was hanged upon the tree; Who was
 ‘buried in the earth; Who rose from the dead; Who
 ‘appeared to the Apostles; Who ascended to heaven;
 ‘Who sitteth on the right hand of the Father; Who is

¹ The remarkable coincidence of these words with the fragment quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* IV. 26) is a strong proof of the genuineness of the fragment: *ἡξίωσας...γενέσθαι σοι ἐκλογὰς ἐκ τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν.*

'the Rest of those that are departed, the Recoverer of
'those who are lost, the Light of those who are in dark-
'ness, the Deliverer of those who are captives, the Finder
'of those who have gone astray, the Refuge of the
'afflicted, the Bridegroom of the Church, the Charioteer
'of the Cherubim, the Captain of the Angels, God who is
'of God, the Son who is of the Father, Jesus Christ, the
'King for ever and ever. Amen¹.'

No writer could state the fundamental truths of Christianity more unhesitatingly or refer to the contents of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments with more perfect confidence. The subject of the passage offers full scope for the exhibition of these characteristics, but they are also found in a greater or less degree in all the other fragments of Melito's writings which admit of similar expressions of faith. The fact is of great significance, for it explains what might have seemed to be a certain dryness in most of the quotations which have been hitherto made. This fragment is clearer in its witness to the doctrinal and devotional use of Holy Scripture than any which has been yet noticed, because it is taken from a treatise addressed to believers, and that upon their Faith. Elsewhere we have heard the language of the Church to those without: here we are enabled to listen to the familiar language of Christians one to another. For once we catch the clear accents of faith. No heathen audience keeps back the expression of divine mysteries. In place of the constrained language of the *Apology* we listen to the triumphant Hymn².

¹ Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, Melito, which has been at length (cf. Routh, I. pp. 141 ff.) published by

² This is not the place to discuss the genuineness of the Latin translation of the *Clavis* attributed to J. B. Pitra in the *Spicilegium Solesmense*. It is enough to say that I cannot believe that in its present

Chap. ii.

CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS also shews that the Gospels were a definite and recognized collection at that time.

The testimony of Melito finds a natural confirmation in a fragment of a contemporary writer¹, Claudius Apollinaris Bishop of Hierapolis². When discussing the time for the celebration of Easter he writes: 'Some say that 'the Lord ate the lamb with His disciples on the 14th (of Nisan), and suffered Himself on the great day of 'unleavened bread; and they state that Matthew's narrative is in accordance with their view; while it follows 'that their view is at variance with the Law, and according to them the Gospels seem to disagree³. The Gospels are evidently quoted as books certainly known and recognized and not as books emerging with difficulty from a mass of competitors; a contradiction between them is treated as impossible; and it must be remembered that this testimony comes from the same place as that of Papias, and that no such interval had elapsed

form it fairly represents the work of the Bishop of Sardis, even if it may possibly have been based upon it.

As far as I have observed, the four Gospels are simply quoted as *In Evangelio*, without any further addition. The Epistles generally as *In Apostolo*. The only books of the New Testament from which no quotations are found are *James*, *Jude*, 2, 3 *John*. The *Revelation* is quoted as *In Apocalypsi*, and a passage from 2 *Peter* (ii. 17) is quoted twice: *Clavis*, III. 14; IV. 25. The reference to 1 *Peter* ii. 5 is wrongly given by Pitra to 2 *Peter* ii. 5.

¹ Claudius Apollinaris also presented an Apology to Marcus Antoninus. Hieron. *de Virr.* III. c. 26. Cf. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26.

² There is not any sufficient ground for doubting the genuineness of these fragments 'On Easter' in the fact that Eusebius mentions no such book by Apollinaris. The words of Eusebius (*H. E.* IV. 27) are 'that 'there were many works of Apolli-

'naris in circulation, of which he 'enumerates only those which had 'come into his own hands:' τοῦ δ' Ἀπολλινάρου πολλῶν παρὰ πολλοῖς σωζομένων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἐστὶ τὰδε... The two fragments are preserved in the *Paschal* or *Alexandrine Chronicle* (viith cent.). Cf. Routh, I. pp. 167 sq.

³ Claud. Apoll. fr. ap. Routh, I. p. 160: καὶ διηγούνται Ματθαῖον οὕτω λέγειν ὡς νενοήκασιν· ὅθεν ἀσύμφωνός τε τῷ νόμῳ ἢ νόησις αὐτῶν, καὶ στασιάζειν δοκεῖ κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ εὐαγγέλια. It seems strange that the Asiatic 'Paschal Controversy' should still be urged against the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, which certainly was recognized by the Asiatic 'School of St John.' The peculiarity of the Asiatic Churches was that they observed the 14th of Nisan (*i. e.* the day of the month and not the day of the week) as their Paschal Festival. This was the centre of the controversy. Now St John fixes the Death of the Lord as the

between the two Bishops as to allow of any organic change in the Church¹.

Two other apologists, Theophilus of Antioch, and Athenagoras of Athens, close the list of writers who belong to this age of apologists. Theophilus was, as it appears from his own writings, a heathen by birth and a native of the East; and Eusebius adds that he was sixth bishop of Antioch in the time of Marcus Aurelius. He wrote several books for the purpose of Christian instruction (*κατηχητικά τινα βιβλία*), and among them three books to Autolycus (*στοιχειώδη συγγράμματα*) in which he devotes himself to convincing a learned heathen friend of the truth of Christianity. The personal and special character of his design gave him greater freedom than his predecessors in dealing with the Christian Scriptures, and his references to them are proportionately wider in range and more explicit than those contained in the earlier apologists². Thus he quotes the 'evangelic voice' from a passage in St Matthew³, and mentions St John by name as one of 'those who were

Chap. ii.

THEOPHILUS
of Antioch.

C. 168 A.D.

C. 182 A.D.

true Passover, on the 14th; and there is every reason to believe that the Christian Paschal Festival was originally the commemoration (as it naturally would be) of the Death of the Lord and not of the Last Supper or of the Resurrection. Nothing therefore can be a more baseless assertion than that Polycarp (or Claudius Apollinaris) 'contradicted the statements 'of the fourth Gospel' by 'contending that the Christian Festival 'should be celebrated on the 14th 'Nisan' (*Supernat. Rel.* II. 271. Comp. 198 f., 472 f.). Such an assertion involves two conclusions which not only cannot be proved but which are inherently most improbable: (1) that the early Paschal Controversy turned on the choice of

one of two days of the month and not on the choice of the day of the month or the day of the week measured back from Easter Day (Sunday); and (2) that the original Paschal Festival was a commemoration of the Last Supper and not of the Crucifixion.

¹ A second fragment of Apollinaris is preserved, in which he makes an evident allusion to John xix. 34. and in such a way as to shew that the Gospel had become the subject of careful interpretation. He speaks of Christ as *ὁ τὴν ἁγίαν πλευρὰν ἐκκεντηθεὶς, ὁ ἐκχέας ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ τὰ δύο πάλιν καθάρσια ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα, λόγον καὶ πνεῦμα.*

² Comp. p. 116.

³ iii. 13 || Matt. v. 28.

Chap. ii.

vessels of the Spirit' (πνευματοφόροι), adding words from the Prologue to his Gospel as a specimen of his teaching¹. Elsewhere his writings shew clear traces of St Paul's Epistles to the Romans, 1, 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Timothy², and Titus; of the Epistle to the Hebrews and of the first Epistle of St Peter³. In a work now lost he used, according to Eusebius, 'testimonies from the Apocalypse⁴;' and Jerome speaks of a harmony of 'the four Evangelists' which he composed⁵.

ATHENA-
GORAS.

The little that is certainly known of Athenagoras is derived from his own writings; neither Eusebius nor Jerome give any account of him. He was, according to the superscription of his Apology, an Athenian and a philosopher; and his Apology (πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν—*A mission about Christians*—the title is most remarkable) was addressed to M. Aurelius and his son Commodus⁶. In this there are certain though tacit references to the Gospels of St Matthew⁷ and St John⁸;

c. 176 A.D.

¹ ii. 22. This is the earliest quotation of St John's Gospel by name which has been preserved. It is further worthy of notice that in the context the original distinction between 'the sacred Scriptures' (*i. e.* the Old Testament), and 'the inspired men' of later times still remains, though elsewhere (*e. g.* iii. 14) Theophilus calls utterances of the New Testament 'divine,' and refers to one and the same source 'the inspiration of the law, the prophets and the Gospel' (iii. 12).

There is a reference to St Luke's Gospel, ii. 13 || Luke xviii. 27. Compare also iii. 2 *init.* with Luke i. 2.

² iii. 14 (ὁ θεὸς λόγος) || 1 Tim. ii. 2.

³ ii. 25 || Hebr. v. 12; xii. 9: ii. 34 || 1 Pet. i. 18; iv. 3. The

passage ii. 9 may be compared with 2 Pet. i. 20, 21, and also ii. 13 with 2 Pet. i. 19. The form of the opening of i. 2 recalls James ii. 18; but these references are doubtful.

⁴ Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 24.

⁵ Hieron. *Ep.* 121 (*ad Algasiam*), § 6.

⁶ This seems to be certainly established as against the supposition that the persons addressed are M. Aurelius and Lucius Verus. See Donaldson, *Christian Literature*, III. 108 ff.; or Lardner, *Credibility*, II. 181; or Otto's *Prolegomena*, § VII.

⁷ *e. g.* *Legat.* XI. || Matt. v. 44, 45. 'These,' he says, 'are the words in which we are reared and with which we are nourished' (οἱ λόγοι οἱς ἐντρέφόμεθα).

⁸ *Legat.* XII. || John xvii. 3; *id.* 10 || John i. 3; xvii. 21 ff.

and to the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians (1) and Galatians. The coincidences of thought or language with St Luke's Gospel and 1 Timothy are more questionable. In his discourse *On the Resurrection* Athenagoras refers to St Paul as 'the apostle,' using thoughts from the Epistles to the Corinthians¹. This, however, is the only direct citation which he makes, and his silence is the more important, because there can be no question that he was acquainted at any rate with the other writings of St Paul².

One section of our inquiry is now finished. We have examined all the evidence bearing on the history of the New Testament Canon which can be adduced from those who are recognized as Fathers of the Church during the period which has been marked out³. It has been shewn that up to this point one book alone of the New Testament remains unnoticed: one Apocryphal book alone, and that doubtfully, placed within the limits of the Canon. There is not, so far as I am aware, in any Christian writer during the period which we have examined either direct mention of or clear reference to the second Epistle of St Peter⁴; and the Apocalypse which

Chap. ii.

Summary of results.

¹ c. xviii.² In one passage (*Legat.* xxxii.) Athenagoras appears to quote a traditional saying of the Lord (λέγοντος τοῦ λόγου) which is not found elsewhere. *Comp. Introd. to Study of the Gospels*, Ap. c. no. 6.³ TATIAN will be noticed in Chap. iv.The beautiful letter of the Church of Smyrna giving an account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, written shortly after it (A. D. 168. Cf. *Mart. Polyc.* c. xviii.), contains several allusions to books of the New Testament: c. g. Matt. x. 23=c. iv.; Matt. xxvi. 55=c. vii.; Acts ix. 7=c. ix.; Acts xxi. 14=c. vii.; 1 Cor.

ii. 9=c. ii.; Rom. xiii. 1, 7=c. x. And besides several Pauline words occur: ἐξαγορᾶζεσθαι, βραβείον, ὁ ἀψευδὴς Θεός. The doxology in c. xiv. is very noteworthy. While speaking of this letter I cannot but mention the admirable emendation by which Dr Wordsworth (Hippolytus, App.) has effectually explained the famous passage about the Dove in c. xvi. For περὶστερὰ καὶ, by the change of one letter, and the omission of I before a II following, he gives the true reading περὶ στύρακα.

⁴ The reference in Melito is not however to be neglected, see p. 220, n. 1.

Chap. II.

bore his name partially usurped a place among the New Testament Scriptures. Nor is this all: it has been shewn also that the form of Christian doctrine current throughout the Church, as represented by men most widely differing in national and personal characteristics, in books of the most varied aim and composition, is measured exactly by the Apostolic Canon. It has been shewn that this exact coincidence between the Scriptural rule and the traditional belief is more perfect and striking in proportion as we apprehend more clearly the differences which coexist in both. It has been shewn that the New Testament in its integrity gives an adequate explanation of the progress of Christianity in its distinct types, and that there is no reason to believe that at any subsequent time such a creative power was active in the Church as could have called forth writings like those which we receive as Apostolic. They are the rule and not the fruit of the Church's development¹.

*Points still
remaining
for discus-
sion.*

But at present the argument is incomplete. It is still necessary to inquire how far a Canon was publicly recognized by national Churches as well as by individuals—how far it was accepted even by those who separated from the orthodox communion, and on what grounds they rejected any part of it. These points will form the subject of the next two chapters, in which we shall examine the most ancient Versions of the East and West, and the writings of the earliest heretics.

¹ Some further considerations on have been obtained are given at the the incompleteness of the results which end of Chap. IV.

*On the Patristic references to Books of the New Testament
collected by Eusebius.*

Chap. ii.

SINCE it has been confidently affirmed that the silence of Eusebius as to the use made by an early Father of a particular book of the New Testament is a positive proof that the Father in question was unacquainted with it, inasmuch as he 'never fails to enumerate the writers of the New Testament to which the Fathers refer¹,' it becomes necessary to call the attention of students to the general principles on which Eusebius made quotations of this kind. These he lays down quite plainly on the first occasion when he deals with the contents of the Canon. 'In the course of my history,' he says, 'I shall make it my object to indicate together with the successions [of bishops in the great sees] what ecclesiastical writers at the several times have made use of what books from among the controverted, and what they have said about the canonical and acknowledged writings, and all (ὅσα) that they have said about those writings which 'are not such².' He sets before himself therefore two main objects, (1) to notice from his own reading the simple use of the Antilegomena, and (2) to collect details recorded by others as to the composition and history of all the books which have been used as having Scriptural authority. The second object is again subdivided. On the one hand Eusebius proposes to bring together special statements about the canonical books³, and on the other to complete the treatment of his first object by a collection of all the facts (ὅσα) which he could gather about the disputed books, seeing that in this case there was greater need of evidence with a view to the final determination of their character. By natural consequence it follows (1) that Eusebius would necessarily pass over, as a general rule, all mere references to the acknowledged books (e.g. the *Gospel of St John*, and the *thirteen Epistles of St Paul*); and (2) that if a writer simply made use of an apocryphal Gospel (e.g. the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*) as well as of canonical books (e.g. the four Gospels), he would quote the testimony to the apocryphal book and leave the testimony to the canonical books unnoticed⁴.

¹ *Supernat. Rel.* i. p. 488. Comp. p. 437: 'The care with which Eusebius searches for every trace of the use of the books of the New Testament in early writers, and his anxiety to produce any evidence concerning their authenticity, render his silence upon the subject almost as important as his distinct utterance when speaking of such a man as Hegesippus.' p. 438: 'It is certain that Eusebius... would not have neglected to have availed himself of the evidence of Hegesippus... had that writer furnished him with any opportunity, and there can be no doubt that he exclusively made use of the Gospel according to the Hebrews together with unwritten tradition.'

² Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 3 (Comp. v. 7), προοίσιος τῆς ἱστορίας προύργου ποιήσομαι σύν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς ὑποσημειῖν αὐτοὺς τίνες τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων ὁποῖαις κέχρηται τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων, τίνα τε περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθῆκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων γραφῶν καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων αὐτοῖς εἰρηται. Comp. Part iii. c. 1.

³ This he expresses even more clearly, v. 8: 'I promised that I would set forth... the utterances of the ancient ecclesiastical

presbyters and writers, in which they have handed down in writing the traditions concerning the canonical Scriptures that have come to them (τὰς περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθῆκων γραφῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς κατελθούσας παράδοσεις).' Nothing can be clearer than that he does not propose to collect evidence of the mere use of the acknowledged books.

⁴ The words in reference to the Pauline Epistles, which follow very shortly after those which have been quoted, perfectly illustrate the design of Eusebius as he explains it: 'The Epistles of Paul are obvious and clear, the fourteen. That however certain have rejected that to the Hebrews, affirming that it was controverted (ἀντιλέγεσθαι) as not being Paul's by the Roman [Latin] Church it is not right to ignore. And as opportunity offers (κατὰ καιρὸν) I shall set forth what has been said about this [Epistle] by our predecessors.' The Epistle to the Hebrews occupies just the same relation to the other Epistles of St Paul as the *Antilegomena* generally to the *Homologumena*; and Eusebius proposes to collect evidence as to that only.

Chap. ii.

These are the principles which he lays down, and by these he is guided, so far as his desultory method allows him to be guided by a consistent plan, with one exception more apparent than real. The exception is that he notices from time to time the simple use of the acknowledged Catholic Epistles (1 Peter, 1 John); for the group of the Catholic Epistles was of very uncertain extent, and in this case it might seem worth while to notice one or two individual testimonies.

A few illustrations will make the method of Eusebius quite clear, and dispose of the improper deductions which have been made from his silence.

CLEMENT. Eusebius notices (III. 38) that there are in the first Epistle of Clement verbal coincidences with the *Epistle to the Hebrews* (a disputed book); but he takes no notice of the reference by name to St Paul's *Epistle to the Corinthians*, and the certain coincidences with St James and Romans.

IGNATIUS. He notices (III. 36) the strange (apocryphal) saying in *ad Smyrn.* iii.; but passes over the reference to St Paul, *ad Ephes.* xii.

POLYCARP. 'Polycarp,' he writes (IV. 14), 'has made use of some testimonies from the former Epistle of Peter;' but he passes over the reference by name to St Paul's *Epistle to the Philippians*, and the certain coincidences with *Galatians*, &c.

JUSTIN. He notices (IV. 18) his explicit reference to the *Apocalypse* of St John, a controverted book.

THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH. 'He made use,' he says (IV. 24), 'of testimonies from the *Apocalypse*;' but he is silent as to his quotations by name (ii. 22) from the *Gospel of St John*.

IRENÆUS. [Irenæus] mentions,' so he writes (v. 26), 'the *Epistle to the Hebrews* and the so-called *Wisdom of Solomon*, quoting phrases from 'them.' And again (v. 8) Eusebius quotes from Irenæus special details of the composition of the four Gospels and the *Apocalypse*, and then adds: 'He has moreover made mention of the *first Epistle of John*, introducing 'many testimonies from it, and likewise of the *former Epistle of Peter*. And 'he not only knows but receives the writing (γραφὴν) of the *Shepherd*...and 'he has used certain phrases from the *Wisdom of Solomon*...' But Eusebius says nothing of the countless references in Irenæus to all the acknowledged books of the New Testament as inspired and authoritative Scripture.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. Eusebius notices (VI. 13) that Clement quoted the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *Barnabas*, *Clement*, and *Jude*; but again says nothing of his countless references to the acknowledged books of the New Testament.

ORIGEN. Eusebius quotes Origen's detailed account of the books of the Old and New Testament (*H. E.* VI. 25); but passes over all his cursory references to controverted as well as to acknowledged books.

These examples will shew how utterly unjustifiable it is to conclude from Eusebius' notices of Papias and Hegesippus that they rejected or did not use or were unacquainted with the acknowledged books of the New Testament. *Supernat. Rel.* II. 320 ff. The same mode of argument would prove that Irenæus (for example) knew nothing of St Paul's Epistles; and if the *Cod. Alex.* had lost a few more leaves, the silence of Clement of Rome (as attested by Eusebius' silence) would have been urged as a manifest proof that St Paul never wrote to the Corinthians.

The fact is that except in the case of the Catholic Epistles Eusebius never notices the mere use of any of the acknowledged books. His silence under this head shews only that he had not observed in the particular writer under examination details of interest concerning them.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

*NAM totum Christi corpus loquitur omnium linguis :
et quibus nondum loquitur loquetur.*

AUGUSTINUS.

IT is not easy to overrate the difficulties which beset any inquiry into the early Versions of the New Testament. In addition to those which impede all critical investigations into the original Greek text, there are others in this case scarcely less serious, which arise from comparatively scanty materials and vague or conflicting traditions. There is little illustrative literature; or, if there be more, it is imperfectly known. There is no long line of Fathers to witness to the completion and the use of the translations. And though it be true that these hindrances are chiefly felt when the attempt is made to settle or interpret their text, they are no less real and perplexing when we seek only to investigate their origin and earliest form. Versions of Scripture appear to be in the first instance almost necessarily of gradual growth. Ideas of translation familiarized to us by long experience formed no part of the primitive system. The history of the Septuagint is a memorable example of what might be expected to be the history of Versions of the New Testament. And so far as there is any proof of unity in these which is wanting in that, we

Chap. iii.

The difficulties which beset the inquiry into the earliest Versions.

Chap. iii.

*How far
they can be
used in in-
vestigating
the Canon.*

are led to conclude that the Canon of the New Testament was more definitely fixed, that the books of which it was composed were more equally esteemed, than was the case with the Old Testament at the time when it was translated into Greek.

Two Versions only claim to be noticed in this first Period—the original Versions of the East and West—the Peshito and Old Latin, which, though variously revised, remain after sixteen centuries the authorized liturgical versions of the Syrian and Roman churches. At present we have only to do with their extent: the peculiarities of text which they offer being considered only as one mark of their date. And here some care must be taken lest our reasoning form a circle. The Canon which the Peshito exhibits has been used to fix the time at which it was made; and yet we shall quote the Peshito to help us in determining the Canon. The text of the Old Latin depends in many cases on individual quotations; and yet we shall use it as an independent authority. Nor is this without reason; for the age of the Peshito is indicated by numerous particulars, and if the exact form in which the Canon appears in it accords with what we learn from other fragmentary notices of the same date, the two lines of evidence mutually support and strengthen each other. And so if there be any ground for believing that the earliest Latin Fathers employed some particular Version of the books of the New Testament, then we may analyse their quotations, and endeavour to determine how many books were included in the translation, and how far the whole translation bears the marks of one hand. There is nothing of direct demonstrative force in the conclusions thus obtained, but they form part of a series, and give coherence and consistency to it.

§ 1. *The Peshito*¹.

Chap. iii.

The Peshito² or 'simple' Syriac, that is Aramæan, Version is assigned almost universally to the most remote Christian antiquity. The Syriac Christians of Malabar even now claim for it the right to be considered as an Eastern original of the New Testament³; and though their tradition is wholly unsupported by external evidence, it is not to a certain extent destitute of all plausibility. There can be no doubt that the so-called Syro-Chaldaic (Aramæan) was the vernacular language of the Jews of Palestine in the time of our Lord, however much it may have been superseded by Greek in the common business of life⁴. It was in this dialect, the 'Hebrew' of the New Testament⁵, that the Gospel of St Matthew was originally written, if we believe the unanimous testimony of the Fathers; and it is not unnatural to look to the Peshito as likely to contain some traces of its first form⁶. Even in the absence of all di-

The Peshito represents the vernacular dialect of Palestine in the Apostolic age.

¹ The chief original authorities on the Peshito which I have examined are: *Ni. Ti. Versiones Syriacæ, Simplex, Philoxeniana, et Hierosolymitana, denuo examinate* à J. G. C. ADLER. *Hafnie*, MDCLXXXIX. *Horæ Syriacæ*, auctore N. WISEMAN, S. T. D. Tom. I. *Romæ*, MDCCCXXVIII. J. WICHELHAUS, *De N. T. versione Syriacâ quam Peshitho vocant Libri* IV. *Halis*, 1850.

² This title seems to be best interpreted 'simple,' as implying the absence of any allegorical interpretations. Hug, *Introd.* § LXII.

³ Etheridge's *Syrian Churches*, pp. 166 ff.

⁴ Wiseman, *Horæ Syriacæ*, pp. 69 sqq.

⁵ John v. 2; xix. 13, 17, 20; xx. 16. Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2; xxvi. 14. Cf. Apoc. ix. 11; xvi. 16. The word 'Hebrew' is first applied to the

language of the Old Testament in the Apocrypha (*Prol. Sir.*). In Josephus it is used both of the true Hebrew and of the Aramæan. Davidson, *Biblical Criticism*, i. 9; Etheridge, *Horæ Aramaicæ*, p. 7. In the conclusion to the Book of Job in the LXX. 'Syriac' appears to be used for the true Hebrew. Dr Roberts' *Dissertations on the Gospels* (Ed. 2, London, 1863) contain much that is very valuable on the language of Palestine in the time of our Lord; but his arguments only shew that the country was bilingual.

⁶ The history of this Syriac Version offers a remarkable parallel to that of the Latin, but with this difference, that of the Old Syriac one very imperfect copy only, the Curetonian Version of the Gospels, has been preserved. But this is sufficient to shew that the Old Syriac

Chap. iii.

*The Peshito
compared
with the Ve-
tus Latina.*

*A conjecture
as to its
origin.*

rect proof some critics have maintained that the Epistle to the Hebrews must have been written in the same Aramaic language; and though little stress can be laid on such arguments, they serve to shew how intimately the Peshito was connected with the wants of some among the early Christians of Palestine.

The dialect of the Peshito, even as it stands now, represents in part at least that form of Aramaic which was current in Palestine¹. In this respect it is like the Latin Vulgate, which, though revised, is marked by the provincialisms of Africa. Both versions appear to have had their origin in districts where their languages were spoken in impure dialects, and afterwards to have been corrected, and brought nearer to the classical standard. In the absence of an adequate supply of critical materials it is impossible to construct the history of these recensions in the Syriac; the analogy of the Latin is at present our only guide. But if a conjecture may be allowed, I think that the various facts of the case are adequately explained by supposing that Versions of separate books of the New Testament were first made and used in Palestine, perhaps within the Apostolic age, and that shortly afterwards these were collected, revised, and completed at Edessa².

was related very nearly to the later revision of the Peshito, as the Old Latin was to the Hieronymian Latin. The materials are not perhaps yet sufficiently extensive or trustworthy to furnish a complete decision as to the relation in which the Old Syriac St Matthew stood to the original 'Hebrew' Gospel (compare *Introduction to the Study of Gospels*, ch. IV. 2. i.). Dr Cureton has pointed out some facts bearing upon the question in his *Introduction*; but in the main it was certainly translated from the Greek.

¹ Gregory Bar Hebræus says that

there were three dialects of Syriac (Aramæan): the most elegant was that of Edessa: the most impure that current among the inhabitants of Palestine and Libanus. The Peshito was written in the latter (Wiseman, *l. c.* p. 106), which seems to have been specially marked by the occurrence of Greek words. The occurrence of *Latin* words in the Peshito may be illustrated by examples from Syrian writers (Wiseman, *l. c.* p. 119, note).

² In the present section when speaking of the Peshito I mean the

Many circumstances combine to give support to this belief. The early condition of the Syrian Church, its wide extent and active vigour, lead us to expect that a Version of the Holy Scriptures into the common dialect could not have been long deferred; and the existence of an Aramaic Gospel was in itself likely to suggest the work¹. Differences of style, no less than the very nature of the case, point to separate translations of different books; and at the same time a certain general uniformity of character bespeaks some subsequent revision². I have ventured to specify the place at which I believe that this revision was made³. Whatever may be thought of the alleged intercourse of Abgarus with our Lord, Edessa itself is signalized in early church-history by many remarkable facts. It was called the 'Holy' and the 'Blessed' city⁴: its inhabitants were said to have been brought over by Thaddeus in a marvellous manner to the Christian Faith; and 'from that 'time forth,' Eusebius adds⁵, 'the whole people of Edessa

Chap. iii.

*How this
conjecture is
supported.*

*The historical importance of
Edessa.*

translation of the New Testament, unless it be otherwise expressed. At the same time it may be remarked that the Old Testament Peshito is probably the work of a Christian, and of the same date. Cf. Davidson, *Biblical Criticism*, I. p. 247; Wichelhaus, p. 73.

¹ The activity of thought in Western Syria at an early period is most remarkable. It was not only the source of ecclesiastical order, but also of Apocryphal books. As a compensation for the latter it produced the first Christian Commentaries, those of Theophilus and Serapion. Cf. Wichelhaus, p. 55.

² Hug, *Introduction*, § 66; Etheridge, *Horæ Aramaicæ*, p. 52. It is but fair to say that the Syrians attributed the work to one translator.

The Gospels are probably the earliest as they are the closest translation.

The Acts are more loosely translated (Wichelhaus, p. 86); but it is to be remembered that the text of the Acts presents more variations than any part of the New Testament.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is probably the work of a separate translator. (Wichelhaus, pp. 86 ff.)

³ That it was made at some place out of the Roman Empire is shewn in the translation of *σπαριῶται* by *Romans* in Acts xxiii. 23, 31. [Cf. Acts xxviii. 15: Appianus *Forus*.] But this is not the case in the Gospels, which, as I have conjectured, were translated earlier, and in Palestine. Cf. Wichelhaus, pp. 78 ff.

⁴ *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 101.

⁵ Euseb. *H. E.* II. 1.

Chap. iii.

'has continued to be devoted to the name of Christ' (*τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσανέκειται προσηγορίᾳ*), exhibiting 'no ordinary instance of the goodness of our Saviour.' In the second century it became the centre of an important Christian school; and long afterwards retained its pre-eminence among the cities of its province.

Syrian traditions as to the origin of the Peshito.

Gregory Bar Hebræus.

Jacob of Edessa.

As might be expected tradition fixes on Edessa as the place whence the Peshito took its rise. Gregory Bar Hebræus¹, one of the most learned and accurate of Syrian writers, relates that the New Testament Peshito was 'made in the time of Thaddeus and Abgarus King of 'Edessa,' when, according to the universal opinion of ancient writers, the Apostle went to proclaim Christianity in Mesopotamia. This statement he repeats several times, and once on the authority of Jacob a deacon of Edessa in the fifth century. He tells us moreover that 'messengers were sent from Edessa to Palestine to trans-'late the Sacred Books;' and though this statement refers especially to the Old Testament, it confirms what has been said of the Palestinian authorship of the Version. And it is worthy of notice that Gregory assumes the Apostolic origin of the New Testament Peshito as certain; for while he gives three hypotheses as to the date of the Old Testament Version he speaks of this as a known and acknowledged fact.

¹ The following testimonies from Gregory—inter suos ferme *κριτικώτατος*—are given by Wiseman: Quod vero spectat ad hanc Syriacam [Versionem V. Ti.] tres fuerunt sententiæ; prima quod tempore *Salomonis* et *Hiram* Regum conversa fuerit; secunda quod *Asa* sacerdos, quum ab Assyriâ missus fuit Samariam, eum transtulerit; tertia tandem quod diebus *Adai* Apostoli et *Abgari* Regis Osrhoeni versa fuerit, quando etiam Novum Testamentum eadem simplici forma

traductum est. p. 90. Cf. Adler, p. 42.

Occidentales [Syri] duas habent versiones, Simplicem, quæ ex Hebraico in Syriacum translata est post adventum Domini Christi tempore *Adai* Apostoli, vel ut alii dicunt tempore *Salomonis* filii Davidis et *Hiram*, et Figuratam...p. 94.

Jacobus Edessenus dicit interpretes illos qui missi sunt ab *Adai* Apostolo et *Abgaro* Rege Osrhoeno in Palestinam, quique verterunt Libros Sacros ...p. 103.

No other direct historical evidence remains to determine the date of the Peshito; and it is impossible to supply the deficiency by the help of quotations occurring in early Syriac writers. The only Syriac work of a very early date which has been as yet discovered is [Bardesanes'] Dialogue *On Fate* (or *The Book of the Laws of Countries*), of which Eusebius has preserved a considerable fragment in Greek¹. This contains no express quotation from Scripture, and the adaptation of Scriptural language in the course of the argument is so free that no conclusion can be drawn from the few coincidences which may be pointed out as to the existence of a Syriac Version in the time of the writer. On the other hand the general character of the work is such as not to admit of definite citations of Scripture, and thus the absence of explicit references to the books of the New Testament does not prove that they did not then exist in Syriac. Moreover it is known that books were soon translated from Syriac into Greek, and while such an intercourse existed it is scarcely possible to believe that the Scriptures themselves remained untranslated. The same conclusion follows from the controversial writings of Bardesanes, which necessarily imply the existence of a Syriac Version of the Bible². Tertullian's example may shew that he could hardly have refuted Marcion without the constant use of Scripture. And more than this, Eusebius tells us that Hegesippus 'made quotations from the Gospel according to the Hebrews and 'the Syriac and especially from [writings in?] the Hebrew 'language, shewing thereby that he was a Christian of

Chap. ii.

*Want of
early
Syrian
literature.*

Bardesanes.

Hegesippus.

¹ The Syriac text with a translation is given by Dr Cureton in his *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London, 1855. The Greek fragment occurs in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* vi. 10.

² Bardesanes—Valentinianæ sectæ primum discipulus...vir erat litterarum gnarus, qui etiam ad Antoninum epistolam scribere ausus est, multosque sermones contra Marcionitas at-

Chap. iii.

'Hebrew descent'¹. This testimony is valuable as coming from the only early Greek writer likely to have been familiar with Syriac literature; and may we not see in the two Gospels thus mentioned two recensions of St Matthew—the one disfigured by Apocryphal traditions, and the other written in the dialect of Eastern Syria?

Ephrem
yrus.

Ephrem Syrus, himself a deacon of Edessa, treats the Version in such a manner as to prove that it was already old in the fourth century. He quotes it as a book of established authority, calling it 'Our Version:' he speaks of the 'Translator' as one whose words were familiar²; and though the dialects of the East are proverbially permanent, his explanations shew that its language even in his time had become partially obsolete³.

*The Peshito
received by
all the Sy-
rian sects,*

Another circumstance serves to exhibit the venerable age of this Version. It was universally received by the different sects into which the Syrian Church was divided in the fourth century, and so has continued current even

que simulacrorum cultum composuit (Moses Choren. ap. Wichelhaus, p. 57). C. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 30.

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22: ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἐαυτὸν πεπιστευκέναι (quoted by Hug).

² *Horæ Syriacæ*, pp. 116, 117.

³ It does not seem that the difference of the Edessene and Palestinian dialects alone can account for the obscurities which Ephrem seeks to remove. The instances quoted by Dr Wiseman are in accordance with his plan taken from the Old Testament; but in the absence of all indications of the contrary it seems fair to suppose that his remarks apply equally to the New Testament. Cf. Wichelhaus, p. 21.

In reference to the phraseology of the Peshito it is worthy of remark that *Episcopus* is preserved in one place only, Acts xx. 28. Elsewhere it is *kashisho* (presbyter), except in 1 Pet. ii. 25. The name of *deacon* is nowhere retained. Wichelhaus, p. 89.

The text of the Curetonian Gospels is in itself a sufficient proof of the extreme antiquity of the Syriac Version. This, as has been already remarked, offers a striking resemblance to that of the Old Latin, and cannot be later than the middle or close of the second century. It would be difficult to point out a more interesting subject for criticism than the respective relations of the Old Latin and Syriac Versions to the Latin and Syriac Vulgates. But at present it is almost untouched,

to the present time. All the Syrian Christians¹, whether belonging to the Nestorian, Jacobite, or Roman communion, conspire to hold the Peshito authoritative, and to use it in their public services. It must consequently have been established by familiar use before the first heresies arose, or it could not have remained without a rival. Numerous versions or revisions of the New Testament were indeed made afterwards, for Syriac literature is peculiarly rich in this branch of theological criticism; but no one ever supplanted the Peshito for ecclesiastical purposes². Like the Latin Vulgate in the Western Church, the Peshito became in the East the fixed and unalterable Rule of Scripture.

¹ *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 108.

² Dr Wiseman enumerates twelve Versions of the Old Testament. The most important for the criticism of the New Testament are the Philoxenian, the Harclean, and the Palestinian.

The Philoxenian derives its name from a bishop of Mabug or Hierapolis in Syria (A.D. 485—518), in whose time it was made by one Polycarp for the use of the Monophysites. Of this Version only fragments remain; and it is uncertain whether it included all the books of the New Testament. Adler, p. 48. Wiseman, p. 178, n. Adler supposes that an early Mediceo-Florentine Manuscript (A.D. 757) of the Gospels exhibits this recension, but he adds that it differs little from the Harclean. pp. 53—55.

Thomas Harclensis, poor Thomas as he calls himself, a monk of Alexandria in 616 A.D., revised the Philoxenian translation by the help of some Greek Manuscripts, and seems to have attempted for the Syriac Version what Origen accomplished for the Septuagint. The Oxford Manuscript of this Translation contains the *seven* catholic Epistles, but omits the Apocalypse. Adler, pp. 49 sq. Comp. G. H. Bernstein, *De Charklensi N. Ti. Translatione Syriaca Commenta-*

tio, Vratisl. 1837.

The Palestinian Version exists in an Evangelistarium of proper lessons for the Sundays and Festivals of the year. It is remarkable that the pericope, John vii. 53—viii. 11, which is wanting in the other Syriac versions, is contained in this in a form which agrees with the text of Cod. D. The dialect in which it is written is very similar to that of the Jerusalem Talmud: and thus Adler, who first accurately examined it, gave it the name of the Jerusalem Version. Adler, pp. 140—145; 190, 191; 198—202. [This Version has been edited with a Latin translation by Con. F. Miniscalchi Erizzo, 1861—4.]

In addition to these Versions there is the Karkaphensian recension of the Peshito made by an uncertain Jacobite author (Wiseman, p. 212), chiefly remarkable for the singular order in which the books are arranged. The New Testament Canon is the same as that of the original Peshito, but the Acts and three Catholic epistles stand first as *one book*; the fourteen Epistles of St Paul follow next; and the four Gospels in the usual order come last (Wiseman, p. 217). This recension has been accurately examined by Dr Wiseman, *ll. cc.*

Chap. iii.

*and used as
the basis of
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*the Arme-
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*General re-
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*confirmed
by the text.*

*The present
state of the
Version.*

The respect in which the Peshito was held was further shewn by the fact that it was taken as the basis of other Versions in the East. An Arabic and a Persian Version were made from it; but it is more important to notice that at the beginning of the fifth century (before the Council of Ephesus A.D. 431) an Armenian Version was commenced from the Syriac in the absence of Greek Manuscripts¹.

These indications of the antiquity of the Peshito do not indeed possess any conclusive authority, but they all tend in the same direction, and there is nothing on the other side to reverse or modify them. It is not improbable that fresh discoveries may throw a clearer light on early Syriac literature; and that more copious critical resources may serve to determine the date of the Peshito on philological grounds. But meanwhile there is no sufficient reason to desert the opinion which has obtained the sanction of the most competent scholars, that its formation is to be fixed within the first half of the second century. The text, even in its present corrupt state, exhibits remarkable agreement with the most ancient Greek Manuscripts and the earliest quotations. The very obscurity which hangs over its origin is a proof of its venerable age, because it shews that it grew up spontaneously among Christian congregations, and was not the result of any public labour. Had it been a work of late date, of the third or fourth century, it is scarcely possible that its history should have been so uncertain as it is².

The Version exists at present in two distinct classes

¹ See Dr Tregelles, in the *Diction-
ary of the Bible*, s. v. *Versions*.

² J. B. Branca (1781), from a desire
to raise the Vulgate above all rivalry,

endeavoured to prove that the Peshito
was made as late as the fourth century.

Dr Wiseman has fully refuted him,
pp. 110 sqq.

of Manuscripts¹. Some are written in the ancient Syrian letters, and others of Indian origin in the Nestorian character. The latter are comparatively of recent date, but remarkable for the variations from the common text which they exhibit. Still though these two families of Manuscripts represent different recensions they coincide as far as the Canon is concerned. Both omit the second and third Epistles of St John, the second Epistle of St Peter, the Epistle of St Jude, and the Apocalypse, but include all the other books as commonly received without any addition. This Canon seems to have been generally maintained in the Syrian Churches, and in those which depended on their authority². It is reproduced in the Arabic Version of Erpenius, which was taken from the Peshito³: Cosmas, an Egyptian traveller of the sixth century, states that only three Catholic Epistles were received by the Syrians⁴. Junilius men-

Chap. iii.

The Syrian Canon.

535 A.D.

c. 530.

¹ Adler, p. 3.

² EPHREM SYRUS however, if we may trust his Greek works, admitted the seven Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse: but in this he represents the Greek rather than the Syrian Church. Compare Part III. Chap. II. There is no trace of their reception by the Syrian Churches, or of their admission into Manuscripts of the Peshito till a very late date.

The Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum offer a very instructive history of the Syrian Canon of the N. T. The earliest dated N. T. (Rich, 7157), A.D. 768, contains four Gospels, Acts, James, 1 Peter, 1 John, 13 Epistles of St Paul, Epistle to the Hebrews. An earlier copy of the (5th or) 6th century gives the same books in a different order, Gospels, Epistles of St Paul, Acts, James, 1 Peter, 1 John (Add. 14,470). The earliest Manuscript in which the disputed Epistles occur is dated A.D. 823 (Add. 14,623). In another Manu-

script (Add. 14,473) the then generally received Epistles were written in the sixth century, and the remaining four were added in the eleventh or twelfth. The Apocalypse (with a Commentary) is found in a Manuscript dated 1088. For these particulars I am indebted to the kindness of Dr W. Wright of the British Museum, who is preparing a complete catalogue of the Nitrian Syriac Manuscripts.

³ Actus app. et epistulas Pauli, item Iacobi epistulam, priorem Petri et primam Iohannis, quemadmodum in ed. Erpeniana leguntur, e Syra Peshito fluxisse certum est. Reliquos libros ibidem exhibitos, i.e. apocalypsin cum quattuor reliquis epp. cath. unde interpretes hauserit, non satis constat, sed videntur originem Coptam habuisse. Tischendorf, *Proleg. N. T.* ed. 7, p. CCXXXVII.

⁴ Credner, *Zur. Gesch. d. Kanons*, p. 105, n. See below, Part III. Chap. II.

Chap. iii.

† 1318 A.D.

1599 A.D.

*The relation
of the Canon
to our own.*

tions two Catholic Epistles as undoubted—I John, I Peter—while the remaining five were received ‘by very ‘many¹.’ Dionysius Bar Salibi² in the twelfth century alludes to the absence of the second Epistle of St Peter from the ancient Syrian Version; Ebed-jesu³ in the fourteenth century repeats the Canon of the Peshito; and the mutilation of the New Testament by the omission of the disputed books was one of the charges brought against the Christians of St Thomas at the Synod of Diamper⁴.

Such then is the Canon of the Syrian Churches⁵. Its general agreement with our own is striking and important; and its omissions admit of easy explanation. The purely historic evidence for the second Epistle of St Peter must always appear inconclusive; for it does not seem to have been generally known before the end of the third century. The Apocalypse again rests chiefly on the authority of the Western Churches; and it is not surprising that the two shorter and private letters of St John should have been at first unknown in Mesopotamia. The omission of the Epistle of St Jude is perhaps more remarkable, when it is remembered that it was written in Palestine, and appears to be necessarily connected with that of St James. But these points will come under examination in another place. Meanwhile it is necessary to insist on the absence of all uncanonical books from this earliest Version. Many writings we know were current in the East under Apostolic titles, but no one received the sanction of the Church; and

¹ App. D. No. iv. Credner, *l. c.*

² Hug, § 64.

³ App. D. No. vi.

⁴ Adler, p. 35.

⁵ The order of the Books is the same as that in the best Greek Manuscripts: The four Gospels—the Acts

—the Catholic Epistles—the Epistles of St Paul. In the Karkaphensian recension, as we have seen, the order is in part inverted; and Jacob of Edessa follows the same arrangement, placing the Gospels last. Wichelhaus, p. 84.

this fact alone is sufficient to shew that the Canon was not fixed without careful criticism.

There is still another aspect in which the Peshito claims our notice. Proceeding from a Church which in character and language seems to represent most truly the Palestinian element of the Apostolic age, it witnesses to something more than the authenticity of the New Testament Scriptures. It is in fact the earliest monument of Catholic Christianity. Here for the first time we see the different forms of Apostolic teaching which still served as the watchwords of heresy recognized by the East as constituent parts of a common faith. The closing words of St Peter had witnessed to the same truth; and though the Syrian Churches refused to acknowledge the testimony, they confirmed its substance in this collection of their sacred books. The contest between the Jewish and Gentile Churches had passed away. The 'enemy' and 'deceiver,' as St Paul was still called by the Ebionites, is acknowledged in this first Christian Bible to have independent power and authority as an Apostle of Christ. Henceforth the great Father of the Western Church stands side by side with St James, St Peter, and St John, the Pillars of the Church of Jerusalem¹.

Chap. iii.

The Peshito is the earliest monument of Catholic Christianity.

2 Pet. iii. 15.

¹ The *Ancient Syriac Documents* edited by Dr Cureton and Dr W. Wright (London, 1864) do not throw any new light upon the Syrian Canon. The writings themselves cannot maintain the claim to Apostolic antiquity which has been set up for some of them. In their present form they contain numerous anonymous references to the substance of the Gospels, including St John (xiv. 26, pp. 25, 36), and to the Epistle to the Romans (i. 25, p. 37; viii. 35, p. 54; *id.* 18, p. 81); and perhaps to Apoc. xx. 12 (p. 9: this is very doubtful). The strange passage (p. 56): 'One of the Doctors of the Church hath said: The scars indeed of my body—that I may come to the resurrection from the dead:' appears to be derived from Gal. vi. 17; Phil. iii. 11.

Some Evangelic passages are given in what may be a traditional form. Thus we read (p. 20) that the Lord said: 'Accept not anything from any man, and possess not anything in this world' (cf. Matt. x. 7—10). And

Chap. iii.

the account of the Descent of the Holy Spirit (p. 25) is full of interest when compared with Acts ii.

One passage (p. 10) appears to preserve the addition in Luke xxiii. 48 which is found in *Syr. Curet.* and some Latin copies. It may be observed also that a reference is found (p. 8) to the famous saying 'Prove yourselves 'tried money-changers,' on which Dr Cureton quotes from Lagarde's *Didasc. Apost.* (p. 42): 'Be expert discerners (money-changers). It is requisite 'therefore that a bishop like a trier of silver should be a discernor of the 'bad and the good.'

Among the ordinances attributed to the Apostles is one which probably formed the basis of the corresponding passages in the Apostolic Canons and Constitutions: 'Except the Old Testament and the Prophets and the Gospel and the Acts of their own [the Apostles] triumph let not anything 'be read in the pulpit of the Church' (p. 27. Comp. p. 15).

But this ordinance is afterwards modified by a remarkable paragraph in which a general review is given of the writings of the Apostles with the exception of St Paul (p. 32): 'They again (the immediate successors 'of the Apostles) at their deaths committed and delivered to their disciples 'after them everything which they had received from the Apostles: also 'what James had written from Jerusalem, and Simon from the city of 'Rome, and John from Ephesus, and Mark from Macedonia, and Judas 'Thomas from India; that the Epistles of an Apostle might be received 'and read in the Churches in every place, as those Triumphs of their Acts 'which Luke wrote are read, that by this the Apostles might be known 'and the Prophets and the Old Testament and the New: that one truth 'was preached by them all, that one Spirit spake in them all from one 'God, whom they had all worshipped and had all preached.' The omission of St Paul is made the more remarkable by the fact that in the distribution of the various countries among the Apostles no land is assigned to St Paul (Rome, Spain, and *Britain*, are given to St Peter), though he is afterwards mentioned casually in the same paragraph (p. 35).

Dr Cureton fancies that a corrupt reading (p. 15) contains a reference to Tatian's *Diatessaron* (p. 158), but this is uncertain.

§ 2. *The Old Latin Version*¹.

At first it seems natural to look to Italy as the centre of the Latin literature of Christianity, and the original source of that Latin Version of the Holy Scriptures which in a later form has become identified with the Church of Rome. Yet however plausible such a belief may be, it finds no support in history. Rome itself un-

*The Early
Christian
literature of
Rome was
Greek and
not Latin.*

¹ The best original investigation into the Old Latin Version is Wiseman's *Remarks on some parts of the controversy concerning 1 John v. 7*, originally printed in the Catholic Magazine, ii., iii., 1832, f., and re-

published at Rome, 1835.

Lachmann has produced his arguments with some new illustrations *Nov. Test.* i. p. ix. ff. Comp. *Dictionary of Bible*, s. v. *Vulgate*,

der the emperors was well described as a 'Greek city'; and Greek was its second language¹. As far as we can learn, the mass of the poorer population—to which the great bulk of the early Christians everywhere belonged—was Greek either in descent or in speech. Among the names of the fifteen bishops of Rome up to the close of the second century, four only are Latin²; though in the next century the proportion is nearly reversed. When St Paul wrote to the Roman Church he wrote in Greek; and in the long list of salutations to its members with which the epistle is concluded only four genuine Latin names occur. Shortly afterwards Clement wrote to the Corinthians in Greek in the name of the Church of Rome; and at a later date we find the Bishop of Corinth writing in Greek to Soter the ninth in succession from Clement. Justin, Hermas, and according to the common opinion Tatian³, published their Greek treatises at Rome. The Apologies to the Roman emperors were in Greek. Modestus, Caius, and Asterius Urbanus, bear Latin names, and yet their writings were Greek. Even further west Greek was the common language of Christians. The churches of Vienne and Lyons used it in writing the history of their persecutions; and Irenæus, though 'he lived among the Gauls,' and confessed that he had grown unfamiliar with his native idiom, made it the vehicle of his Treatise against Heresies⁴. The first sermons which were preached at Rome were in Greek; and to the present time the services of the Church of

Greek was
also used in
Gaul.

¹ Cf. Wiseman, III. pp. 366 f. Bunsen's *Hippolytus*, II. 123 sqq.

² Bunsen *l. c.* says 'two, Clement and Victor;' but probably Sixtus (Xystus, Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 4; cf. VII. 5) and certainly Pius should be included in the number.

³ Otto, *Prolegg.* p. xxxv. Lumper, *Hist. Patrum*, II. p. 321.

⁴ *c. Hær.* I. Pref. 3: οὐκ ἐπιζητήσεις δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν Κελτοῖς διατριβόντων καὶ περὶ βάρβαρον διὰ λεκτον τὸ πλεῖστον ἀσχολουμένων...

Chap. iii.

*Africa is
the true
birthplace of
the Latin
literature of
Christianity.*

Rome bear clear traces that Greek was at first the language of its Liturgy.

Meanwhile however, though Greek continued to be the natural, if not the sole language of the Roman Church¹, the seeds of Latin Christianity were rapidly developing in Africa. Nothing is known in detail of the origin of the African churches. The Donatists classed them among 'those last which should be first;' and Augustine in his reply merely affirms that 'some barbarian nations embraced Christianity after Africa; so that it is certain that Africa was not the last to believe².' The concession implies that Africa was converted late, and after the Apostolic times: Tertullian adds that it received the Gospel from Rome. But the rapidity of the spread of Christianity in Africa compensated for the lateness of its introduction. At the close of the second century Christians were found in every place and of every rank. They who were but of yesterday, Tertullian says³, already fill the Palace, the Senate, the Forum, and the Camp, and leave to the heathen their Temples only. To persecute the Christians was even then to decimate Carthage⁴. These fresh conquests of the Roman Church preserved their distinct nationality by the retention of their proper language. Carthage, the

¹ Jerome speaks of Tertullian as the first Latin writer after Victor and Apollonius. Victor was an African by birth, and yet he appears to have used Greek in the Paschal controversy. Polycrates at least addressed him in Greek: Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24. It is disputed whether Apollonius' defence was in Greek or in Latin. If it were in Latin, as seems likely, the place of its delivery—the Senate—sufficiently explains the fact. Cf. Lumper, IV. 3.

² August. *c. Donat. Epist. [de Unit.*

Eccles.] c. 37: De nobis inquiunt [Donatistæ] dictum est Erunt primi qui erant novissimi. Ad Africam enim Evangelium postmodum venit; et ideo nusquam litterarum apostolicarum scriptum est Africam credidisse... Augustine answers: ... nonnullæ barbaræ nationes etiam post Africam crediderunt; unde certum sit Africam in ordine credendi non esse novissimam.

³ *Apol.* I. 37. c. 200 A.D.

⁴ *Ad Scap.* c. 5.

second Rome, escaped the Græcism of the first. In Africa Greek was no longer a current dialect. A peculiar form of Latin, vigorous, elastic, and copious, however far removed from the grace and elegance of a classical standard, fitly expressed the spirit of Tertullian. But though we speak of Tertullian as the first Latin Father, it must be noticed that he speaks of Latin as the language of his Church, and that his writings abound with Latin quotations of Scripture. He inherited an ecclesiastical dialect, if not an ecclesiastical literature. It is then to Africa that we must look for the first traces of the Latin 'Peshito,' the 'simple' Version of the West. And here a new difficulty arises. The Syrian Peshito has been preserved without any break in the succession in the keeping of the churches for whose use it was made. But no image of their former life, however faint, lingers at Carthage or Hippo. No church of Northern Africa, however corrupt, remains to testify to its ancient Bible. The Version was revised by a foreign scholar, and adopted by a foreign church, until at last its independent existence in its original form has been questioned and even denied. Before any attempt is made to fix the date of its formation and the extent of its Canon, it will be necessary to shew that we are dealing with a reality, and not with a mere creation of a critic's fancy.

The language of Tertullian if candidly examined is conclusive on the point. A few quotations will prove that he distinctly recognized a current Latin Version, marked by a peculiar character, and in some cases unsatisfactory to one conversant with the original text.

'Reason,' he says, 'is called by the Greeks *Logos*, a 'word equivalent to *Sermo* in Latin. And so it is already customary for our countrymen to say, through a

Chap. iii.

The Vetus Latina is the oldest specimen of it.

Tertullian affirms the existence of a Latin Version of the New Testament in his time.

John i. 1.

Chap. iii.

'rude and simple translation (per simplicitatem interpretationis), that the Word of Revelation (*sermo*) was in 'the beginning with God, while it is more correct to 'regard the rational Word (*ratio*) as antecedent to this, 'because God in the beginning was not manifested in 'intercourse with man (*sermonalis*), but existed in self-'contemplation (*rationalis*)¹.' From this it appears that the Latin translation of St John's Gospel was already so generally circulated as to mould the popular dialect; and invested with sufficient authority to support a rendering capable of improvement. If there had been many rival translations in use, it is scarcely probable that they would all have exhibited the same 'rudeness of style;' or that a writer like Tertullian would have apologized for an inaccuracy found in some one of them.

Again, when arguing to prove that a second marriage is only allowed to a woman who had lost her first husband before her conversion to the Christian faith, inasmuch as this second husband is indeed her first, he adds in reference to the passage of St Paul which he has quoted before: 'We must know that the phrase in the 'original Greek is not exactly the same as that which has 'gained currency [among us] through a clever or simple 'perversion of two syllables: *If however her husband shall*

1 Cor. vii. 39.

¹ *Adv. Prax. c. 5*: [Rationem] Græci λόγον dicunt, quo vocabulo etiam Sermonem appellamus. Ideoque jam in usu est nostrorum per simplicitatem interpretationis *Sermonem* dicere in *primordio apud Deum fuisse*, cum magis *Rationem* competat antiquiorem haberi: quia non *sermonalis* a principio, sed *rationalis* Deus etiam ante principium, et quia ipse quoque *Sermo* ratione consistens priorem eam ut substantiam suam ostendat: tamen et sic nihil interest. It will be noticed that Tertullian uses

the word *principium* (so Vulg.) and not *primordium*. He quotes the passage with that reading, so *adv. Heremog. 20*; *adv. Prax. 13, 21*. This is another mark of the independence of the current translation. The rendering of λόγος by *sermo* occurs in Cyprian, *Testim. II. 3*; but I am not aware that it is found in any existing Manuscript. It certainly does not occur in any of the typical representatives of the different classes of the Old Latin.

'fall asleep, as if it were said of the future...¹' The connexion of this passage with the last is evident. An ambiguous translation had passed into common use, and must therefore have been supported by some recognized claim. That this was grounded on the general reception of the version in which it was found is implied in the language of Tertullian. The 'simple rendering' and the 'simple perversion' naturally refer to some literal Latin translation already circulated in Africa.

It is then a fact beyond doubt that a Latin translation of some of the books of the New Testament was current in Africa in Tertullian's time, and sufficiently authorized by popular use to form the theological dialect of the country. It appears from another passage that this translation embraced a collection of the Christian Scriptures. 'We lay down,' he says, 'in the first place 'that the Evangelical Instrument—[the collection of the 'authoritative documents of the Gospel]—rests on Apostolic authority.'² The very name by which the collection was called witnessed to the 'simplicity' of the version. 'Marcion,' Tertullian writes just before, 'supposed 'that different gods were the authors of the two *Instruments*, or, as it is usual to speak, of the two *Testaments*'³.

Chap. iii.

This translation included a collection of Apostolic books.

¹ *De Monog.* c. 11: Scimus plane non sic esse in Græco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem eversionem: *si autem dormierit vir ejus*, quasi de futuro sonet... The general meaning of Tertullian is clear, but it is difficult to see the force of his argument as applied to *dormierit*: that tense is commonly used to translate εἶν with the *aor.* (yet comp. Tert. II. 393, *edamus*, with Vulg. *manducaverimus*). In an earlier part of the chapter he quotes: *si autem mortuus fuerit*. For κοιμηθῇ A, al. read ἀποθάνῃ. Is it possible that the

reading of F G (κεκοιμηθῇ) is a confusion of κοιμηθῇ and κεκοιμηται (cf. εἶν οὐδαμῇ 1 John v. 15, &c.), and that Tertullian read the latter? If so, the 'eversio duarum syllabarum' (*dormiit*, *dormierit*) would be intelligible; otherwise we must I think read *dormiet*. The only variation which occurs in the Manuscripts is *dormitionem acceperit*. No authority which I have seen gives *dormiit*.

² *Adv. Marc.* IV. 2.

³ *Adv. Marc.* IV. 1: ...duos deos dividens, proinde diversos, alterum alterius *instrumenti*, vel, quod magis usui est dicere, *testamenti*...

Chap. iii.

The statements of Augustine relative to the Latin Version.

His true meaning.

The word *Testament* (διαθήκη) would naturally find a place in a 'simple' version; otherwise it is not easy to see how it could have supplanted the more usual term¹.

Thus far then the evidence of Tertullian decidedly favours the belief that one Latin Version of the Holy Scriptures was popularly used in Africa. It has however been argued, from the language which Augustine uses about two centuries later with reference to the origin and multiplicity of the Latin Versions in his time, that this view of the unity and authority of the African Version is untenable. 'Every one,' he says, 'in the first times of 'the faith who gained possession of a Greek manuscript 'and fancied that he had any little acquaintance with 'both Greek and Latin ventured to translate it².' But while we admit that this may be a true account of the manner in which the first version was undertaken, yet the analogy of later times is sufficient to prove that the freedom of individual translation must have been soon limited by ecclesiastical use. The translations of separate books would be combined into a volume. Some recension of the popular text would be adopted in the public services of each Church, and this would naturally become the standard text of the district over which its

¹ The phrase *Novum Testamentum* was used both of the Christian dispensation and of the records of it: *adv. Marc.* iv. 22; *adv. Prax.* 31.

Instrumentum is used in late Latin of public or official documents: e. g. *Instrumenta litis*—*Instrumentum imperii* (Suet. *Vesp.* 8)—*Instrumenti publici auctoritas* (Suet. *Cal.* 8). It is a favourite word with Tertullian: *Apol.* i. 18, *Instrumentum litteraturæ*; *adv. Marc.* v. 2, *Instrumentum actorum*; *de Resurrec. Carnis*, 39, *Apostolus per totum pene instrumentum*; *de Spectac.* 5, *Instrumenta ethnicarum litterarum*.

² *De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 16 (xi.): Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari. This can only refer, I believe, to translation, and not to the interpolation of a translation already made. Lachmann's explanation of the passage (Pref. p. xiv.) is quite arbitrary, if I understand him. The Old Version arose out of private efforts, and was afterwards corrupted by private interpolations; but the two facts are to be kept distinct.

influence extended¹. Even if it be proved that new Latin Versions² agreeing more or less exactly with the African Version were made in Italy, Spain, and Gaul, as the congregations of Latin Christians increased in number and importance, that fact proves nothing against the existence of an African original. For if we call all these various Versions 'new,' we must limit the force of the word to a fresh revision and not to an independent translation of the whole. There is not the slightest trace of the existence of *independent* Latin Versions; and the statements of Augustine are fully satisfied by supposing a series of ecclesiastical recensions of one fundamental text, which were in turn reproduced with variations and corrections in private Manuscripts. In this way there might well be said to be an 'infinite variety of Latin interpreters³,' while a particular recension like the 'Itala' could be selected for general commendation⁴.

The outline which I have roughly drawn is fully justified by the documents which exhibit the various forms of the Latin Version before the time of Jerome.

Chap. iii.

His evidence confirmed by existing documents.

¹ There is a clear trace of such an ecclesiastical recension in Aug. *de Cons. Evv.* II. 128 (LXVI.): Non autem ita se habet vel quod Joannes interponit, vel *codices Ecclesiastici interpretationis usitate*. He is speaking of the quotation (Zech. ix. 9) in Matt. xxi. 7, compared with John xii. 14, 15.

² The history of the English Versions may offer a parallel. The Version of Tyndale is related to those that followed it in the same way perhaps as the *Vetus Latina* to such recensions (or 'new Versions,' as they may be called) as the *Itala*.

³ Aug. *de Doctr. Christ.* II. 16 (XI.). This was no less true of the Old than of the New Testament. Cf. Aug. *Ep.* LXXI. 6 (IV.); LXXXII. 35 (V.).

⁴ Aug. *de Doctr. Christ.* II. 22 (xv.): In ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* cæteris præferatur; nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ. The last clause probably points to the character by which the *Itala* was distinguished from the *Africana*. If, as I believe, Tertullian's quotations exhibit the earliest form of the latter, 'clearness of expression' was certainly not one of its merits. The connexion of Augustine with Ambrose naturally explains his preference for the *Itala*. For the specific sense of *Itala* as equivalent geographically to *Lombardica*, see an interesting essay by Rev. J. Kenrick, *Theol. Rev.* July, 1874.

Chap. iii.

They are all united by a certain generic character, and again subdivided by specific differences, which will be capable I believe of clear and accurate distinction as soon as the quotations of the early Latin Fathers shall have been carefully collated with existing Manuscripts¹. The writings of Tertullian offer the true starting-point in the history of the Old Latin Text². His manner of citation is often loose, and he frequently exhibits various renderings of the same text, but even in such cases it is not difficult to determine the reading which he found in the current Version from that which he was himself inclined to substitute for it³.

¹ A rough classification of Manuscripts is given in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. *Vulgate*.

² It will be evident I think that Tertullian has preserved the original text of the African version from a comparison of his readings in the following passages, taken from two books only, with those of the other authorities:

Acts iii. 19—21; *de Resurr. Carn.*

23 (IV. p. 255).

— xiii. 46; *de Fuga*, 6 (III. p. 183).

— xv. 28; *de Pudic.* 12 (IV. p. 394).

Rom. v. 3, 4; *c. Gnost.* 13 (II. p. 383).

— vi. 1—13; *de Pudic.* 17 (IV. p. 414).

— vi. 20—23; *de Resurr. Carn.* 47 (III. p. 303).

— vii. 2—6; *de Monog.* 13 (III. p. 163).

— viii. 35—39; *c. Gnost.* 13 (II. p. 383).

— xi. 33; *adv. Hermog.* 45 (II. p. 141).

— xii. 1; *de Resurr. Carn.* 47 (III. p. 306).

— xii. 10; *adv. Marc.* v. 14 (I. p. 439).

The remarkable readings in the

other books are equally striking. The Version which Tertullian used was marked by the use of Greek words, as *machæra* (*adv. Marc.* IV. 29; *c. Gnost.* 13); *sophia* (*adv. Hermog.* 45); *choicus* (*de Resurr. Carn.* 49). Some peculiar words are of frequent occurrence, e.g. *tingo* (βαπτίζω)—*delinquentia* (ἀναπρία).

³ As a specimen of the text which Tertullian's quotations exhibit I have given his various readings in two chapters. The references are to the marginal pages of Semler's edition.

Matt. i. 1: *genituræ* (III. 392) for *generationis*.

— 16: *generavit* (*genuit*) Joseph virum Mariæ, ex (de) qua nascitur (*natus est*) Christus (III. 387).

— 20: *nam quod* (*quod enim*) ... (l. c.).

— 25: *ecce virgo concipiet* (so a b c) in utero et pariet filium (III. 381) cujus et *vocabitur* (Iren. 452 *vocabunt*) nomen Emmanuel... (II. 257).

Rom. i. 8: *gratias agit Deo per dominum nostrum* (*om.*) Jesum Christum (II. 261).

— 16, 17: *non enim me pudet Evangelii* (*erubescio Evangelium*)... Judæo (*om.* *primum*

We have no means of tracing the history of the Version before the time of Tertullian; but its previous existence is attested by other contemporary evidence. The Latin translation of Irenæus was probably known to Tertullian¹; and the Scriptural quotations which occur in it were evidently taken from some foreign source, and not rendered by the translator². That this source was no other than a recension of the *Vetus Latina* appears from the coincidence of readings which it exhibits with the most trustworthy Manuscripts of the Version³. In other words the *Vetus Latina* is recognized in the first Latin literature of the Church; it can be traced back as far as the earliest records of Latin

Chap. iii.

The history of the Vetus Latina cannot be traced further back than the time of Tertullian.

with BG, al.) et Græco; *quia justitia (justitia enim)...* (I. 431).

— 18: *om. omnem, eorum.* (I. c.).

— 20: *invisibilia enim ejus (ipsius) a conditione (creatura) mundi de factitamentis (per ea quæ facta sunt) intellecta visuntur (conspiciuntur)* (IV. 250). Cf. II. 141: *Invisibilia ejus ab institutione mundi factis ejus* (so Hil.) *conspiciuntur*.

¹ Cf. Grabe, *Proleg. ad Iren.* II. 3 (II. p. 36, ed. Stieren).

² Cf. Lachmann, *N. T.* Pref. p. x. f.

³ The relation of the text of Tertullian's quotations to that of the Latin Translation of Irenæus is very interesting, as may be seen from the following examples. The variations from the Vulgate (V) (Lachmann) are given in Italics:

Matt. i. i. Generationis, Iren. 471, 505 (ed. Stieren): *Genitura*, Tert.

— 20. Quod enim habet in utero (*ventre*), Iren. 505, 638: Quod in ea natum est, Tert.

— iii. 7, 8. Cf. Luke iii. 7: Progenies — fructum, Iren.

457: Genimina — fructum (fructus, IV. 393), Tert. II. 95.

Matt. iii. 12. *Palam habens in manu ejus ad emundandam aream suam*, Iren. 569: *Palam* (al. ventilabrum) in manu *portat ad purgandam aream suam*, Tert. II. 4. Cf. III. 172.

— iv. 3. Si tu es filius Dei, Iren. 576. Tert. II. 189. (As Vulg. Iren. 774; Tert. II. 199.)

— 4. Non in pane tantum (c. tr.) *vivit*, Iren. 774; Non in solo pane (so a; tr. V.) *vivit*, Tert. II. 313.

— 6. Iren. 775; Si tu es filius Dei, *deice te hinc*: Scriptum est enim quod mandavit angelis suis (tr.) *super te, ut te manibus suis tollant, necubi ad lapidem pedem tuum offendas* (tr.), Tert. II. 189.

Tertullian and the Translator of Irenæus represent respectively, I believe, the original African and Gallic recensions of the *Vetus Latina*.

Chap. iii.

Christianity, and every circumstance connected with it indicates the most remote antiquity. But in the absence of further evidence we cannot attempt to fix more than the inferior limit of its date; and even that cannot be done with certainty, owing to the doubtful chronology of Tertullian's life. Briefly however the case may be stated thus. If the Version was, as has been seen, generally in use in Africa in his time, and had been in circulation sufficiently long to stereotype the meaning of particular phrases, we cannot allow less than twenty years for its publication and spread: and if we take into account its extension into Gaul and its reception there, that period will seem too short. Now the beginning of Tertullian's literary activity cannot be placed later than c. 190 A.D., and we shall thus obtain the date 170 A.D. as that before which the Version must have been made. How much more ancient it really is cannot yet be discovered. Not only is the character of the Version itself a proof of its extreme age; but the mutual relations of different parts of it shew that it was made originally by different hands; and if so, it is natural to conjecture that it was coeval with the introduction of Christianity into Africa, and the result of the spontaneous efforts of African Christians.

*The inferior
limit of its
date.*

*The Canon
of the Vetus
Latina coin-
cided with
that of the
Muratorian
Fragment.*

The Canon of the Old Latin Version coincided I believe exactly with that of the Muratorian fragment. It contained the Four Gospels, the Acts, thirteen Epistles of St Paul, the three Catholic Epistles of St John, the first Epistle of St Peter, the Epistle of St Jude, and the Apocalypse. To these the Epistle to the Hebrews was added subsequently, but before the time of Tertullian, and without the author's name. There is no external evidence to shew that the Epistle of St James or the second Epistle of St Peter was included in the *Vetus*

Latina. The earliest Latin testimonies to both of them, so far as I am aware, are those of Hilary, Jerome, and Rufinus in his Latin Version of Origen¹.

The Manuscripts in which the Old Latin Version is found are few, but some of them are of great antiquity. In the Gospels Lachmann made use of four, of which one belongs to the fourth, and another to the fourth or fifth century². To these Tischendorf has since added several others more or less perfect, ranging in date from the fifth to the eleventh century; and our own Libraries contain several other copies of great interest. The version of the Acts is contained in three Manuscripts of the sixth and eighth centuries, which however clearly represent originals of much earlier date. The Pauline Epistles are represented by several Manuscripts of the sixth and ninth centuries: but there is no Manuscript which gives the original form of the text of the Catholic Epistles. The *Codex Bezae* has alone preserved a fragment of the third Epistle of St John, which is found immediately before the Acts; and as it is expressly stated that the Acts follows, it appears that the Epistle of St Jude was either omitted or transposed. Two other early Manuscripts which contain respectively the Epistle of St James and fragments of the Epistle of St James and of the first Epistle of St Peter, give the text of the Italian recension and not of the *Vetus Latina*. There is no ante-Hieronymian Manuscript of the second Epistle of St Peter, of the Epistle of St Jude, or of the Apocalypse.

Chap. iii.

The Manuscripts of the Version of the Gospels.

the Acts,

the Epistles of St Paul, and

the Catholic Epistles,

¹ It is impossible to lay any stress on the passage in Firmilian, ap. Cypr. *Ep.* LXXV. Even if Irenæus himself was acquainted with the Epistle of St James (*c. Her.* v. i. 1), no argument can be built on the reference to prove the existence of the Epistle in a Latin Version.

² I have given a full list of these Manuscripts in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. *Vulgate*.

Chap. iii.

*The evidence
of Tertul-
lian as to
the Canoni-
city of the
Epistle of
St Jude,*

The evidence of Tertullian as to the Old Latin Canon may be taken to complete that which is derived directly from Manuscripts. His language leaves little doubt as to the position which the Epistle of St Jude and that to the Hebrews occupied in the African Church. The former he assigns directly to the Apostle Jude; and if so, its canonicity in the strictest sense was assured¹. And since the reference is made without any limitation or expression of doubt, since it is indeed made in order to prove the authority of the Book of Enoch, as if the quotation by St Jude were decisive, it may be assumed that Tertullian found the book in the 'New Testament' of his Church.

*the Epistle
to the
Hebrews,*

On the other hand his single direct reference to the Epistle to the Hebrews leads to the opposite conclusion. After appealing to the testimony of the Apostles in support of his Montanist views of Christian discipline, and bringing forward passages from most of the Epistles of St Paul and from the Apocalypse and first Epistle of St John, he says², 'The discipline of the Apostles is 'thus clear and decisive. ...I wish however, though it be superfluous, to bring forward also the testimony of a 'companion of the Apostles, well fitted to confirm the 'discipline of his teachers on the point before us. For 'there is extant an Epistle to the Hebrews which bears 'the name of Barnabas. The writer has consequently 'adequate authority, as being one whom St Paul placed 'beside himself in the point of continence; and certainly 'the Epistle of Barnabas is more commonly received 'among the Churches than the Apocryphal Shepherd 'of adulterers.' He then quotes with very remarkable

1 Cor. ix. 6.

¹ Tertull. *de Cult. Fœm.* c. 3.

II. Chap. II. for the original, and

² Tertull. *de Pudic.* c. 20. See Part p. 259.

various readings¹ Hebr. vi. 4—8, and concludes by saying: 'One who had learnt from the Apostles, and had 'taught with the Apostles, knew this, that a second 'repentance was never promised by the Apostles to an 'adulterer or fornicator.' If the Epistle had formed part of the African Canon, it is impossible that Tertullian should have spoken thus: for the passage bore more directly on his argument than any other, and yet he introduces it only as a secondary testimony. The book was certainly received with respect; but still it could be compared with the Shepherd, which at least made no claim to Apostolicity. And it is by this mark that Tertullian distinguishes between the Epistle of St Jude and the Epistle [of Barnabas] to the Hebrews. The one was stamped with the mark of the Apostle: the other was neither that, nor yet supported by direct Apostolic sanction.

Tertullian quotes the Apocalypse very frequently, and ascribes it positively to St John, though he notices the objections of Marcion. The text of his quotations exhibits a general agreement with that of the Vulgate; and it is evident that the version of which he made use

and the
Apocalypse.

¹ Tertull. *l. c.*: Impossibile est enim eos qui semel illuminati sunt (V. tr.) et donum cœleste gustaverunt (V. tr. gustav. etiam d. c.), et participaverunt spiritum sanctum (V. participes sunt facti sp. s.), et verbum dei dulce gustaverunt (V. tr. gustav. nihilominus bonum d. v.), occidente jam ævo cum exciderint (V. virtutesque sæculi venturi et prolapsi sunt) rursus revocari in pœnitentiam (V. renovari r. ad pœn.), refigentes cruci (V. rursus cruci figentes) in semetipsos (V. sibimet ipsis) filium dei et dedecorantes (V. ostentui habentes). Terra enim quæ bibit sæpius deventem in se humorem (V. sæpe ven.

super se bibens imbrem) et peperit herbam aptam his propter quos et colitur (V. generans h. opportunam illis a quibus c.) benedictionem dei consequitur (V. accipit b. a deo); proferens autem spinas (V. + ac tribulos) reproba (V. + est) et maledictioni (V. maledicto) proxima, cujus finis in exustionem (V. c. consummatio in combustionem).

The number and character of the various readings perhaps justify the belief that the translation given was made by Tertullian himself. It is certainly independent of that preserved in the Vulgate and that in the Claromontane Manuscript.

Chap. iii.

The general
divisions of
the New
Testament
according to
Tertullian.

was not essentially different from that current in later times¹. There is then every reason to believe that when he wrote, the book was generally circulated in Africa; and as the translation then received retained its hold on the Church, it is probable that it was supported by ecclesiastical use. In other words everything tends to shew that the Apocalypse was acknowledged in Africa from the earliest times as Canonical Scripture.

In two of his treatises Tertullian appears to give a general summary of the contents of the Latin New Testament of his time². In one³ after quoting passages from the Old Testament he continues: 'This is enough 'from the *Prophetic Instrument*: I appeal now to the '*Gospels*.' Passages from St Matthew, St Luke, and St John, follow in order. Afterwards comes a reference to the Apocalypse as contained in the *Instrument of John*; and then a general reference to the *Apostolic Instrument*⁴. The first quotations under this head are from the Acts, and then from most of the Epistles in the *Instrument [of Paul]*. The omission of St Mark's Gospel shews that the enumeration is not complete; but

¹ The following are some of the most important various readings:

Apoc. i. 6: *Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes... de Exhort.*

Cast. c. 7.

— ii. 20—23: Jezebel quæ se prophætæ dicit et docet atque seducit servos meos ad fornicandum et edendum de idolothytis. Et largitus sum illi spatium temporis ut poenitentiam iniret, nec vult eam inire nomine fornicationis. Ecce dabo eam in lectum, et mæchos ejus cum ipsa in maximam pressuram, nisi poenitentiam egerint operum ejus. *de Pudic. c. 19.*

Apoc. vii. 14: Hi sunt qui veni-

unt ex illa pressura magna, et laverunt vestimentum suum et candidaverunt ipsum in sanguine agni. *c. Gnost. c. 12.*

² This was first pointed out by Credner and Volkmar; Credner, *Geschichte d. N. T. Kanon*, pp. 171 ff.; 364 ff.

³ *De Resurr. Carn.* cc. 33, 38, 39, 40. This treatise was written c. A.D. 207—10.

⁴ c. 39: Resurrectionem Apostolica quoque Instrumenta testantur... Tunc et Apostolus [Paulus] per totum pene Instrumentum fidem hujus spei corroborare curavit. c. 40: Nihil autem mirum si et ex ipsius [Pauli] Instrumento captentur argumenta...

the broad distinction of the different *Instruments* points to the existence of distinct groups of books, which may have been separately circulated. In another treatise, probably of a somewhat earlier date¹, Tertullian observes a similar arrangement. First he quotes the Gospels, or rather as he calls it 'the Gospel;' and then appeals to the *Apostolic Instrument* in which again he includes the Acts and the Epistles of St Paul. Afterwards 'not to dwell always on Paul' he notices the Apocalypse and first Epistle of St John, and speaks of a passage from the last chapter as 'the close of his writing.' And then it is, when he has noticed the 'discipline of the Apostles,' that he adds as it were over and above 'a testimony of a companion of the Apostles' taken from 'the Epistle of Barnabas to the Hebrews².' The absence of all mention of the first Epistle of St Peter is remarkable; and it has been supposed with some probability that he was not acquainted with it till the close of his life, and then only from the Greek.

1 John v. 16.

Internal evidence is not wanting to confirm the conclusions drawn from other sources. The peculiarities of language in different parts of the Vulgate offer a most interesting field for inquiry. Jerome's revision may have done something to assimilate the style of the whole, yet sufficient traces of the original text remain to distinguish the hand of various translators. Indeed in the Epistles Jerome's work seems to have been most perfunctory, and to have consisted in little more than the selection and partial revision of some one copy. But however tempting it might be to prosecute the inquiry at length, it would be superfluous at present to do more than point

The language of the Vulgate generally.

¹ *De Pudicitia*, cc. 6, 12, 19.

² c. 20: *Disciplina igitur Apostolorum proprie quidem instruit... Volo tamen ex redundantia alicujus etiam* comitis Apostolorum testimonium superducere... Comp. Pt. II. ch. II. and p. 246 f.

Chap. iii.

The lan-
guage of
2 Peter.

out how far it bears on those books which we suppose not to have formed part of the original African Canon¹.

The second Epistle of St Peter offers the best opportunity for testing the worth of the investigation. If we suppose that it was at once received into the Canon like the first Epistle², it would in all probability have been translated by the same person, as seems to have been the case with the Gospel of St Luke and the Acts, though their connexion is less obvious; and while every allowance is made for the difference in style in the original Epistles, we must look for the same rendering of the same phrases. But when on the contrary it appears that the Latin text of the Epistle not only exhibits constant and remarkable differences from the text of other parts of the Vulgate, but also differs from the first Epistle in the rendering of words common to both: when it further appears that it differs no less clearly from the Epistle of St Jude (which was received in the African Church) in those parts which are almost iden-

¹ F. P. Dutripon's *Concordantie Bibliorum Sacrorum Vulgate Editionis*, Parisiis, MDCCCLIII. (the dates on the title vary) appears to be complete and satisfactory as far as the Sixtine text is concerned, but it is impossible not to regret the absence of all reference to important various readings.

² It must however be noticed that the actual traces of the early use of 1 Peter in the Latin Churches are very scanty. There is not the least evidence to shew that its authority was ever disputed, but on the other hand it does not seem to have been much read. The Epistle is not mentioned in the Muratorian Canon, though no stress can be laid upon that fact. It is more strange that Tertullian quotes it only twice, and that too in writings which are more

or less open to suspicion. In the treatise *c. Gnosticos* the references are long and explicit: *c. 12*: Cui potius [Christus] figuram vocis suæ declarasset quam cui effigiem gloriæ suæ mutavit, Petro, Jacobo, Johanni, et postea Paulo?... Petrus quidem ad Ponticos *quanta enim inquit gloria*, &c. 1 Peter ii. 20, 21; et rursus: 1 Peter iv. 12—16. Similarly there is a possible but tacit reference to 1 Peter ii. 22 in *c. Judeos 10*. The supposed reference in *de Exhort. Cast.* 1 will not hold; and that in *adv. Marc.* iv. 13 is most doubtful. The Epistle is constantly quoted by Cyprian, and under the title *ad Ponticos* in *Testim.* iii. 36; and all the Catholic Epistles are contained in the *Claramontane Stichometry*. See App. D. No. xvi.

tical in the Greek: then the supposition that it was admitted into the Canon at the same time with them becomes at once unnatural¹. It is indeed possible that the two Epistles may have been received at the same time and yet have found different translators. The Epistle of St Jude and the second Epistle of St Peter may have been translated independently, and yet both have been admitted together into the Canon. But when the silence of Tertullian is viewed in connexion with the character of the version of the latter Epistle, the natural conclusion is that in his time it was as yet untranslated. The two lines of evidence mutually support each other.

The translation of St James's Epistle has several peculiar renderings; but in this case no more can be said with confidence than that it was the work of a special translator. One or two words indeed appear to me to indicate that it was made later than the translations of the acknowledged books, but they cannot be urged as conclusive².

Chap. iii.

of St James,

¹ The following examples will confirm the statements made in the text:

I. Differences from the general renderings of the Vulgate:

κοινωνός, †*consors* (i. 4); ἐγκράτεια, †*abstinentia* (i. 6); πλεονάζειν, *superare* (i. 8); ἀργός, *vacuus* (*id.*); σπουδάξω, *satagere* (i. 10; iii. 14; i. 15, *dare operam*); παρουσία, *præsentia* [of Christ] (i. 16); ἐπίγνωσις, *cognitio* (i. 2, 3, 8; ii. 20; cf. Rom. iii. 20?); ἀρχαῖος, †*originalis* (ii. 5).

II. Differences from the renderings in 1 Peter:

πληθύνεσθαι, *adimpleri* (i. 2); *multiplicari* (1 Pet. i. 2).

ἐπιθυμία, *concupiscentia* (i. 4; ii. 10; iii. 3); *desiderium* (1 Pet. i. 14; ii. 11; iv. 2, 3); so also 2 Pet. ii. 18.

τηρεῖν, *reservare* (ii. 4, 9, 17; iii. 7); *conservare* (1 Pet. i. 4).

III. Differences from the translation of St Jude:

ἀλογος, ††*inrationabilis* (ii. 12); *mutus* (Jude 10).

φθίρεσθαι, *perire* (*id.*); *corrumpi* (*id.*).

συνευχαρίσθαι, *luxuriare vobiscum* (13); ††*convivari* (12).

δόξαι, *sectæ* (10); *majestas* (8).

ὁ ὕψος τοῦ σκότους, *caligo tenebrarum* (17); *procella tenebrarum* (13).

Words marked † occur nowhere else in the New Testament Vulgate: those marked †† occur nowhere else in the whole Vulgate.

² The following peculiarities may be noticed in the version of St James: ἀπλῶς, ††*affluenter* (i. 5); ἀπλότης, *simplicitas* (2 Cor. viii. 2;

Chap. iii.
of the Epi-
stle to the
Hebrews.

The Latin text of the Epistle to the Hebrews exhibits the most remarkable phenomena. As it stands in the Vulgate it is marked by numerous singularities of language and inaccuracies of translation; but the readings of the Claromontane Manuscript are most interesting and important. Sometimes the translator in his anxiety to preserve the letter of the original employs words of no authority: sometimes he adapts the Latin to the Greek form: sometimes he paraphrases a participial sentence to avoid the ambiguity of a literal rendering: and again sometimes he entirely perverts the meaning of the author by neglecting the secondary meanings of Greek words¹. The translation was evidently made at a very early period; but it was not made by any of those whose work can be traced in other parts of the New Testament, and apparently it was not submitted to that revision which necessarily attended the habitual use of Scripture in the services of the Church. The Claromontane text of the Epistle to the Hebrews represents I believe more completely than any other Manuscript the simplest form of the *Vetus Latina*; but

ix. 11, &c.).
οἰεσθαι, *æstimare* (i. 7); *existimare*
(Phil. i. 17).
ἀγαπητοί, *dilecti, dilectissimi* (i.
16, 19; ii. 5; so Hebr. vi. 9;
1 Cor. xv. 58); elsewhere *caris-
simi* (twenty times).
ἀτιμάζειν, *†texhonorare* (ii. 6); else-
where *inhonorare, contumelia
afficere*.
σώζειν, *salvare* (i. 21; v. 15, 20);
generally *salvum facere, salvus
esse and fieri*.
πληροῦν, *supplere* (ii. 23); else-
where *implere, adimplere*.
ἀγνός, *pudicus* (iii. 17, so Phil. iv.
8); elsewhere *castus, and once
sanctus*.
ἀποτιθεσθαι, *abdicere* (i. 21, so

Rom. xiii. 12); elsewhere *depo-
nere* (six times).

μακαρίζω, *†beatifico* (v. 11).
πολεμεῖν, *†belligero* (iv. 2).
οἰκτῖρμων, *†miserator* (v. 11).

¹ The Latin text of the Manu-
script is almost incredibly corrupt,
from the ignorance of the tran-
scriber, who accommodated the ter-
minations of the words, and often
the words themselves, to his ele-
mentary conceptions of grammar.
Still a reference to the readings in
the following passages will justify
the statements which I have made:
i. 6, 10, 14; ii. 1—3, 15, 18; iii. 1;
iv. 1, 3, 13; v. 11; vi. 8, 16; vii. 18;
x. 33.

from the very fact that the text of this Epistle exhibits more marked peculiarities than are found in any of the Pauline Epistles, it follows that it occupies a peculiar position. In other words, internal evidence, as far as it reaches, confirms the belief that the Epistle to the Hebrews, though known in Africa as early perhaps as any other book of the New Testament, was not admitted at first into the African Canon. 'The custom of the Latins,' as Jerome said even in his time, 'received it not¹.'

Only a few words are needed to sum up the testimony of these most ancient Versions to our Canon of the New Testament. Their voice is one to which we cannot refuse to listen. They give the testimony of Churches, and not of individuals. They are sanctioned by public use, and not only supported by private criticism. Combined with the original Greek they represent the New Testament Scriptures as they were read throughout the whole of Christendom towards the close of the second century. Even to the present day they have maintained their place in the services of a vast majority of Christians, though the languages in which they were written only live now so far as they have supplied the materials for the construction of later dialects. They furnish a proof of the authority of the books which they contain, wide-spread, continuous, reaching to the utmost verge of our historic records. Their real weight is even greater than this; for when history first speaks of them it speaks as of that which was recognized as a heritage from an earlier period, which cannot have been long after the days of the Apostles.

Both Canons however are imperfect; but their very imperfection is not without its lesson. The Western

Chap. iii.

The importance of the evidence of the Early Versions.

The results of the imperfection of

¹ It may be added that in the *Claromontane Stichometry* it is still called the *Epistle of Barnabas*. See App. D. No. xvi.

Chap. iii.
the Syrian
Canon.

Church has indeed as we believe under the guidance of Providence completed the sum of her treasures ; but the East has clung hitherto to its earliest decision. Individual writers have accepted the full Canon of the West ; but even Ephrem Syrus failed to influence the judgment of his Church. And can this element of fixity be without its influence on our estimate of the basis of the Syrian Canon ? Can that which was guarded so jealously have been made without care ? Can that which was received without hesitation by Churches which differed on grave doctrines have been formed originally without the sanction of some power from which it was felt that there was no appeal ? The Canon fails in completeness, but that is its single error. Succeeding ages registered their belief in the exclusive originative power of the first age, when they refused to change what that had determined. So far they witnessed to a great truth ; but in practice that truth can only be realized by a perfect induction. And their error arose not from the principle of conservatism on which it rested, but from the imperfect data by which the sum of Apostolic teaching was determined.

The combined testimony of the two Versions.

To obtain a complete idea of the judgment of the Church we must combine the two Canons ; and then it will be found that of the books which we receive one only, the second Epistle of St Peter, wants the earliest public sanction of ecclesiastical use as an Apostolic work. In other words, by enlarging our view so as to comprehend the whole of Christendom and unite the different lines of Apostolic tradition, we obtain with one exception a perfect New Testament, without the admixture of any foreign element. The testimony of Churches confirms and illustrates the testimony of Christians. There is but one difference. Individual writers vary in the

degree of respect which they shew to Apocryphal writings, and the same is true also in a less degree of single Churches ; but the voice of the Catholic Church definitely and unhesitatingly excluded them from the Canon. And in this decision as to the narrow limits which they fixed to the Canon, it appears that they were guided by local and direct knowledge. The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of St James were at once received in the Churches to which they were specially directed ; and external circumstances help us to explain more exactly the facts of their history. The Epistle of St James was not only distinctly addressed to Jews, but as it seems was also written in Palestine. It cannot therefore be surprising that the Latin Churches were for some time ignorant of its existence. The Epistle to the Hebrews on the contrary was probably written from Italy, though it was destined especially for Hebrew converts. And thus the letter was known in the Latin Churches, though they hesitated to admit it into the Canon, believing that it was not written by the hand of St Paul. The Apocalypse again was acknowledged from the earliest time in the scene of St John's labours : and the very indefiniteness of the addresses of the Epistle of St Jude and of the second Epistle of St Peter may have tended to retard and limit their spread.

These considerations however belong to another place ; but it is in this way, by combination with collateral evidence internal and external, that the earliest Versions are proved to occupy an important position in the history of the Canon. A fuller investigation would I believe establish many interesting results, especially if pursued with a constant reference to the present state of the Greek text ; but for our immediate purpose the general outline which has been given is sufficiently accu-

Chap. iii.

*An explanation
of their
incomplete-
ness.*

Chap. iii.

rate and comprehensive. It is enough to shew that the Versions exhibit a Canon practically—that they sanction no Apocryphal book—that they speak with the voice of early Christendom—that they go back to a period so remote as to precede all historic records of the Churches in which they were used.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLY HERETICS.

Non periclitator dicere ipsas quoque Scripturas sic esse ex Dei voluntate dispositas ut hæreticis materias subministrarent.

TERTULLIANUS.

THE New Testament recognizes the existence of parties and heresies in the Christian society from its first origin; and conversely the earliest false teachers witness more or less clearly to the existence and reception of our Canonical Books. The authority of the collection of the Christian Scriptures rests necessarily on other proof, but still the acknowledgment of their authenticity in detail by conflicting sects confirms with independent weight the results which we have already obtained. It cannot be supposed that those who cast aside the teaching of the Church on other points would have been willing to uphold its judgment on Holy Scripture unless it had been supported by competent evidence. Custom and reverence might mould the belief of those within the Catholic communion, but separatists left themselves no positive ground for the reception of the Apostolic books but the testimony of history.

Still further: even negatively the history of the ante-Nicene heresies establishes our general conclusions.

Chap. iv.

The importance of the testimony of heretics to the Canon.

No attacks were made on the Canon of the New

Chap. iv.

*Testament
on historical
grounds by
early
heretics.*

The first three centuries were marked by long and resolute struggles within and without the Church. Almost every point in the Christian Creed was canvassed and denied in turn. The power of Judaism, strong in widespread influence and sensuous attractions, first sought to confine Christianity within its own sphere, and then to embody itself in the new faith. The spirit of Gnosticism, keen, restless, and self-confident, seems to have exhausted every combination of Christianity and philosophy. Mani announced himself as divinely commissioned to reform and reinstate the whole fabric of *the faith once (ἀπαξ) delivered to the saints*. And still it cannot be shewn that the Canon of 'acknowledged' books was ever assailed on historic grounds up to the period of its final recognition. Different books, or classes of books, were rejected from time to time, but no attempt was made to justify the measure by outward testimony. A partial view of Christianity was substituted for its complete form, and the Scriptures were judged by an arbitrary standard of doctrine. The new systems were not based on any historical reconstruction of the Canon, but the contents of the Canon were limited by subjective systems of Christianity.

*The Fathers
insist on
this fact.*

This important fact did not escape the notice of the champions of Catholic truth. Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and later writers, insist much and earnestly on the fact that heretics sought to maintain their own doctrines from the Canonical books, fulfilling the very prophecy therein contained that *there must needs be heresies*. 'So 'great is the surety of the Gospels, that even the very 'heretics bear witness to them; so that each one of them 'taking the Gospels as his starting-point endeavours 'thereby to maintain his own teaching!.' 'They pro-

1 Cor. xi. 19.

¹ Iren. c. Her. III. II. 7.

'fess,' says Tertullian, 'to appeal to the Scriptures: 'they urge arguments from the Scriptures:' and then he adds indignantly, 'as if they could draw arguments 'about matters of faith from any other source than the 'records of faith'.'

It has however been already noticed that they did not all accept the whole Canon. How far they really used our Scriptures as authoritative will appear in the course of our inquiry; at present I only call attention to the general truth that they recognized an authoritative written word, which either wholly or in part coincided with our own. And the very fact that they did make choice of certain books whereon to rest their teaching shews that the use of Scripture was not a mere concession to their opponents, but the expression of their own belief.

We have seen that even in the Catholic Church various tendencies and lines of belief are reflected in the special use made by different Fathers of groups of Apostolic writings. In heretical books the same result is found in an exaggerated form. In this as in everything else heresy is special, limited, partial, where the Church is general, wide, catholic. Differences which are exalted in the one into party characteristics and tests of communion or division are tolerated in the other as imperfect and isolated growths or possible springs of some future and beneficent development. The one will define everything sharply now, whether in criticism or dogma or discipline: the other is content to know that the end is not yet, and to believe that in the broad range of truth 'God fulfils Himself in many ways.'

Chap. iv.

The testimony of heretics however is partial and yet

¹ *De Præscr. Hæc.* c. 14: Sed ipsi [non] possent de rebus fidei nisi ex de scripturis agunt et de scripturis litteris fidei. Cf. Lardner's *History of Heretics*, Bk. I. § 10.

Chap. iv.
progressive.

But apart from this essential difference in the treatment of the whole subject, the character of the testimony of heretical writers to the books of the New Testament is strictly analogous to that of the Fathers in its progressive development. In the first age, an oral Gospel, so to speak, was everywhere current; and all who assumed the name of Christ sought to establish their doctrine by His traditional teaching. Controversies were conducted by arguments from the Old Testament Scriptures, or by appeals to general principles and known facts. The conception of a definite New Testament was wholly foreign to the time. And while it has been seen how little can be found in the scanty writings of the first age to prove the peculiar authority of the Gospels and the Epistles, those who seceded from the company of the Apostles necessarily refused to be ruled by their opinions.

§ 1. *The Heretical Teachers of the Apostolic Age.*
Simon Magus—Menander—Cerinthus.

The fundamental antagonism in heresy from the first.

The earliest group of heretical teachers exhibits in striking contrast the two antagonistic principles of religious error. Mysticism on the one hand and Legalism on the other appear in clear conflict. By both the Work and Person of Christ are disparaged and set aside. In Simon Magus and Menander we may see the embodiment of the antichristian element of the Gentile world¹; in Cerinthus the embodiment of the antichristian element of Judaism. Catholic truth seems to be the only explanation of their simultaneous appearance.

¹ It would be interesting to inquire how far the magical arts universally attributed to Simon and his followers admit of a physical explanation. In his school, if anywhere, we should look for an advanced knowledge of Nature,

It has been shewn that among the Apostolic Fathers one, Clement of Rome, was invested by tradition with representative attributes analogous in a certain degree to his real character, by which he was raised to heroic proportions. In like manner among the false teachers of the age Simon Magus a Samaritan of Gitte is invested by the common consent of all early writers with mysterious importance as the great heresiarch, the open enemy of the Apostles, inspired as it were by the Spirit of Evil to countermine the work of the Saviour, and to found a school of error in opposition to the Church of God. The story of his life has undoubtedly received many apocryphal embellishments; but, as in the case of Clement, it cannot but be that his acts and teaching offered some salient points to which they could fitly be attached. Till the recent discovery of the work 'against Heresies¹,' the history and doctrine of Simon Magus were commonly disregarded as being inextricably involved in fable; but there at length some surer ground is gained. While giving a general outline of his principles, Hippolytus has preserved several quotations from the *Great Announcement*², which was published under his name, and contained an account of the revelation with which he professed to be entrusted. The work itself cannot have been written by him, but it was probably compiled from his oral teaching by one of his

Chap. iv.

Simon Magus invested with a representative character.

The witness to the books of the New Testament in the Great Announcement.

¹ [Origenis] *Philosophumena, sive omnium hæresium refutatio, e Cod. Par. ed. E. Miller, Oxon. MDCCCLI*. The work cannot be Origen's; and scholars generally agree to assign it to Hippolytus Bishop of Portus near Rome. I shall therefore quote it under his name; for though I think that the question of its authorship is not yet settled beyond all doubt, internal evidence proves that it must have been written by a contempo-

rary of Hippolytus at Rome, if not by Hippolytus himself. Döllinger has presented the arguments in support of Hippolytus' claims in the most satisfactory form.

² 'Ἀπόφασις, Ἀπόφασις μεγάλη. [Hipp.] *adv. Hær.* vi. 9 sqq. 'Announcement' hardly conveys the force of the original word, which implies an official or authoritative declaration.

Chap. iv.

The Simonians recognized the authority of the Apostles.

immediate followers¹: at any rate the language of Hippolytus shews that in his time it was acknowledged as an authentic summary of the Simonian doctrine². In the fragments which remain there are coincidences with words recorded in the Gospel of St Matthew³, and probably with a passage in the Gospel of St John⁴. Reference is also made to the first Epistle to the Corinthians, in terms which prove that it was placed by the author on the same footing as the books of the Old Testament⁵.

Not only did the Simonians make use of the Canonical books, but they ascribed the forgeries current among them to 'Christ and his disciples, in order to 'deceive those who loved Christ and his servants⁶.' They recognized not only some of the elements of the New Testament, but also the principle on which it was formed. The writings of the Apostles were acknowledged to have a peculiar weight: Christians sought in them the confirmation of the teaching which they heard,

¹ Bunsen suggests Menander (I. 54), apparently without any authority.

² He quotes it constantly with the words λέγει δὲ ὁ Σίμων, φησί.

³ [Hipp.] *adv. Hær.* VI. 16 = Matt. iii. 10. The various readings are singular: ἐγγὺς γὰρ σου, φησίν, ἢ ἀξίην παρὰ τὰς ῥίξας τοῦ δένδρου κ.τ.λ.

Simon's description of Helen ([Hipp.] *adv. Hær.* VI. 19) as 'the strayed sheep' (τὸ πρόβατον τὸ πεπλανημένον) is an evident allusion to the parable in Luke xv. The substitution of πεπλανημένον for ἀπολωλὸς is to be noticed. Cf. Matt. xviii. 12, 13 (τὸ πλανώμενον... τοῖς μὴ πεπλανημένοις); *Iren. c. Hær.* I. 8. 4. Bunsen supposes that he combined the parable with the healing of the Syro-Phœnician's daughter. Cf. Uhl-

horn, *Die Homilien*, u. s. w. p. 296.

⁴ *id.* VI. 9: οἰκητήριον δὲ λέγει εἶναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον τοῦτον τὸν ἐξ αἱμάτων γεγεννημένον (John i. 13) καὶ κατοικεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπέραντον δύναμιν ἣν ῥίξαν εἶναι τῶν ὄλων φησίν.

Bunsen (I. pp. 49, 55) considers the statement that Simon manifested himself to the Samaritans as the Father ([Hipp.] *adv. Hær.* VI. 19) to be a reference to John iv. 21—23.

⁵ *adv. Hær.* VI. 13: τοῦτο ἐστὶ, φησί, τὸ εἰρημένον "ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ κατακριθῶμεν (1 Cor. xi. 32).

⁶ *Constit. Apost.* VI. 16. 1: Οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι οἱ περὶ Σίμωνα καὶ Κλεόβιον ἰώδη συντάξαντες βιβλία ἐπ' ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ περιφέρουσιν εἰς ἀπάτην ὑμῶν τῶν πεφιληκότων Χριστὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς αὐτοῦ δούλους.

and the seeming authority of their sanction gained acceptance for that which was otherwise rejected.

Menander, the scholar and fellow-countryman of Simon Magus, is said to have repeated and advanced his master's teaching. His doctrine of the Resurrection, in which he taught that those who 'were baptized into 'him died no more but continued to live in immortal 'youth',¹ reminds us of the error of *Hymenæus and Philletus who said that the Resurrection was past already*; otherwise I am not aware that anything which is known of his system points directly to the Scriptures.

While Simon Magus represents the intellectual and rationalistic element of Gnosticism, Cerinthus represents it under a ceremonial and partially Judaizing form. The one was a Samaritan, the natural enemy of Judaism; the other was 'trained in the teaching of the Egyptians',² among whom the interpretation of the Law had become a science. The traditional opponent of the one was St Peter; of the other St John; and this antagonism admirably expresses their relative position. St John however was not the only Apostle with whom Cerinthus came into conflict. Epiphanius³ makes him one of those who headed the extreme Jewish party in their attacks on St Peter for eating with Gentiles, and on St Paul for polluting the temple. The statement in itself is plausible: an excessive devotion to the Law was a natural preparation for mere material views of Christianity.

Cerinthus was evidently acquainted with the substance of the Gospel history. He must have known

Chap. iv.

MENANDER.

2 Tim. ii. 18.

CERINTHUS.

*His relation
to Simon
Magus.*

*His acquaintance
with the
New Testament.*

¹ Iren. c. Hær. I. 23. 5: Resurrectionem enim per id quod est in eum baptismum accipere ejus discipulos, et ultra non posse mori, sed per-

severare non senescentes et immortales.

² [Hipp.] adv. Hær. VII. 33.

³ Epiph. Hær. XXVIII. 2-4.

Chap. iv.

the orthodox accounts of the parentage of our Lord. He was familiar with the details of His Baptism, of His preaching, of His Miracles, of His death, and of His Resurrection¹. 'The Cerinthians,' Epiphanius says, 'make use of St Matthew's Gospel² as the Ebionites do, 'on account of the human genealogy, though their copy 'is not entire...The Apostle Paul they entirely reject, 'on account of his opposition to circumcision.' But the chief importance of Cerinthus is in relation to St John. It has been said that he was the author of the Apocalypse, and even of all the books attributed to the Apostle. And on the other hand it is the popular belief that the fourth Gospel was written to refute his errors. The coincidence is singular, and it is necessary to consider on what grounds these assertions have been made.

*How the
Apocalypse
came to be
attributed
to him.*

The transition from Judaizing views to Chiliasm is very simple, and Cerinthus appears to have entertained Chilastic opinions of the most extreme form. In the account which Eusebius gives of him this fact is dwelt upon as if it were the characteristic of his system. In the earliest ages of the Church the language of Chiliasm at least was generally current; but from the time of Origen it fell into discredit from the gross extravagances which it had occasioned. The reaction itself became

¹ [Hipp.] *adv. Hær. l. c.* Epiph. *l. c.* What Epiphanius says (*Hær. xxviii. 6*) of Cerinthus' teaching *Χριστὸν πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐσταυρώσθαι μὴ πω δὲ ἐγγεράθαι, μέλλειν δὲ ἀνίστασθαι ὅταν ἡ καθόλου γένηται νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις*, is to be taken as describing Epiphanius' deductions from his teaching, and not as giving Cerinthus' dogmas.

² Epiph. *Hær. xxviii. 5*: *Χρῶνται γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίῳ ἀπὸ μέρους καὶ οὐχὶ ὅλῳ διὰ τὴν*

γενεαλογίαν τὴν ἐνσαρκον. It is not known in what the mutilation of the Gospel consisted. But that he did not remove the whole of the first two chapters, as the Ebionites did, appears again from what Epiphanius says, *Hær. xxx. 14*: *ὁ μὲν γὰρ Κήρυθος καὶ Καρποκράς τῷ αὐτῷ χρώμενοι δῆθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίου διὰ τῆς γενεαλογίας βούλονται παριστᾶν ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας εἶναι τὸν Χριστόν*.

extreme; and imagery in itself essentially scriptural and pure was confounded with the glosses by which it had been interpreted. The Apocalypse, though supported by the clearest early testimony, was now viewed with distrust. 'Some said that it was unintelligible and unconnected: that its title was false, for that it was not the work of John: that that was certainly not a revelation which was enwrapped in a gross and thick veil of ignorance'. The arguments are purely subjective and internal. There is not a hint of any historical evidence for the opinion. The doctrine of the book was false, and consequently it could not be Apostolic. It became then necessary to assign it to a new author. Cerinthus it appears had written revelations, and assumed the Apostolic style²: it is possible that he had directly imitated St John: he was distinguished for Chiliasm; and thus the conclusion was prepared, that he was the writer of the Apocalypse, and that he had ascribed it to St John from the desire 'to affix a name of credit to his forgery;' to continue the quotation, 'for this was the principle of his teaching, that the kingdom of Christ would be earthly, and consist in those things which he himself desired, being a man devoted to sensual enjoyments and wholly carnal. The Chiliasm of Cerinthus is here distinctly brought forward as the ground of what can only be considered as a conjecture; and Dionysius, who gives the history of the conjecture at length, was unwilling to accept it as true.

That the ascription of the Apocalypse to Cerinthus

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 25: Dionys. speaking of the Apocalypse of St Alex. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 28. John, but of books written by Cerinthus in imitation of it. The theology of the Apocalypse is wholly inconsistent with what we know of Cerinthus' views on the Person of Christ.

² Theodor. *Fab. Heret.* ii. 3 (ap. Routh, ii. 139). The famous fragment of Caius is ambiguous: ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 28. I may express my decided belief that Caius is not Christ.

Chap. iv.

*The other
works of St
John also
attributed to
Cerinthus.*

was in fact a mere arbitrary hypothesis resting on doctrinal grounds is further shewn by the extension which was afterwards given to it. A body of men whom Epiphanius calls by a convenient name, which he himself invented, Alogi, attributed not only the Apocalypse but also the Gospel and the writings of St John generally to Cerinthus¹ and this purely on internal grounds. It was found difficult to reconcile the fourth Gospel with the Synoptists, and forthwith it was pronounced an Apocryphal book. Some theory was necessary to account for its origin, and as one of the Apostle's writings had been already assigned to Cerinthus, this was placed in the same category, in spite of its doctrinal character. The Epistles could not be separated from the Gospels; and so this early essay in criticism was completed.

*St John
truly anta-
gonistic to
Cerinthian-
ism.*

Nothing indeed can be more truly opposite to Cerinthianism than the theology of St John. The character of his Gospel was evidently influenced by prevailing errors; and though it is unnecessary to degrade it into a mere controversial work, it is impossible not to feel that it was written to satisfy some pressing want of the age, to meet some false philosophy which had already begun to fashion a peculiar dialect, and to offer a solution by the help of Christian ideas of some of the great problems of humanity. Cerinthus upheld a ceremonial system, and taught only a temporary union of God's Spirit with man. St John proclaimed that Judaism had passed away, and set forth clearly the manifestation of the Eternal Word in His historic Incarnation no less than

¹ Epiph. *Her.* LI. 3. The history of the sect (if it can be so called) is very obscure, but we have only to do with the fact, which is sufficiently supported by Epiphanius' authority. It is very probable that under this title Epiphanius simply wished to include all those who rejected St John's writings. See Credner [*Volkmar*], *Geschichte d. N. T. Kanon*, p. 185, anm.

in His union with the true believer. The teaching of St John is doubtless far deeper and wider than was needed to meet the errors of Cerinthus, but it has a natural connexion with the period in which he lived.

This relation of the first heretics to the Apostles is of the utmost importance. Like the early Fathers, they witness to Catholic Truth rather than to the Catholic Scriptures: they exhibit the correlative errors as the Fathers embodied its constituent parts. The real personality of Simon Magus and Cerinthus is raised beyond all reasonable doubt. The general character of their doctrine can be determined with certainty. And when we find the marks of activity of speculation, depth of thought, and variety of judgment in false teachers, can it appear wonderful that in the writings of the Apostles there are analogous differences? If the books of the New Testament stood alone, we might marvel at their fulness and diversity; but when it is found that their characteristic differences are not only stereotyped in Catholic doctrine but implied in contemporary heresies, they fall as it were into a natural historic position. They are felt to belong to that Apostolic age in which every power of man seems to have been quickened with some spiritual energy. No long interval of time was then needed for the gradual evolution of the various forms of teaching which they preserve. Error sprung up with a titanic growth: truth came down full-formed from heaven to conquer it.

But when it is said that the perfect principles of Gnosticism may be detected in these earliest heretics, I do not by any means ignore the vast developments which they afterwards received. In one respect the teaching of the Simonians and Cerinthians furnishes an important link between Catholic doctrine and the later

Chap. iv.

The importance of the teaching of these first heretics generally in relation to the New Testament.

They form a link between the heresies alluded to in the Scriptures and later speculations.

Chap. iv.

Gnosticism of Valentinus or Marcion. In these systems the phenomena of the world are explained by the assumption of a Dualism—more or less complete—of a fundamental opposition between powers of good and evil. The creation was removed farther and farther from God, till at last it was ascribed to His enemy. The cosmogony of Simon Magus¹ and of Cerinthus² occupies a mean position. In this the world is represented as the work of Angels, themselves the offspring of God, who were also the authors of the Jewish Law and the inspirers of the Prophets. Against such a form of Gnosticism the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Introduction to St John's Gospel speak with divine power; but of the later developments there is not a trace in the New Testament. If however we suppose that any parts of it, the Pastoral Epistles for instance, or the Epistle of St Jude, had been written after the Apostolic age, is it possible that no word should have betrayed a knowledge of the existence of such theories, when error was being combated with an intense feeling of its present danger? The books which claim to be Apostolic are by their very character the produce of the Apostolic age. Exactly in proportion as we take into account the whole history of Christianity in its developments within and without the Church, we find more surely that it implies a complete New Testament as its foundation; that at no subsequent period was there an opportunity for the

¹ There is some confusion in the account given by Hippolytus. In the first part, where he refers to the *Great Announcement*, the cosmogony of Simon appears to be expressed in a physical form. Fire is the fundamental element of the universe. This I believe to be the original form of his theory. Afterwards in a passage nearly identical with the ac-

count of Irenæus we read of a creation by Angels, of an arbitrary Moral Law, of the secondary inspiration of the Prophets (*adv. Her.* vi. 19; *Iren. c. Her.* i. 23). Uhlhorn, wrongly I think, takes the opposite view of the relative dates of the two systems (a. a. O. 293).

² Epiph. *Her.* xxviii. 1, 2.

forgery of writings which are seen to be the sources and not the results of different systems of speculation.

Chap. iv.

§ 2. *The Ophites and Ebionites.*

While Simon Magus appeared in some measure as the author of an organised counterfeit of Christianity, claiming to be himself an Incarnation of the Deity, and opposing magical powers to the Apostolic miracles, Christians elsewhere came into contact with existing speculative schools, and often survived the encounter only to become ranged with their former enemies. In this way sects arose which were not called by the name of any special founder but by some general title. Probably one of the earliest of these was the sect of the Naasseni, Ophites, or Serpent-worshippers. Hippolytus, professing to follow the order of time, places them in the first rank; and it is evident that their system was not a mere corruption of Christianity, but rather a more ancient creed into which some Christian ideas were infused. Consistently with this view Origen¹ speaks of Ophites who required all who entered their society to blaspheme Christ; the bitterness of which law may be best explained if we suppose that it was first framed against some Christianizing members of their own body.

The mixture of Christianity with earlier systems.

The Ophites.

The Christian Ophites whom Hippolytus describes appear to have been the first who assumed the title of Gnostics². They professed to derive their doctrines through Mariamne from James the Lord's brother³; and thus the authorities which he quotes may be supposed to date from the age next succeeding that of the Apo-

The Ophites described by Hippolytus.

¹ *c. Cels.* vi. 28.

σκοντες μόνον τὰ βάθη γινώσκουσιν. Cf.

² *adv. Hær.* v. 6: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἑπεκάλεσαν ἑαυτοὺς Γνωστικούς, φά-

1 Cor. ii. 10; Apoc. ii. 24.

³ *adv. Hær.* v. 7.

Chap. iv.

Their testimony to the New Testament.

The Peratici and Sethiani.

stles. Their whole system shews an intimate familiarity with the language of the New Testament Scriptures. The passages given from their books¹ contain clear references to the Gospels of St Matthew, St Luke, and St John; to the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, the Corinthians (both Epistles), the Ephesians, and the Galatians; and probably to the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse². They made use also of the Gospel according to the Egyptians and of the Gospel of St Thomas³.

The Peratici and the Sethiani are placed by Hippolytus in close connexion with the Ophites. The passages of the esoteric doctrine (*ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια*) of the Peratici which he brings to light contain obvious references to the Gospel of St John, the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and that to the Colossians⁴. The writings of the

¹ The description of their opinions is constantly prefaced by the words *φασίν* or *φησὶ*.

² The following list of references, which might be increased, will shew to what extent the Ophites made use of the New Testament Scriptures:

St Matthew xiii. 33, 44, [Hipp.] *adv. Hær.* p. 108; xiii. 3 sqq., p. 113; xxiii. 27, *τάφοι ἐστὲ κεκοιμημένοι* (cf. supr. p. 145), p. 111; vii. 21, p. 112; xxi. 31, p. 112; iii. 10, p. 113; vii. 6, p. 114; vii. 14, 13, p. 116.

St Luke xvii. 21, pp. 100, 108; xvii. 4, p. 102 (?); xviii. 19 + Matt. v. 45, p. 102; xi. 33, p. 103.

St John iv. 10, pp. 100, 121; x. 34 + Luke vi. 35, (Ps. lxxii. 6) p. 106; iii. 6, p. 106; i. 3, 4, as Lachm. p. 107; ii. 1—12, p. 108; vi. 53 + xiii. 33; *id.* + Matt. xx. 23, p. 109; v. 37, p. 109; x. 9, p. 111; iv. 21, 23, p. 117; vi. 44, p. 112; ix. 1, i. 9, p. 121.

Romans i. 20—23, &c. p. 99 (as St Paul's).

I Cor. ii. 13, 14, p. 112; x. 11, p. 113.

2 Cor. xii. 2, 4, p. 112.

Gal. iii. 28, &c. p. 99.

Eph. iii. 15, pp. 97, 105; v. 14, p. 104; iii. 5, p. 107; ii. 17, p. 111.

Heb. v. 11, p. 97.

Apoc. ii. 27, p. 104.

³ Their use of the 'Gospel entitled according to the Egyptians' (p. 98) and that 'entitled according to Thomas' (p. 101) does not prove that they ascribed to those books Canonical authority. Generally indeed the references to the Gospels are to our Lord's words, and I believe in every case anonymous. The passage quoted from the Gospel of St Thomas is not found in any of the present recensions of it. Cf. Tischendorf, *Ev. Apocr.* Pref. p. xxxix.

⁴ St John iii. 17 (*τὸ εἰρημένον*, cf. Luke ix. 56), p. 125; iii. 14, p. 134; i. 1—4, p. 134 (wrongly divided by the editor?); viii. 44, p. 136; x. 7, p. 137. I Cor. xi. 32 (*ἡ γραφή*) p. 125. Col. ii. 9 (*τὸ λεγόμενον*) pp. 124, 315.

Sethiani again allude to the Gospels of St Matthew and St John and two of the Epistles of St Paul¹.

Apart from these special references the whole system of the Ophites bears clear witness to the authenticity of St John's Gospel. Everything tends to prove that in them we see one of the earliest forms of heresy. A similar combination of Gentile mysticism with Jewish and Christian ideas troubled the Church of Colossæ even in St Paul's time. Irenæus himself speaks of the Ophites as the first source of the Valentinian school, the original 'hydra-head from which its manifold progeny 'was derived;' and yet even they far passed the limits which St John had fixed for Christian speculation, and thereby witness that they belonged to a later generation.

The Ophites, like Simon Magus, represent a system to which Gentile mysticism gave its predominating character: on the opposite side was ranged the famous sect of the Ebionites, by whom Judaism was made an essential part of Christian life. Like Cerinthus they received a mutilated recension of St Matthew's Gospel²;

¹ Matt. x. 34, p. 146. John iii. 5, p. 141; iv. 14, p. 143; 2 Cor. v. 2, p. 143; Phil. ii. 6, 7, pp. 143, 318.

The account of the Ophites is concluded by a summary of the opinions of Justin a Gnostic. The use of Isaiah lxiv. 4 in his teaching (p. 158) fully justifies the conjecture which I proposed above in p. 206, n. 1, and I think it very likely that Hegesippus had him in view when he wrote. In the quotations made from his writings there are apparent references to Luke xxiii. 46, p. 157; John iv. 14, p. 158; xix. 26, *ib.* The use of Amen as an angelic name (p. 151) may point, as Bunsen observes, to Apoc. iii. 14.

² Iren. *c. Her.* i. 26. 2: Solo eo quod est secundum Matthæum evangelio utuntur et Apostolum Paulum

recusant, apostatam eum legis dicentes. Eusebius calls this Gospel that 'according to the Hebrews' (*H.E.* III. 27), and adds that the Ebionites 'made little account of the rest.'

This is not the proper place to enter on an accurate inquiry into the perplexed question of the various forms of St Matthew's Gospel. I believe them to have been the following:

- (a) The original *Aramaean* text.
 - (1) A revision (?) of this included in the Peshito.
 - (2) An interpolated text used by the Nazarenes, which contained the first two chapters, and is described by Jerome.
 - (3) A mutilated and interpolated text used by the Ebionites.
- (β) An [Apostolic] translation in Greek.

Chap. iv.

The general testimony of the Ophitic system to the writings of St John.

The Ebionites.

What books of the New Testament they received.

Chap. iv.

like him they wholly rejected the authority and writings of St Paul; but nothing I believe is known of their judgment on the Catholic Epistles. They cannot however have received St John's Epistles; and his Gospel, though not specially mentioned, must be included among those of which 'they made no account.'

The Clementine Homilies.

One remarkable product of the Ebionite school still remains to be noticed, the *Clementine Homilies*¹. The writer of this singularly interesting book was a determined adversary of the teaching of St Paul; and there can be no doubt that St Paul himself is referred to as 'the enemy whose lawless and foolish teaching some of 'the Gentiles accepted' in opposition to the alleged preaching of St Peter². Here then if anywhere we might expect to find clear traces of evangelic traditions different in character and contents from those preserved in the Canonical Gospels, if such traditions had been really current in the early Church. But the facts are entirely at variance with this natural expectation. There are references to about eighty different words of the Lord, and of those, so far as I have noticed, there is not one which contains anything essentially divergent from our Gospels, and there are not more than three or

¹ I quote the Homilies only, because the Latin translation of the Recognitions may have been modified by Rufinus. It may be noticed however that the passage in *Recogn.* i. 68 which limits the argument from Scripture to 'the Law and the Prophets' refers only to a discussion between Jews and Christians, and does not contain any determination of the *Christian* view on the subject, as some have supposed. It should be added that the book is the product of an isolated speculator and cannot be supposed to represent a considerable society. This fact has been strangely over-

looked in the conclusions which have been hastily drawn from them. Comp. Lightfoot, *Galatians* pp. 326 ff.

² *Ep. Petri ad Jac.* 2: τινὲς τῶν ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν τὸ δι' ἐμοῦ νόμιμον ἀπεδοκίμασαν κήρυγμα τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνομόν τινα καὶ φλυαρώδη προσηκάμενοι διδασκαλίαν. I am not aware that there is a clear reference to any of the Epistles of the New Testament in the Clementine writings. Dr Tregelles (*Canon Murat.* p. 89) has however pointed out a striking coincidence of language εἴπερ ἀληθῶς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συνεργῆσαι θέλει (*Hom.* xvii. 19) with 3 John 8.

four which are not contained substantially in our Gospels¹. Of the remaining quotations many are unquestionably free reproductions of the document, whatever it may have been, with which the writer was most familiar; about ten agree very closely with the text of St Matthew², one with the text of St Mark³, and one with the text of St John⁴. The remaining passages agree in sense but not in letter with parallels in our Gospels, and of these parallels about four-fifths occur in St Matthew⁵.

This is not the place to discuss the Clementine quotations at length. The writer was distinctly opposed to the Catholic Church, so that even if it could be shewn decisively that he used a Gospel which was not recognized

Chap. iv.

Complete
harmony in
substance.

¹ The references are given in the *Introd. to Study of the Gospels* App. D. III. The sayings not contained in the Gospels which appear to be authentic are: (1) γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δοκιμοί (*Hom.* III. 50, &c.); (2) τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐλθεῖν δεῖ. μακάριος δέ, φησίν, δὲ οὐ ἔρχεται (*Hom.* XII. 29); (3) μὴ δότε πρόφασιν τῷ πονηρῷ (*Hom.* XIX. 2). Other sayings are more of the nature of glosses (1) ὁ πονηρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ πειράζων (*Hom.* III. 55); (2) διὰ τί οὐ νοεῖτε τὸ ἐδλογον τῶν γραφῶν (*Hom.* III. 50); (3) τὰ μυστήρια ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου φυλάξατε. *Comp.* Is. xxiv. 16, LXX. *Comp.* *Hom.* II. 17.

Of facts not noticed in the Gospels I have only noted the name of the Syrophenician woman (*Justin.* *Hom.* II. 19); for the astronomical deductions in II. 23, I. 6 f. can hardly be called facts.

² The passages which I have marked are: *Hom.* III. 51 || *Matt.* v. 17; *Hom.* III. 52 || *Matt.* xi. 28, xv. 13; *Hom.* III. 55 || *Matt.* xxii. 32; *Hom.* VIII. 4 || *Matt.* xxii. 14; (*Hom.* XI. 33 || *Matt.* xii. 42); *Hom.* XVIII. 15 || *Matt.* xiii. 35; *Hom.* XIX. 2 || *Matt.* vi. 13, xii. 26; *Hom.* XIX. 7 || *Matt.* xii. 34.

³ *Hom.* III. 57 || *Mark* xii. 29. In *Hom.* XIX. 20 Διὸ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπέλυε τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας μυστήρια we have one of the few phrases peculiar to St Mark (iv. 34: κατ' ἰδίαν τοῖς ἰδίοις μαθηταῖς ἐπέλυεν πάντα. This is the only place where ἐπιλύω occurs in the Gospels. Cf. Uhlhorn, *Die Homilien*, u. s. w. 122.

⁴ *Hom.* XIX. 22: "Θθεν καὶ [ὁ διδάσκ]αλος ἡμῶν περὶ τοῦ ἐκ γενετῆς πηροῦ καὶ ἀναβλέψαντος παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξετά[ζουσι τοῖς μαθηταῖς] εἰ οὗτος ἡμαρτεν ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ ἀπεκρίνατο· οὔτε οὗτός τι ἡμαρτεν οὔτε οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ φανερωθῇ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς ἀγνοίας ἰωμένη τὰ ἀμαρτήματα. Cf. *John* ix. 1, sqq. Uhlhorn, 122 ff.

It may fairly be left for any reader to decide which is the earlier form of words ἵνα φανερωθῇ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ (*John* ix. 3) or ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ φανερωθῇ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἀγνοίας ἰωμένη τὰ ἀμαρτήματα.

⁵ *Hom.* XVII. 5 contains a close summary of a parable peculiar to St Luke (xviii. 6 ff.). See also *Hom.* XI. 20 || *Luke* xxiii. 34.

Chap. iv.

by the Church, no conclusion could be drawn from that fact as to the coequal authority of such a document with the four Gospels in the Church itself. But the general summary just given shews that the quotations as a whole do establish one point of primary importance. They shew beyond the possibility of doubt that our Gospels preserve with practical completeness all that was known and believed of the Gospel history throughout the early Church. This is what we are really concerned to know. If the Clementines had exhibited a type of narrative or of discourses different from that of the Synoptists some perplexity might have arisen in determining which type was the earlier. As it is, they establish by unimpeachable evidence that those who rejected St Paul accepted a record of the Lord's teaching substantially agreeing with that of St Matthew.

*Difference
of the Cle-
mentine
Quotations
from Jus-
tin's.*

The Clementine quotations supply yet another important conclusion. In thirteen cases these quotations correspond with quotations in Justin Martyr. Now of these corresponding quotations only three agree in differences from the canonical text, while the character of the two sets of quotations as wholes is markedly dissimilar. It is impossible therefore to suppose that both were derived from the same 'Petrine Gospel' without admitting a looseness of quotation in Justin and the author of the Homilies which if once admitted is sufficient to explain how Justin's quotations were derived from the canonical texts¹.

*The true
value of
this anony-
mous evi-
dence.*

The evidence that has been collected from the documents of these primitive sects is necessarily somewhat vague. It would be more satisfactory to know the exact position of their authors and the precise date of their composition. It is just possible that Hippolytus made

¹ See Note at the end of the Section: p. 285.

use of writings which were current in his own time without further examination, and transferred to the Apostolic age forms of thought and expression which had been the growth of two or even of three generations. However improbable this notion may be, it lessens the direct argumentative value of the evidence, though it leaves the moral impression unimpaired. But it cannot be denied that each fresh discovery of ancient records confirms the authenticity of the books of the New Testament, so far as it bears upon them. The earliest known teachers of heresy quote them generally as familiarly known to Christians: they shew that they place them on the same level as the Old Testament Scriptures by the forms of citation which they employ: they appeal to them as having authority with those whom they address; and since they used them in their private books, it is evident that they recognized their claims themselves¹.

¹ Eusebius in noticing the different translators of Scripture (*H. E.* VI. 17) mentions that SYMMACHUS (c. 200 A.D.) was an Ebionite. He then adds: 'And moreover notes (ὑπομνήματα) of Symmachus are still extant (φέρεται) in which he appears to support the heresy which I have mentioned, directing his efforts to the Gospel of St Matthew.' The last phrase (πρὸς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἀποτείνόμενος εὐαγγέλιον) is obscure; but if its meaning be that Symmachus exerted himself to shew the superior authority of the Ebi-

onitic text of the Gospel of St Matthew, it still offers a singular proof of the general reception of the Canonical Gospel of St Matthew, though Symmachus assailed it. But Rufinus, Jerome, and, following them at a much later time, Nicephorus, supposed that Symmachus wrote Commentaries on St Matthew, and the Greek will bear that meaning. Hieron. *de Virr.* III. 34: [Symmachus] in Evangelium quoque κατὰ Ματθαῖον scripsit Commentarios, de quo et suum dogma firmare conatur.

NOTE TO PAGE 284.

THE CORRESPONDING QUOTATIONS OF JUSTIN MARTYR AND THE CLEMENTINE HOMILIES.

In the following note I have endeavoured to collect all the corresponding quotations of Justin Martyr and the Homilies. General statements on such points are apt to be misleading, and the student, with all the facts before him, can draw his own conclusions, or test the con-

Chap. iv.

clusions of others. I have not thought it worth while to print the corresponding texts in our Gospels, for the one point to be decided is whether Justin and the author of the Homilies used the same record, that record not being one of the Canonical Gospels.

Homilies.

1. VIII. 21 ἔφη· Γέγραπται Κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου φοβήθησῃ καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις μόνῳ.

Comp. Matt. iv. 10; Lu. iv. 8.

2. III. 55; XIX. 2 ἔφη· Ἔστω ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναί, [καὶ] τὸ οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ [γάρ] περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἐστίν.

See p. 152.

3. III. 57 γίνεσθε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, ὡς ὁ πατήρ, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὃς ἀνατέλλει τὸν ἥλιον ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πονηροῖς, καὶ φέρει τὸν ὑετὸν ἐπὶ δικαίοις καὶ ἀδίκους.

Comp. Luke vi. 36. See p. 139.

4. III. 55 ἔφη· Οἶδε γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι χρῆζετε τούτων ἀπάντων πρὶν αὐτὸν ἀξιώσετε.

Comp. Matt. vi. 8, 32.

5. XI. 35 ἔφη Πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται πρὸς με ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων, ἔσθωθεν δὲ εἰς λύκοι ἀρπαγες· ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγινώσκετε (σεσθε) αὐτούς.

Comp. Matt. vii. 15.

6. VIII. 4 μέμνημαι... εἰπόντος πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ἀρκτου τε καὶ μεσημβρίας, καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ.

Comp. Matt. viii. 11.

7. XVIII. 5...λέγων Μὴ φοβήθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποκτείνοντος τὸ σῶμα τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ μὴ δυναμένου τι ποιῆσαι· φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρὸς βαλεῖν. ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, τοῦτον φοβήθητε.

Comp. Luke xii. 4 f. Matt. x. 28.

8. XVIII. 4 λέγει· Οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν τις οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἱς ἂν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.

Comp. Matt. xi. 27.

Justin M.

Dial. 125 (103) ἀποκρίνεται... Γέγραπται Κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.

Apol. I. 16... ἔστω δὲ ὑμῶν το ναὶ ναί, καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

Dial. 96; (Cf. Apol. I. 15). Γίνεσθε χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες ὡς καὶ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος· καὶ γὰρ... ὁρῶμεν τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλοντα ἐπὶ ἀχαρίστους καὶ δικαίους καὶ βρέχοντα ἐπὶ ὀσίους καὶ πονηροὺς.

Apol. I. 15 οἶδε γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι τούτων χρεῖαν ἔχετε.

Apol. I. 16; (Cf. Dial. 35). πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤξουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἔξωθεν μὲν ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσθωθεν δὲ ὄντες λύκοι ἀρπαγες ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἐπιγινώσθε αὐτούς.

Dial. 76... εἰπὼν Ἦξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν...

Apol. I. 19 μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ δυναμένους τι ποιῆσαι, εἰπε' φοβήθητε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς γέενναν ἐμβαλεῖν.

Apol. I. 63; Cf. Dial. 100. οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἱς ἂν ἀποκαλύψῃ ὁ υἱός.

9. XVIII. 3...ἔφη Μὴ με λέγε ἀγαθόν· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς εἰς ἐστίν, ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

Comp. Matt. xix. 16.

10. XV. 5 δίκαιον ἔφασκεν εἶναι καὶ τῷ τύπτοντι αὐτοῦ τὴν σιαγὸνα παρατιθέσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν· καὶ τῷ αἶροντι αὐτοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιον προσδιδόναι καὶ τὸ μαφόριον· ἀγγαρεύοντι δὲ μίλιον συναπέρχεσθαι δύο καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα.

Comp. Matt. v. 39, 40.

11. XIX. 2; Cf. Hom. XX. 9. ...εἰπεῖν ὑπέσχετο τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν Ἰπτάγετε εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.

Comp. Matt. xxv. 41.

12. III. 18 ἀλλὰ ναί, φησὶν, κρατοῦσι μὲν τὴν κλεῖν τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις εἰσελθεῖν οὐ παρέχουσι.

Comp. Luke xi. 52.

13. XI. 26 Ἀμὴν ὑμῖν λέγω Ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῇτε ὕδατι ζῶντι εἰς δνομα πατρὸς, υἱοῦ, ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.

Comp. John iii. 3 ff.

Without entering into any detailed investigation I cannot but indicate the results to which these parallels lead. There are three cases (2, 11, 13) in which the Clementine quotation agrees more or less with Justin's quotation in a difference from our present Evangelic text. These coincidences have been already noticed (pp. 151 ff.). On the other hand the whole complexion of the corresponding quotations differs. A fair comparison of them, therefore, lends no support to the belief that Justin and the author of the Clementines quoted from the same source, that source not being one or other of the Canonical Gospels. Those who have assumed or asserted this conclusion can scarcely have considered the parallel quotations as a whole. It is indeed quite possible that the author of the Clementines quoted freely from "a Petrine Gospel" inserting phrases from the Canonical Gospels, just as Justin quoted freely from the Canonical Gospels inserting phrases from other forms of the Evangelic narrative. Into this question I do not enter¹. All that is

Dial. 101; Cf. Apol. I. 16...ἀπεκρίνατο Τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; εἰς ἐστίν ἀγαθός, ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

Apol. I. 16...ἔφη...Τῷ τύπτοντί σου τὴν σιαγὸνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ τὸν αἶροντά σου τὸν χιτῶνα ἢ τὸ ἱμάτιον μὴ κωλύσης...παντὶ δὲ ἀγγαρεύοντί σε μίλιον ἀκολουθήσον δύο.

Dial. 76 ἔφη εἰρεῖν Ἰπτάγετε εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ τῷ σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.

Dial. 17...τοὺς κλεῖς ἔχετε...καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους κωλύετε...

Apol. I. 61 εἶπεν Ἀν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῇτε οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.

¹ It must be observed that the sayings which are quoted more than once in the Homilies are quoted almost always either in the same form or with very slight variations, differing greatly in this respect from Justin's quotations. The examples are: Hom. II. 51; III. 50; XVIII. 20. Hom. II. 51; III. 50; XVIII. 20. Hom. III. 55; XIX. 2. Hom.

III. 60; III. 64. (Hom. XIX. 2; XX. 9). The quotations are all such as would be likely to be stereotyped in form, even if they were not quoted directly from a written text. On the other hand compare Hom. VII. 4 (ἀπὸ ἑκάστος ἐαυτῷ βούλεται καλὰ.....) with Hom. XII. 32 (ὃ θέλει ἐαυτῷ.....).

to be observed is that the Clementine quotations as a whole differ from Justin's (so far as there are materials for a comparison) at least as much as Justin's differ from the Canonical texts.

§ 3. *Basilides and Isidorus.*

The case however does not turn wholly on anonymous evidence. The account of Basilides given by Hippolytus is composed mainly of passages from his own writings which fully establish the inferences which have been hitherto drawn¹. The mode in which the books of

¹ The conclusion that Hippolytus quotes directly from Basilides seems to me to be fully established by the following considerations.

(a) The works of Basilides (his *Ἐξηγητικά*) were well known. They were quoted (*αὐταῖς λέξεσιν*) by Clement of Alexandria and in the discussion of Archelaus and Manes (c. 270 A.D.), and probably by Origen so that they may have been easily accessible to Hippolytus.

(β) The quotations of Hippolytus are clearly taken directly from some book. The author appears in the first person *βούλομαι δεῖξαι, λέγω* (*Philos.* VII. c. 20; *λέγω* c. 21).

(γ) The author whose exposition is quoted by 'he says' is identified (as I must think) with Basilides by necessary implication. At the close of the exposition we read *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἃ καὶ Βασιλείδης μυθεύει σχολάσας κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτὸν* (c. 27. At the end of Book VI. Hippolytus had said *ἴδωμεν τί λέγει καὶ Βασιλείδης*); and in the course of the exposition and in direct connexion with it *φεύγει Βασιλείδης, καλεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτο Βασιλείδης, διήρηται ὑπὸ Βασιλείδου, Βασιλείδης διασαφεῖ* &c. Now inasmuch as Basilides had written on the subjects treated of, and his works were well known, nothing but the most cogent evi-

dence could be sufficient to shew that this language is not to be understood in its plain and literal sense.

(δ) At the beginning of the account Hippolytus says: *ἴδωμεν οὖν πᾶς καταφανῶς Βασιλείδης ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἰσιδώρος καὶ πᾶς ὁ τούτων χόρος οὐχ ἀπλῶς καταψεύδεται...* And so in fact the school is distinguished in the exposition from the founder: c. 20 *τοῦτο* [a doctrine quoted with *φησί*]... *λαβόντες ἀπατῶσιν...* So again in a passage evidently belonging to the later phase of the heresy (c. 26, p. 240) we have *κατ' αὐτοῦς* and *φάσκουσι* preceded and followed by the *φησί*, and so again c. 27 (p. 243).

(ε) If the forms of quotation *γέγραπται* and *ἡ γραφή* are remarkable as anticipatory of later usage, the phrase *τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις* (John i. 9) is no less remarkable as a trace of an early mode of citation.

The arguments which are urged on the other side, (e.g. *Supernat. Rel.* II. 41 ff.) appear to resolve themselves into the 'foregone conclusion' that Basilides could not have quoted the Scriptures of the New Testament. Nor can I admit that all 'learned criticism' belongs to the very able but very narrow School of Tübingen, so that a result which obtains their support can be said to be 'admitted.'

the New Testament are treated in these fragments shews that there is no anachronism in supposing that the earliest heretics sought to recommend their doctrines by forced explanations of Apostolic language. And yet more than this: they contain the earliest undoubted instances in which the Old and New Testaments are placed on the same level: the Epistles of St Paul are called 'Scripture,' and quotations from them are introduced by the well-known form 'It is written¹.' If it seem strange that the first direct proofs of a belief in the Inspiration of the New Testament are derived from such a source, it may be remembered that it is more likely that the apologist of a suspicious system should support his argument by quotations from an authority acknowledged by his opponents, than that a Christian teacher writing to fellow-believers should insist on those testimonies with which he might suppose his readers to be familiar.

Very little is known of the history of Basilides². It seems that he was an Alexandrine, and probably of Jewish descent. He is said to have lived 'not long 'after the times of the Apostles³,' and to have been a younger contemporary of Cerinthus, and a follower of Menander who was himself the successor of Simon Magus. Clement of Alexandria and Jerome fix the period

His date.

¹ [Hipp.] *adv. Hær.* VII. 26: ἡ γραφή λέγει· οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρώπων σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος (1 Cor. ii. 13). VII. 25: γέγραπται, φησί· καὶ ἡ κτίσις αὐτῇ συσπενδάξει, κ.τ.λ. Rom. viii. 22, his doctrine appear to be derived from one source, and they contain nothing which bears on the history of the Canon. [Hipp.] *adv. Hær.* VII. 28; Iren. *c. Hær.* I. 24; Epiph. *Hær.* XXIII.

² *Saturninus* (or *Satormilus*) of Antioch is generally placed in close connexion with Basilides. He was a scholar of Menander, whose opinions he advanced. All the accounts of

³ *Archel. et Man. Disp.*, Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* v. p. 197...Basilides quidam.....non longe post nostrorum Apostolorum tempora....Cf. *ib.* I. p. 258. Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 7.

Chap. iv.

He made use of other books besides those included in the Canon of the New Testament.

of his activity in the time of Hadrian¹; and he found a formidable antagonist in Agrippa Castor². All these circumstances combine to place him in the generation next after the Apostolic age, and to shew that in point of antiquity he holds a rank intermediate between that of Clement of Rome and Polycarp.

Since Basilides lived on the verge of the Apostolic times it is not surprising that he made use of other sources of Christian doctrine besides the Canonical books. The belief in divine Inspiration was still fresh and real; and Eusebius relates that he set up imaginary prophets Barcabbas and Barcoph (Parchor)—‘names to ‘strike terror into the superstitious’—by whose writings he supported his peculiar views³. At the same time he appealed to the authority of Glaucias who as he proudly affirmed was ‘an interpreter of Peter⁴;’ and he also made use of certain ‘Traditions of Matthias’ which claimed to be grounded on ‘private intercourse with the ‘Saviour⁵.’ It appears moreover that he himself published a Gospel⁶—a ‘Philosophy of Christianity’ as it

¹ Cf. Pearson, *Vind. Ion.* II. 7, ap. Lardner, VIII. 350.

² Cf. supra, p. 94.

³ Eusebius appears to consider the prophecies as forgeries (*H. E.* IV. 7). They may however have been ‘Oriental books which he met with ‘in his journey into the East,’ as Lardner suggests (VIII. 390). Isidorus wrote a commentary on the prophecy of Parchor, which gives authority to the conjecture: Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI. 6. 53.

⁴ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII. 17. 106. The Catholic tradition, it will be remembered, gave the same title to St Mark.

⁵ [Hipp.] *adv. Har.* VII. 20: Βασιλείδης τολυνν καὶ Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Βασιλείδου παῖς γνήσιος καὶ μαθητῆς φασὶν εἰρηκέναι Ματθαῖον αὐτοῖς λόγους

ἀποκρίφους οὓς ἤκουσε παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος κατ’ ἰδίαν διδασχθεῖς. Miller corrects the manuscript reading *Ματθαῖον* into *Ματθαῖον*, wrongly I believe. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII. 17. 108.

⁶ The few notices of Basilides’ Gospel or Commentaries are perplexing. Origen is the first who mentions a Gospel as written by him. *Hom. i. in Luc.*: Ausus fuit et Basilides scribere evangelium, et suo illud nomine titulare. This statement is repeated by Ambrose and Jerome, who cannot however be considered as independent witnesses. In another passage Origen has been supposed to allude to the Gospel of Basilides as identical with that of Marcion and Valentinus: ταῦτα δὲ εἴρηται πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ

would perhaps be called in our days—but he admitted the historic truth of all the facts contained in the Canonical Gospels¹, and used them as Scripture. For in spite of his peculiar opinions the testimony of Basilides to our ‘acknowledged’ books, as given by Hippolytus², is comprehensive and clear. In the few pages of his writings which remain there are certain references to the Gospels of St Luke, and St John, and to the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, and Colossians, to the contents of St Matthew, and possibly also to the

Chap. iv.

What Canonical books he quotes.

Βασιλίδου καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Μαρκίωνος.— ἔχουσι γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς λέξεις (the quotations from the Old Testament in Luke x. 27) ἐν τῷ καθ’ ἑαυτοῦς εὐαγγελίῳ (Fr. 6 in Luc.). The last clause however need not refer to any besides the Marcionites.

I am not aware that there are any more references to the work of Basilides as a *Gospel*; but Agrippa Castor mentions ‘four and twenty’ books (τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς [?] εἰκοσι) ‘which he composed on the Gospel’ (εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 7); Clement of Alexandria quotes several passages from the twenty-third book (*Strom.* iv. 12. 83 sqq.); and another quotation from the thirteenth book (*tractatus*) occurs at the end of the ‘discussion between Archelaus and Manes’ (Routh, v. p. 197); and perhaps another in Origen *Comm. in Rom.* v. 1. p. 549, *Hæc Basilides non advertens de lege naturali debere intelligi ad ineptas et impias fabulas sermonem apostolicum trahit...* ‘Dixit enim’ inquit ‘apostolus “quia ego vivebam sine lege aliquando” (Rom. vii. 9) hoc est antequam in istud corpus venirem...’ This confirms the other definite references to Apostolic books in a remarkable way.

There is nothing in the title inconsistent with the notion that it was based on our Gospels: (comp. Hieron. *de Virr.* iii. Legi sub nomine ejus

(Theophilus) in *Evangelium...* commentarios) though this may be thought unlikely on other grounds.

The character of the quotations from the *Ἐξηγητικά* shews that these Commentaries cannot have formed part of a Gospel in the common sense of the word, but it appears that Basilides attached a technical meaning to the term: *Εὐαγγέλιον ἐστὶ κατ’ αὐτοῦς* (the followers of Basilides) *ἡ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων γνώσις, ὡς δεδῆλωται, ἣν ὁ μέγας ἄρχων οὐκ ἤπιστατο.* [Hipp.] *adv. Her.* vii. 27; cf. 26. May we not then identify the Commentaries with the Gospel in this sense, and suppose that the ambiguity of the word led Origen into error?

Norton (ii. p. 310) assumes that the Homilies on Luke are not Origen’s. In this I suppose he follows the rash conjecture of Erasmus. Huet, *Orig.* iii. 3. 13. Redepennyng, *Origenes*, ii. 69.

¹ [Hipp.] *adv. Her.* vii. 27: *Γεγενημένης δὲ τῆς γενέσεως τῆς προδηλωμένης γέγονε πάντα ὁμοίως κατ’ αὐτοῦς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Σωτήρος ὡς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γέγραπται.* He gave a mystical explanation of the Incarnation, quoting Luke i. 35 (*id.* § 26).

² See next note. Even if these are set aside there is no evidence to shew that Basilides ‘ignored the ‘Canonical Gospels altogether.’

Chap. iv.

*He is said
to have re-
jected some
books from
the Canon.*

first Epistle to Timothy¹. In-addition to this he appears to have used the first Epistle of St Peter²; and he must have admitted the Petrine type of doctrine through his connexion with Glaucias. And thus again, apart from the consideration of particular books, an Alexandrine heretic recognized simultaneously the teaching of St Paul, St Peter, and St John, while Polycarp was still at Smyrna, and Justin Martyr only a disciple of Plato. And the fact itself belongs to an earlier date; for this belief cannot have originated with him, and if we go back but one generation we are within the age of the Apostles.

On the other hand Basilides is said to have anticipated Marcion in the rejection of the Pastoral Epistles and of that to the Hebrews; but Clement intimates that these books were commonly condemned by those who 'fancied' that their opinions were characterized in them as 'false-named wisdom;' and there is no reason to suppose that this judgment was the result of any historical inquiry³. Jerome speaks of it as a piece of

¹ The following examples will be sufficient to shew his method of quotation: iv. 14—16), quoted by Kirchhofer, p. 416.

St Luke i. 35, p. 241 (τὸ εἰρημένον).

St John i. 9, p. 232 (τὸ λεγ. ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγ.); ii. 4, p. 242.

Romans viii. 22, p. 238 (ὡς γέγραπται), p. 241; v. 13, 14, (*id.*). Cf. Orig. *Comm. in Rom.* c. 5.

1 Corinthians ii. 13, p. 240 (ἡ γραφή); xv. 8, p. 241.

2 Corinthians xii. 4, p. 241 (γέγραπται).

Ephesians i. 21, pp. 230, 239; iii. 3, p. 241.

Colossians i. 26, p. 238 (Eph. iii. 5).

St Matthew ii. 1 sqq. p. 243.

1 Tim. ii. 6, p. 232 (?) καιροὶ ἰδίου.

² Clem. *Strom.* iv. 12. 83 (1 Pet.

³ Hieron. *Pref. in Ep. ad Tit.*: Nonnullas [epistolas] integras repudiandas crediderunt: ad Timotheum videlicet utramque, ad Hebræos, et ad Titum. Et si quidem redderent causas cur eas Apostoli non putarent, tentaremus aliquid respondere et forsân satisfacere lectori. Nunc vero cum hæretica auctoritate pronuncient et dicant Illa epistola Pauli est, hæc non est; ea auctoritate repelli se pro veritate intelligant, qua ipsi non erubescunt falsa simulare.

Perhaps we may refer to this school the general statement of Clement, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἐλεγχόμενοι τῆς φωνῆς (1 Tim. vi. 20) οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλρέσεων τὰς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἀθετοῦσαν ἐπιστολάς (*Strom.* ii. 11, § 52).

arbitrary dogmatism based on 'their heretical authority,' and unsustained by any definite arguments.

Isidorus the son of Basilides maintained the doctrine of his father; nor need we believe that he differed from him in his estimation of the Apostolic writings. Some fragments of his works have been preserved by Clement of Alexandria, but I have noticed nothing in them bearing on the books of the New Testament.

§ 4. *Carpocrates.*

The accounts of Carpocrates are very meagre, and all apparently come from one source. He was an Alexandrine, and a contemporary of Basilides¹. Nothing is said directly of his views of the Apostolic writings; but it is mentioned incidentally that he held the Apostles themselves—'Peter and Paul and the 'rest'—as nowise inferior to Christ Himself². This opinion followed naturally from his views of the Person of Christ; but the close juxtaposition of St Peter and St Paul is worthy of notice.

From another passage in Irenæus it may be concluded that the Carpocratians received our Canonical Gospels, adapting them to their own doctrine by strange expositions. Thus they applied the parable of the man and his adversary to the relation of man to the devil, whose office they held it to be 'to convey the souls of 'the dead to the Prince of the world, who in turn gave them to an attendant spirit to imprison in another 'body, till they had been engaged in every act done in 'the world³.

Chap. iv.

ISIDORUS.

Carpocrates
respected the
Apostles
generally.

The Carpo-
cratians re-
ceived our
Gospels.

Matt. v. 25:
Luke xii. 58.

¹ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III. 2. 5. καὶ Παύλου. I do not know how to explain the special mention of St An-
Iren. c. *Hær.* I. 25.

² Iren. c. *Hær.* I. 25. 2. [Hipp.] drew. His connexion with St Peter
adv. *Hær.* VII. 31. Epiphanius (*Hær.* affords scarcely sufficient reason.

XXVII. 2) says Πέτρον καὶ Ἀνδρέου ³ Iren. c. *Hær.* I. 25. 4.

Chap. iv.

Their system combined the teaching of St Paul and St John.

The key-word of the system of Carpocrates in itself bore witness to the teaching of St Paul and St John 'Men are saved,' he said, 'by *faith and love*¹;' but the corollary which he drew from this truth on the essential indifference of actions seems to shew that he did not combine the teaching of St James with that of the other Apostles².

§ 5. *Valentinus.*

The date of Valentinus.

Shortly after Basilides began to propagate his doctrines another system arose at Alexandria, which was the result of similar causes, and was moulded on a similar type. Its author Valentinus was like Basilides probably an Egyptian, and his writings betray a familiarity with Jewish opinions³. After the example of the Christian teachers of his age he went to Rome, which he chose as the centre of his labours. Irenæus relates that 'he came there during the episcopate of Hyginus, 'was at his full vigour in the time of Pius, and continued there till the time of Anicetus⁴.' Thus he was at Rome when Polycarp came on his mission from the Eastern Church; and Marcion may have been among his hearers. His testimony is as venerable in point of age as that of Justin; and he is removed by one generation only from the time of St John.

¹ Iren. *c. Hær.* i. 25. 5: διὰ πίστεως γὰρ καὶ ἀγάπης σώζεσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ ἀδιάφορα ὄντα κατὰ τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πῇ μὲν ἀγαθὰ πῇ δὲ κακὰ νομίζεσθαι, οὐδενὸς φύσει κακοῦ ὑπάρχοντος.

² The fragments of *Epiphane*s (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III. 2. 6 sqq.) the son of Carpocrates contain no direct scriptural quotations; but the whole argument on justice reads like a comment on Matt. v. 45. The passage

in § 7, μὴ συνιὲς τὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ῥητὸν λέγοντος· διὰ νόμου τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐγνων (Rom. vii. 7), is a remark of Clement's, *συνιὲς* referring to *φῆσιν* in the former sentence. It is necessary to notice this, as the words have been quoted as used by Epiphane's. Cf. Epiph. *Hær.* xxxii. 4.

³ Cf. Epiph. *Hær.* xxxi. 2. Mas-suet, *Diss.* i. i. i.

⁴ Iren. *c. Hær.* III. 4. 3 (ap. Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 11).

Just as Basilides claimed through Glaucias the authority of St Peter, Valentinus professed to follow the teaching of Theodas a disciple of St Paul¹. The circumstance is important; for it shews that at the beginning of the second century, alike within and without the Church, the sanction of an Apostle was considered to be a sufficient proof of Christian doctrine; and Tertullian says that in this he differed from Marcion, that he at least professed to accept 'the whole Instrument,' perverting the interpretation where Marcion mutilated the text². The few unquestionable fragments of Valentinus³ contain but little which points to passages of Scripture⁴. If it were clear that the anonymous quotations in Hippolytus were derived from Valentinus himself⁵ the list

Chap. iv.

*He received
the same
books as
Catholic
Christians.*

¹ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII. 17. 106.

² Tertull. *de Præscr. Hæret.* 38: Alius manu scripturas, alius sensus expositione intervertit. Neque enim si Valentinus integro Instrumento uti videtur, non callidiore ingenio quam Marcion [manus intulit veritati?] Marcion enim exserte et palam machæra non stylo usus est: quoniam ad materiam suam cædem scripturarum confecit. Valentinus autem pepercit: quoniam non ad materiam scripturas, sed materiam ad scripturas excogitavit: et tamen plus abstulit et plus adjecit, auferens proprietates singulorum quoque verborum et adjiciens dispositiones non comparentium rerum. By *uti videtur* I understand that Tertullian describes the profession of Valentinus; not that he expresses any doubt as to the fact.

³ Very little is known of the writings of Valentinus. Clement quotes Homilies and Letters; and in the Dialogue against Marcion a long passage is taken from his treatise 'On the Origin of Evil.'

⁴ Clem. *Strom.* II. 20. 114. St Matt. v. 8; xix. 17. In the latter place the reading of Valentinus was

probably *εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός, ὁ πατήρ* which is also given by Clement *Strom.* v. 64 (*εἰς ἀγαθός ὁ πατήρ* and the remarkable Latin MS. *c*, which bears a remarkable resemblance to D. D itself reads simply *εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός*. Clem. *Strom.* IV. 13. 92. Rom. i. 20.

⁵ In the former editions of this essay I assigned these anonymous passages to Valentinus. If Valentinus 'heard' one 'who was acquainted with St Paul' (Clem. *I. c.*) internal evidence cannot be urged against the view. But a fresh and careful examination of the whole section of Hippolytus makes me feel that the evidence is so uncertain, that I cannot be sure in this case, as in the case of Basilides, that Hippolytus is quoting the words of the founder. I am therefore unwilling any longer to use an authority which can fairly be challenged. At the same time there is very much to be urged in favour of the opinion that the quotations are from Valentinus. In cc. 29—38 Hippolytus appears to deal with the opinions of Valentinus (*τὰ τῷ Οὐαλεντίνῳ δοκοῦντα*): in cc. 38—55 he deals with the opinions of the Valentinian school (*οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς*

Chap. iv.

But he is
said to have
introduced
verbal alter-
ations,

would be much enlarged, and include a citation of the Epistle to the Ephesians as 'Scripture,' and clear references to the Gospels of St Luke and St John, to 1 Corinthians¹, perhaps also to the Epistle to the Hebrews and the first Epistle of St John².

But though no charge is brought against Valentinus of mutilating the Canon or the books of the New Testament, he is said to have introduced verbal alterations, 'correcting without hesitation' as well as 'introducing 'new explanations³.' And his followers acted with greater boldness, if the words of Origen are to be taken strictly, in which he says that 'he knows none other who 'have altered the form (μεταχαραξάντας) of the Gospel 'besides the followers of Marcion, of Valentinus, and, as 'he believes, of Lucanus⁴.' However this may be, the

Οὐαλεντίνου σχολῆς). In the first great division he notices divergences of interpretation which had arisen on points of the Master's teaching among later Valentinians, but always goes back to 'he says.' In the second division he quotes constantly by name the authorities whom he uses. It further appears that he was acquainted with writings of Valentinus (c. 37 p. 198; c. 42 p. 203).

I cannot but add that the whole system of Valentinus is unintelligible to me unless the Gospel of St John is presupposed. Can any one suppose that the Hebdomas of Valentinus νοῦς, ἀλήθεια, λόγος, ζωή, ἀνθρωπος, ἐκκλησία, ὁ πατήρ, was earlier than St John's Gospel or independent of it when compared with that of Simon νοῦς, ἐπίνοια, ὄνομα, φωνή, λογισμός, ἐνθύμησις, ὁ ἐστὼς, στὰς, στήθε-μενος ([Hipp.] *adv. Hær.* IV. 51)? Compare Sanday, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 8 ff.

¹ In vi. 35 (Rom. viii. 11) the true reading is, I believe, *φασί* and not *φασί*.

² The references are:

St Luke i. 35 (ἀγιον is a predi-

cate); [Hipp.] *adv. Hær.* VI. 35 (τὸ εἰρημένον).

St John x. 8; *ib.* VI. 35.

1 Corinth. ii. 14; *ib.* VI. 34. xv. 8; cf. *ib.* 31.

Ephes. iii. 5; *ib.* VI. 35. iii. 14—18; *ib.* 34 (ἡ γραφή).

Hebr. xii. 22; cf. *ib.* VI. 30.

1 John iv. 8; cf. *ib.* VI. 29.

In an obscure passage (Clem. *Strom.* VI. 6. 52) Valentinus contrasts 'what 'is written in popular books (ταῖς δημοσίοις βιβλοῖς) with that which 'is written in the Church' (τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλ.). By 'popular books' Clement understands 'either the 'Jewish or Gentile writings.' The antithesis seems to involve the idea of an ecclesiastical Canon.

³ Tertull. *de Præscr. Hæret.* 30: Item Valentinus aliter exponens, et sine dubio emendans, hoc omnino quicquid emendat ut mendosum retro antèrius fuisse demonstrat. The connexion of the passage requires the reading *anterius* for *alterius*. Cf. previous page, note 2.

⁴ Orig. *c. Cels.* II. 27. I have already given an explanation of the passage in which Origen has been

whole question belongs rather to the history of the text than to the history of the Canon; and the statement of Tertullian is fully satisfied by supposing that Valentinus employed a different recension from that of the *Vetus Latina*. But it is of consequence to remark that textual differences even in heretical writings attracted the notice of the early Fathers; and is it then possible that they would have neglected to notice graver differences as to the authority or reception of books of the New Testament if they had really existed? Their very silence is a proof of the general agreement of Christians on the Canon; a proof which gains irresistible strength when combined with the natural testimony of heretical writings, and the partial exceptions by which it is occasionally limited.

The Valentinians however are said to have composed a new Gospel: 'casting aside all fear, and bringing forward their own compositions, they boast that they have more Gospels than there really are. For they have advanced to such a pitch of daring as to entitle a book which was composed by them not long since the *Gospel of Truth*, though it accords in no respect with the Gospels of the Apostles; so that the Gospel in fact cannot exist among them without blasphemy. For if that which they bring forward is the Gospel of Truth, and still is unlike those which are delivered to us by the Apostles—they who please can learn *how* from the writings themselves—it is shewn at once that that which is delivered to us by the Apostles is not the Gospel of Truth¹. What then was this Gospel? If it had

Chap. iv.

and to have
used another
Gospel.

supposed to connect the Gospel of tuation proposed by Mr Norton (II. Marcion with that of Valentinus: 305). The common reading gives p. 290, n. 6. the same sense.

¹ Iren. c. *Hæc*. III. II. 9. In the I believe that no mention of this last clause I have adopted the punc- Gospel occurs elsewhere, except in

Chap. iv.

An explanation
of this
statement.

Other Gnos-
tic Gospels.

been a history of our Blessed Lord, and yet wholly at variance with the Canonical Gospels, it is evident that the Valentinians could not have received these—nor indeed any one of them—as they undoubtedly did. And here then a new light is thrown upon the character of some of the early Apocryphal Gospels, which has been in part anticipated by what was said of the Gospel of Basilides¹. The Gospels of Basilides and Valentinus contained their systems of Christian doctrine, their views of ‘the Gospel’ philosophically and not historically². The writers of these new Gospels in no way necessarily interfered with the old. They sought, as far as we can learn, to embody their spirit and furnish a key to their meaning, rather than to supersede their use. The Valentinians had *more* Gospels than the Catholic Church, since they accepted an authoritative doctrinal Gospel.

The titles of some of the other Gnostic Gospels confirm what has been said. Two are mentioned by Epiphanius in the account of those whom he calls ‘Gnostics,’ as if that were their specific name, the *Gospel of Eve* and the *Gospel of Perfection*. Neither of these could be historic accounts of the Life of Christ, and the slight description of their character which he adds illustrates the wide use of the word ‘Gospel.’ The first was an elementary account of Gnosticism, ‘based on

[Tert.] *de Præscr. Hæret.* c. 49. But I can see no reason for doubting the correctness of Irenæus’ statement. The book may have been brought prominently under his notice without having had any permanent authority among the Valentinians.

¹ Cf. p. 290, n. 6.

² This common use of the word occurs in Rev. xiv. 6, which passage has given rise in our own days to the strangest and most widespread

Apocryphal ‘Gospel’—that of the Mormonites—which the world has yet seen.

The ‘Gospel of Marcion’ may seem an exception, but it will be remembered that he called it the *Gospel of Christ*—Christianity, in other words, as seen in the life of Christ. Our Canonical Gospels recognize the human teacher by whom it is conveyed to us: εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.

'foolish visions and testimonies, called by the name of 'Eve, as though it had been revealed to her by the 'serpent¹.' The second was a 'seductive composition, no 'Gospel, but a consummation of woe².'

The analogy of the title of this *Gospel of Perfection* leaves little doubt as to the character of the *Gospel of Truth*. Puritan theology can furnish numerous similar titles. And the partial currency of such a book among the Valentinians offers not the slightest presumption against their agreement with Catholic Christians on the exclusive claims of the four Gospels to be the records of Christ's life. These they took as the basis of their speculations; and by the help of Commentaries endeavoured to extract from them the principles which they maintained. But this will form the subject of the next section.

§ 6. Heracleon.

The history of Heracleon the great Valentinian commentator is full of uncertainty. Nothing is known of his country or parentage. Hippolytus classes him with Ptolemæus as belonging to the Italian school of Valentinians³; and we may conclude from this that he

Chap. iv.

The Gospel of Truth is no proof that the Valentinians differed from other Christians as to the extent of the Canon.

The history of Heracleon uncertain.

¹ Epiph. *Hær.* XXVI. 2: *eis ðvoma γὰρ αὐτῆς [Eûas] δῆθεν ὡς εὐρούσης τὸ ðvoma τῆς γνώσεως ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ λαλήσαντος αὐτῇ ὀφews σπορὰν ὑποτίθεντι...ὀρμῶνται δὲ ἀπὸ μωρῶν μαρτυριῶν καὶ ὀπτασιῶν...*

In the next section Epiphanius quotes a passage from it containing a clear enunciation of Pantheism which is of great interest.

² Epiph. *l. c.*: *ἐπίπλαστον εἰσάγουσιν ἀγῶγμόν τι ποίημα, ᾧ ποιητεύματι ἐπέθεντο ðvoma, εὐαγγέλιον τελειώσεως τοῦτο φάσκοντες· καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐκ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο ἀλλὰ πένθους τελείωσις.*

Mr Norton has insisted very justly on the fact that the Apocryphal Gospels were speculative or mystical treatises and not records of the Life of Christ: II. pp. 302 ff.

³ [Hipp.] *adv. Hær.* VI. 35: *καὶ γέγονεν ἐντεῦθεν ἡ διδασκαλία αὐτῶν διηρημένη, καὶ καλεῖται ἡ μὲν ἀνατολική τις διδασκαλία κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ δὲ Ἰταλιωτική. Οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὧν ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέων καὶ Πτολεμαῖος φασίν, κ.τ.λ. Clement of Alexandria made ἐπιτομαὶ ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότου καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας.*

Chap. iv.

chose the West as the scene of his labours. Clement describes him as the most esteemed of his sect¹, and Origen says that 'he was reported to have been a 'familiar friend of Valentinus².' If we assume this statement to be true, his writings cannot well date later than the first half of the second century³; and he claims the title of the first commentator on the New Testament.

His Commentaries on the Gospels.

There is no evidence to determine how far the Commentaries of Heracleon extended. Fragments of his comments on the Gospels of St Luke and St John have been preserved by Clement of Alexandria and Origen. And the very existence of these fragments shews clearly the precariousness of our information on early Christian literature. Origen quotes his comments on St John repeatedly, but gives no hint that Heracleon had written anything else. Clement refers to his interpretation of a passage of St Luke and is silent as to the Commentary on St John⁴. Hippolytus makes no mention of either.

The allusions which they contain to the writings of the New Testament.

The fragments contain allusions to the Gospel of St Matthew, to the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans and the first to the Corinthians, and to the second Epistle to

¹ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV. 9. 73: ὁ τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου σχολῆς δοκιμώτατος.

² *Comm. in Joan.* Tom. II. § 8.

³ Epiphanius indeed speaks of him as later than Marcus (*Her.* XXXVI. 2). The exact chronology of the early heretics is very uncertain. In fact at least all those with whom we have to do at present must have been contemporaries. It is surprising that Irenæus mentions Heracleon only once in passing (II. 4. 1) since he was closely associated with Ptolemaeus against whom the work of Irenæus was specially directed.

⁴ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV. 9. 73 sq. τοῦτον ἐξηγούμενος τὸν τόπον (i.e.

Luke xii. 11 f.). Clement is a perfectly competent witness to the fact that Heracleon did comment on this passage of St Luke; but it cannot be certainly deduced from his words that Heracleon wrote a continuous Commentary on the Gospel. This is indeed unlikely. The second passage is commonly referred to his Commentary on St Luke (ap. Clem. Alex. *Frag. Eclog. Proph.* § 25): ἐνιοὶ δὲ ὡς φησὶν Ἡρακλέων περὶ τὰ ὅσα τῶν σφραγιζομένων κατεσημῆναντο οὕτως ἀκούσαντες τὸ ἀποστολικόν. Cf. Iren. c. *Her.* I. 25. 6. The reference is to the 'baptism with fire' (Luke iii. 16).

Timothy¹; but the character of the comments themselves is the most striking testimony to the estimation in which the Apostolic writings were held. The sense of the Inspiration of the Evangelists—of some providential guidance by which they were led to select each fact in their history and each word in their narrative—is not more complete in Origen. The first Commentary on the New Testament exhibits the application of the same laws to its interpretation as were employed in the Old Testament. The slightest variation of language was held to be significant². Numbers were supposed to conceal hidden truths. The whole record was found to be pregnant with spiritual meaning, conveyed by the teaching of events in themselves real and instructive. It appears also that differences between the Gospels were felt, and an attempt made to reconcile them³. And it must be noticed that authoritative spiritual teaching was not limited to our Lord's own words, but the remarks of the Evangelist also were received as possessing an inherent weight⁴.

Chap. iv.

*The doctrine
of Inspira-
tion which
they imply.*

¹ The references are:

St Matthew viii. 12; Orig. in *Joan.* Tom. XIII. § 59.

Romans xii. 1; Orig. *id.* § 25. i. 25; *id.* § 19.

1 Corinthians, Orig. *id.* § 59.

² Timothy ii. 13; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. l. c.

³ I cannot help quoting one criticism which seems to me far truer in principle than much which is commonly written on the prepositions of the New Testament. Writing on Luke xii. 8 he remarks: 'With good reason Christ says of those who confess Him *in me* (ὁμολ. ἐν ἐμοί), but 'of those who deny Him *me* (ἀρν. με) only. For these even if they confess Him with their voice deny Him, 'since they confess Him not in their

'action. But they alone make confession *in* Him who live in the confession and action that accords with Him; *in* whom also he makes confession, having Himself embraced 'them, and being held fast by them' (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. l. c.).

⁴ Orig. in *Joan.* x. § 21: ὁ μέντοι γε Ἡρακλέων τὸ ἐν τρισὶ φησὶν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν τρίτῃ... (John ii. 19).

⁴ The fragments of Heracleon are published (after Massuet) at the end of Stieren's edition of Irenæus; but much still is wanting to make the collection complete. His Commentary on the fourth chapter of St John will illustrate most of the statements in the text. Orig. in *Joan.* Tom. XIII. § 10 sqq.

Chap. iv.

*The rise of
Commentaries
among
heretics.*

The introduction of Commentaries implies the strongest belief in the authenticity and authority of the New Testament Scriptures; and this belief becomes more important when we notice the source from which they were derived. They took their rise among heretics, and not among Catholic Christians. Just as the earliest Fathers applied themselves to the Old Testament to bring out its real harmony with the Gospel, so heretics endeavoured to reconcile the Gospel with their own systems. Commentaries were made where the want for them was pressing. But unless the Gospels had been generally accepted the need for such works would not have been felt. Heracleon was forced to turn and modify much that he found in St John, which he would not have done if the book had not been received beyond all doubt¹. And his evidence is the more valuable, because it appears that he had studied the history of the Apostles, and spoke of their lives with certainty².

*Heracleon
quoted also
the Preach-
ing of Peter.*

In addition to the books of the New Testament Heracleon quoted the *Preaching of Peter*. In this he did no more than Clement of Alexandria and Gregory of Nazianzus; and Origen when he mentions the quotation does not venture to pronounce absolutely on the character of the book³. It is quite possible that it contained many genuine fragments of the Apostle's

¹ Thus to John i. 3 οὐδὲ ἐν he added τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τῇ κτίσει (Orig. in *Joan.* II. § 8). He argued that John i. 18 contained the words of the Baptist, and not of the Evangelist (Orig. in *Joan.* Tom. VI. § 2); and in like manner he supposed that the words of Ps. lxi. 9 as used in John ii. 17 were applied not to our Lord but to 'the powers which He 'had ejected' (Orig. in *Joan.* x. 19). These forced interpretations were

made from doctrinal motives, and in themselves sufficiently prove that St John's Gospel was no Gnostic work.

² Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV. I. c.: οὐ γὰρ πάντες οἱ σωζόμενοι ὁμολόγησαν τὴν διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ὁμολογίαν καὶ ἐξ-ῆλθον· ἐξ ὧν Ματθαῖος, Φίλιππος, Θωμᾶς, Λευὶς (i. e. *Thaddeus*), καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί.

³ *Comm. in Joan.* Tom. XIII. § 17. Cf. App. B.

teaching; and the fact that it was used for illustration¹ affords no proof that it was placed on the same footing as the Canonical Scriptures.

Chap. iv.

§ 7. *Ptolemæus.*

Ptolemæus, like Heracleon, was a disciple of Valentinus, and is classed with him in the Italian as distinguished from the Eastern School². Irenæus in his great work specially proposed to refute the errors of his followers; and it appears that he reduced the Valentinian system to order and consistency, and presented it under its most attractive aspect.

*The position
of Ptole-
mæus.*

Epiphanius has preserved an important letter which Ptolemæus addressed to an 'honourable sister Flora,' in which he maintains the composite and imperfect character of the Law. In proof of this doctrine he quoted words of our Lord recorded by St Matthew, the prologue to St John's Gospel, and passages from St Paul's Epistles to the Romans, the first to the Corinthians, and that to the Ephesians³. He appealed, it is true, to an esoteric rule of interpretation, but there is nothing to shew that he added to or subtracted from the Christian Scriptures. 'You will learn,' he says, 'by the gift of 'God in due course the origin and generation [of evil], 'when you are deemed worthy of the Apostolic tradition, 'which we also have received by due succession, while 'at the same time you measure all our statements by 'the teaching of the Saviour⁴.'

*His Letter to
Flora.*

¹ The quotation which Heracleon made was in illustration of our Lord's teaching on the true worship, John iv. 22. The passage in question is given by Clement, *Strom.* vi. 5. 40, 41.

² [Hipp.] *adv. Her.* vi. 35. Tertullian (*adv. Val.* 4) places Ptolemæus before Heracleon.

³ Epiph. *Her.* xxxiii. 3 sqq.

⁴ Epiph. *Her.* xxxiii. 7: μαθήσει γὰρ θεοῦ διδόντος ἐξῆς καὶ τὴν τούτου ἀρχὴν τε καὶ γέννησιν, ἀξιουμένη τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἣν ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ ἡμεῖς παρειλήφαμεν, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ κανονίσαι πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος διδασκαλίᾳ.

Chap. iv.

*Fragments
of his teach-
ing preserv-
ed by Ire-
næus.*

Many other fragments of the teaching if not of the books of Ptolemæus have been preserved by Irenæus¹; and though they are full of forced explanations of Scripture, they recognize even in their wildest theories the importance of every detail of narrative or doctrine. He found support for his doctrine in the Parables, the Miracles, and the facts of our Lord's life, as well as in the teaching of the Apostles. In the course of the exposition of his system quotations occur from the four Gospels, and from the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, the first to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, Ephesians; and Colossians². Two statements however which he makes are at variance with the Gospels: that our Lord's ministry was completed in a year; and that He continued for eighteen months with His disciples after His Resurrection. The first, which has found advocates in modern times³, is remarkable because it is chiefly opposed to St John's Gospel, on which the Valentinians rested with most assurance: the second was held by Ptolemæus in common with the Ophites⁴.

¹ Iren. *c. Hær.* I. 1 sqq. After the exposition of the Valentinian system is completed (I. 8. 5), the Latin Version adds: *et Ptolemæus quidem ita*. There is however nothing to correspond to these words in the Greek.

² The following references may be noticed:

Matthew v. 18 (Iren. I. 3. 2); ix. 20 (I. 3. 3); x. 34 (I. 3. 5); xiii. 33 (I. 8. 3); xx. 1 (I. 3. 1); xxvii. 46 and xxvi. 38 (I. 8. 2).

Mark v. 31 (I. 3. 3); x. 21 (I. 3. 5).

Luke ii. 42 (I. 3. 2); iii. 17 (I. 3. 5); vi. 13 (I. 3. 2); viii. 41 (I. 8. 2); ix. 57 sqq. and xix. 5 (I. 8. 3).

John xii. 27 (var. lect. I. 8. 2); i. 1 sqq. (I. 8. 5).

Romans xi. 16 (I. 8. 3); xi. 36 (I. 3. 4).

1 Corinthians i. 18 (I. 3. 5); xi. 10 and xv. 8 (I. 8. 2); xv. 48 (I. 8. 3).

Galatians vi. 14 (I. 3. 5).

Ephesians i. 10 (I. 3. 4); iii. 21 (I. 3. 1); v. 13 (I. 8. 5); v. 32 (I. 8. 4).

Colossians i. 16 (I. 4. 5); ii. 9 and iii. 11 (I. 3. 4).

³ In particular this opinion has been supported with very forcible arguments by Canon Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum*, pp. 80 ff.

⁴ Iren. *c. Hær.* I. 3. 2, 3; cf. I. 30. 14.

§ 8. *The Marcosians.*

One sect of the Valentinians was distinguished by the use of Apocryphal writings. 'The Marcosians,' Irenæus writes, 'introduce with subtlety an unspeakable multitude of Apocryphal and spurious writings (*γραφαί*), which they themselves forged, to confound the foolish, and those who know not the Scriptures (*γράμματα*) of truth¹.' In the absence of further evidence it is impossible to pronounce exactly on the character of these books: it is sufficient to know that they did not supplant the Canonical Scriptures. At the same time their appearance in this connexion is not without importance. Marcus the founder of the sect was probably a native of Syria²; and it is well known that Syria was fertile in those religious tales which are raised to too great importance by being named Gospels.

But whatever these Apocryphal writings may have been, the words of Irenæus shew that they were easily distinguishable from Holy Scripture; and the Marcosians themselves bear witness to the familiar use of our Gospels. The formularies which Marcus instituted contain references to the Gospel of St Matthew, and perhaps to the Epistle to the Ephesians³. The teaching of his followers offers coincidences with all four Gospels. These Gospel-quotations present remarkable various readings, but there is no reason to suppose that they were borrowed from any other source than the Canonical books. Irenæus evidently considered that

Chap. iv.

The Marcosians made use of Apocryphal writings.

But they admitted also the Canonical Gospels,

¹ Iren. *c. Her.* I. 20. 21. Among use of Aramaic liturgical forms. this was a Gospel of the Infancy, Iren. *c. Her.* I. 21. 3.

² Iren. *c. Her.* I. 13. 3 (Matt. xviii. 10); I. 13. 2 (Eph. iii. 16, *πλήρωσαι σου τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον*).

³ This may be deduced from his

Chap. iv.

they were taken thence; and while he accuses the Marcosians of 'adapting' certain passages of the Gospels to their views, the connexion shews that they tampered with the interpretation and not with the text¹.

Besides quoting the Gospels the Marcosians referred

¹ The various readings are of considerable interest when taken in connexion with those of the Gospel-quotations of Justin. They are exactly of such a character as might arise from careless copying or quotation. In some respects also they are supported by other authority. I have given the passages at length (with the variations from the Gospels) that they may be compared with Justin (*Iren. c. Hær. i. 20. 2 sqq.*).

Matt. xi. 25 sqq.: ἐξομολογήσομαι (-οῦμαι). So Int. Lat.) σοι Πάτερ κύριε τῶν οὐρανῶν (τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπέκρυσας (ἐκρυσας ταῦτα. So Int. Lat.) ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις. Οὐδ' (ναί) ὁ Πατήρ μου (om.), ὅτι ἐμπροσθέν σου εὐδοκία μοι ἐγένετο (οὕτως ἐγ. εὐ. ἐμπρ. σου. *Ita Pater meus, quoniam in conspectu tuo placitum factum est. Int. Lat.*). Πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρός μου· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν Πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ Τίος, καὶ τὸν Τίον εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ καὶ ᾧ ἂν ὁ Τίος ἀποκαλύψῃ. For the last clause see p. 134, note 1.

Matt. xi. 28, 29: δεῦτε... ὑμᾶς καὶ μάθετε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας Πατέρα κατηγγελκέναι. ὁ γὰρ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν, φησί, τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο διδάξεν. The last words shew that τὸν—κατηγγελκέναι formed no part of the quotation, which agrees verbally with St Matthew, omitting one clause.

Mark x. 18; Matt. xix. 16: τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν (Mk.); εἰς ἐστὶν ἀγαθός (Mt.), ὁ Πατήρ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Cf. p. 154. The passage is referred to by Ptolemæus

thus (*Epiph. Hær. xxxiii. 7*): ἓνα γὰρ μόνον εἶναι ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἐάν- τοῦ πατέρα ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ἀπεφώνητο. See Cod. D, Mark x. 18.

Matt. xxi. 23: ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει (ἐξουσίᾳ) τοῦτο (ταῦτα) ποιεῖς;

Mark x. 38: δύνασθε τὸ βάπτισμα βαπτισθῆναι ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω βαπτίσεσθαι (βαπτίζομαι); Μέλλω βαπτ. answers to Matt. xx. 22, μέλλω πίνειν. Cf. p. 154.

Luke ii. 49: οὐκ οἴδατε (so D, al., Tert.: ᾔδειτε) ὅτι ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου δεῖ με εἶναι;

Luke xii. 50: καὶ ἄλλο (om. both words) βάπτισμα (+ δὲ) ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ πάνν ἐπελγομαι εἰς αὐτό (πῶς συνέχομαι ἕως ὅτου τελειωθῇ). This change is a good instance of an interpretative gloss.

Luke xix. 42: εἰ ἔγνων καὶ σὺ σήμερον (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ) τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην· ἐκρύβη δέ (νῦν δὲ ἐκρ. ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν) σου.

John xx. 24. Cf. *Iren. i. 18. 3*.

One passage causes me some perplexity. It stands thus in *Iren. i. 20. 2*: ἐν τῷ εἰρηκέναι Πολλάκις ἐπεθύμησα ἀκοῦσαι ἓνα τῶν λόγων τούτων καὶ οὐκ ἔσχον τὸν ἐροῦντα, ἐμφαίνοντός φασιν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐνὸς τὸν ἀληθῶς ἓνα θεὸν ὃν οὐκ ἐγνώκεισαν. The Latin Version offers no various reading. Stieren supposes that the words are taken from an Apocryphal Gospel; but that is contrary to what *Irenæus* says. May we not change ἐπεθύμησα into ἐπεθύμησαν, and refer to Matt. xiii. 17? This emendation gives ἐγνώκεισαν a natural antecedent, and improves, unless I am mistaken, the connexion of the passage.

generally to St Paul in support of their peculiar opinions. 'They said that Paul in express terms had 'frequently indicated *the redemption in Christ Jesus*; 'and that this was that doctrine which was variously 'and incongruously delivered by them'.

The coincidences with the other parts of the New Testament are less certain. An allusion to the Deluge bears a marked similarity to the passage in the first Epistle of St Peter²; and among the titles of our Lord occurs *Alpha and Omega*, which they would appear to have borrowed from the Apocalypse³. Apart from this special coincidence, the whole reasoning of the Marcosians shews a clear resemblance to the characteristic symbolism of the Apocalypse, which is distinguished by the sanction that it gives to a belief in the deep meaning of letters and numbers. And this belief, though carried to an extravagant extent, lies at the bottom of the Marcosian speculations. The principle of interpretation is one which I cannot attempt to discuss, but it is again a matter of interest to trace the general agreement between the contents of the Canon and the bases on which heretical sects professed to build their systems. If we suppose that the 'acknowledged' books of the New Testament were in universal circulation and esteem, we find in them an adequate explanation of the manifold

Chap. iv.
and the
teaching of
St Paul.

How far
they recog-
nized other
parts of the
New Testa-
ment.

¹ Iren. *c. Her.* I. 21. 3. The phrase occurs in the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans (iii. 24), Ephesians (i. 7), and Colossians (i. 14). The words of the Marcosians may consequently be taken as a testimony to these Epistles.

² Iren. *c. Her.* I. 18. 3; 1 Peter iii. 20. The recurrence of the same word *διεσώθησαν* makes the similarity more worthy of notice.

³ Iren. *c. Her.* I. 14. 6; 15. 1.

The allusion would be certain beyond doubt if *διὰ τοῦτο φησὶν αὐτὸν α καὶ ω* could be translated, as Stieren translates it, *...ipse se dicit A et Ω*. It is evident from the next sentence that *φησὶν* implies a quotation. Must we not read *αὐτός*, 'on this account (he says) he is...?' (Mr Hort has pointed out to me that the full phrase occurs in [Hipp.] *adv. Her.* vi. 49: *Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δὲ φασὶν αὐτὸν λέγειν* 'Εγὼ τὸ ἀλφὰ καὶ τὸ ω, κ.τ.λ.)

Chap. iv.

developments of heresy. In whatever direction the development extended, it can be traced to some starting point in the Apostolic writings¹.

§ 9. Marcion.

The first known Canon that of Marcion.

Hitherto the testimony of heretical writers to the New Testament has been confined to the recognition of detached parts by casual quotations or characteristic types of doctrine. Marcion on the contrary fixed a definite collection of Apostolic books as the foundation of his system. The Canon thus published is the first of which there is any record; and like the first Commentary and the first express recognition of the equality of the Old and New Testament Scriptures, it comes from without the Catholic Church, and not from within it².

The peculiar position of Marcion.

The position which Marcion occupies in the history of Christianity is in every way most striking. Himself

¹ At the end of the works of Clement of Alexandria is usually published a series of fragments entitled *Short Notes from the writings of Theodotus and the so-called Eastern School at the time of Valentinus* (ἐκ τῶν Θεοδοῦτου καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διδασκαλίας κατὰ τοὺς Οὐαλεντινίου χρόνους ἐπιτομαί). The meaning of the phrase *Eastern School* has been explained already (cf. pp. 299, 303); and the testimony of these fragments may be considered as supplementary to that which has been obtained from the Valentinians of the West. But as I am not now able to enter on the discussion of the authorship and date of the fragments, it will be enough to give a general summary of the books of the New Testament to which they contain allusions. They are these: the Four Gospels; the Epistles of St Paul to the Romans, 1 Corinthians, Ephe-

sians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Timothy; the First Epistle of St Peter.

Epiphanius in his article on Theodotus of Byzantium, who is commonly identified with the Clementine Theodotus, represents him (*Hæc.* LIV.) as using the Gospels of St Matthew, St Luke, and St John; the Acts of the Apostles; the First Epistle to Timothy.

The passages are given at length by Kirchhofer, § 403 ff.

² It is a very significant fact that the first quotation of a book of the New Testament as Scripture, the first Commentary on an Apostolic writing, and the first known Canon of the New Testament, come from heretical authors. It is impossible to suppose that in these respects they suggested the Catholic view of the whole Bible instead of following it,

the son of a Bishop of Sinope, it is said that he aspired to gain the 'first place' in the Church of Rome¹. And though his father and the Roman presbyters refused him communion, he gained so many followers that in the time of Epiphanius they were spread throughout the world². While other heretics proposed to extend or complete the Gospel, he claimed only to reproduce in its original simplicity the Gospel of St Paul³. But his personal influence was great and lasting. He impressed his own character on his teaching, where others only lent their names to abstract systems of doctrine. If Polycarp called him 'the first-born of Satan,' we may believe that the title signalized his special energy; and the fact that he sought the recognition of a Catholic bishop shews the position which he claimed to fill.

The time of Marcion's arrival at Rome⁴ cannot be fixed with certainty. Justin Martyr speaks of him as 'still teaching' when he wrote his first Apology, and from the wide spread of his doctrine then it is evident that some interval had elapsed since he had separated from the Church⁵. Consistently with this Epiphanius places that event shortly after the death of Hyginus; and Tertullian states it as an acknowledged fact that Marcion taught in the reign of Antoninus Pius, but with a note to the effect that he had taken no pains to inquire

His date.

139—142 A. D.

¹ Epiph. *Her.* XLII. 1. What the *πρῶτοπλα* was is uncertain. Probably it implies only admission into the college of *πρεσβύτεροι*. Cf. Bingham, *Orig. Eccles.* I. p. 266. Massuet, *de Gnostic. Reb.* § 135.

² Epiph. *l. c.* (Rome, Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, Cyprus, the Thebaid, and even Persia. The omission of Asia Minor is worthy of notice).

³ Tert. *adv. Marc.* I. 20: *Alium Marcionem non tam innovasse regulam separatione Legis et Evangelii quam retro adulteratam recurasse.*

⁴ Petavius has discussed his date, *Animadv. in Epiph. Her.* XLVI. (p. 83); and Massuet much more fully and exactly, *de Gnostic. reb.* § 136. Cf. Volkmar, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1835, p. 270 f.

⁵ Just. Mart. *Ap.* I. 26.

Chap. iv.

in what year he began to spread his heresy¹. This approximate date however is sufficient to give an accurate notion of the historical place which he occupied. As the contemporary of Justin he united the age of Ignatius with that of Irenæus. He witnessed the consolidation of the Catholic Church; and his heresy was the final struggle of one element of Christianity against the whole truth. It was in fact the formal counterpart of Ebionism, naturally later in time than that, but no less naturally the result of a partial view of Apostolic teaching².

*The contents
of his Canon.*

Marcion professed to have introduced no innovation of doctrine, but merely to have restored that which had been corrupted. St Paul only, according to him, was the true Apostle; and Pauline writings alone were admitted into his Canon. This was divided into two parts, 'The Gospel' and 'The Apostolicon'³. The Gospel was a recension of St Luke with numerous omissions and variations from the received text⁴. The Apostolicon contained ten Epistles of St Paul, excluding the Pastoral Epistles and that to the Hebrews⁵.

*The text of
the Epistles.*

Tertullian and Epiphanius agree in affirming that Marcion altered the text of the books which he received

¹ Tert. *adv. Marc.* I. 19: Quoto quidem anno Antonini Majoris de Ponto suo exhalaverit aura canicularis non curavi investigare; de quo tamen constat, Antonianus hæreticus est, sub Pio impius.

² Marcion is commonly described as the scholar and successor of Cerdo. But it is impossible to determine how far Cerdo's views on the Canon were identical with those of Marcion. The spurious additions to Tertullian's tract *de Præscr. Hæret.* (c. LI.) are of no independent

authority.

³ I have not noticed the title 'Apostolicon' or 'Apostolus' in Tertullian; but it occurs in Epiphanius, and in the Dialogue appended to Origen's works.

⁴ Of the numerous essays on Marcion's Gospel the most important are by Ritschl (1846), Volkmar (1852), and Hilgenfeld (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1853). See also *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, App. D. No. iv.

⁵ See Note at the end of the Section.

to suit his own views; and they quote many various readings in support of the assertion. Those which they cite from the Epistles are certainly insufficient to prove the point; and on the contrary they go far to shew that Marcion preserved without alteration the text which he found in his Manuscript. Of the seven readings noticed by Epiphanius, only two are unsupported by other authority; and it is altogether unlikely that Marcion changed other passages, when, as Epiphanius himself shews, he left untouched those which are most directly opposed to his system.

With the Gospel the case was different. The influence of oral tradition upon the form and use of the written Gospels was of long continuance. The personality of their authors was in some measure obscured by the character of their work. The Gospel was felt to be Christ's Gospel—the name which Marcion ventured to apply to his own—and not the particular narration of any Evangelist. And such considerations as these will explain, though they do not justify, the liberty which Marcion allowed himself in dealing with the text of St Luke. There can be no doubt that St Luke's narrative lay at the basis of his Gospel; but it is not equally clear that all the changes which were introduced into it were due to Marcion himself¹. Some of the omissions can be

Chap. iv.

*The text of
the Gospel.*

¹ The main question is are we to consider the third Gospel an enlargement of the Gospel put forth by Marcion, or the foundation of it? And I venture to think that the evidence is decisive in favour of the second alternative. But at the same time textual authorities shew that there were two very early 'recensions' of St Luke's Gospel, and it is by no means unlikely that Marcion's copy represented a peculiar text.

This is not the place to enter in detail upon this question, but it may be worth while to notice that Tertullian does *not* say that Marcion removed Matt. xv. 24, 26 from St Luke. He simply challenges him to take away from the Gospel what was a well-known part of it (*Marcion aufer* [not *aufert*] etiam illud de Evangelio....adv. Marc. iv. 7). So too the reading in Luke v. 14, assumed by Epiphanius, is found in

Chap. iv.

explained at once by his peculiar doctrines; but others are unlike arbitrary corrections, and must be considered as various readings of the greatest interest, dating as they do to a time anterior to all other authorities in our possession¹.

*The cause of
the omis-
sions.*

There is no evidence to shew on what grounds Marcion rejected the Acts and the Pastoral Epistles². Their character is in itself sufficient to explain the fact; and there is nothing to indicate that his judgment was based on any historical objections to their authenticity.

The Acts.

In the Acts there is the clearest recognition of the teaching of St Peter as one constituent part of the Christian faith, while Marcion regarded it as essentially faulty; and so again, since he claimed to be the founder of a new line of bishops, it was obviously desirable to clear away the foundation of the Churches whose Apostolicity he denied. This may have been the reason why they were not found in his Canon; but it is unsatisfactory to conjecture where history is silent. And the mere fact that Marcion did not recognize the Epistles cannot be used as an argument against their Pauline origin, so long as the grounds of his decision are unknown.

*The remain-
ing books of
the New
Testament.*

The rejection of the other books of the New Testament Canon was a necessary consequence of Marcion's principles³. The first Apostles according to him had an

good early authorities though wrong. Thus neither the statement nor the inference in *Supernat. Rel.* II. pp. 100 f. is correct.

¹ Of the longer omissions the most remarkable is that of the parable of the Prodigal Son (Epiph. p. 338). The quotations from Marcion's Gospels are collected by Kirchofer (pp. 366 ff.). Cf. *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, App. D, No. IV.

² In one passage Epiphanius (p. 321) according to the present text affirms that he acknowledged at least in part the fourteen Pauline Epistles; but there is evidently some corruption in the words.

³ The Epistle to the Hebrews is a continuous vindication of the spiritual significance of the Mosaic Covenant which Marcion denied. Even supposing therefore that he

imperfect apprehension of the truth, and their writings necessarily partook of this imperfection. But it does not follow that he regarded them as unauthentic because he set them aside as unauthoritative¹.

Apart from the important testimony which it bears to a large section of the New Testament writings, the Canon of Marcion is of importance as shewing the principle by which the New Testament was formed. Marcion accepted St Paul's writings as a final and decisive test of St Paul's teaching; in like manner the Catholic Church received the writings which were sanctioned by Apostolic authority as combining to convey the different elements of Christianity. There is indeed no evidence to shew that any definite Canon of the Apostolic writings was already published in Asia Minor

Chap. iv.

The principles on which the Canon was formed.

was acquainted with the tradition that it was written by St Paul, he could not have accepted it as part of his Canon.

¹ Though Marcion only used St Luke's Gospel, it appears that he was acquainted with the others, and endeavoured to overthrow their authority, not by questioning their authenticity, but by shewing that those by whose authority they were published were reproved by St Paul (*adv. Marc.* IV. 3): *Connititur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum quæ propria et sub Apostolorum nomine eduntur, vel etiam Apostolicorum (St Mark), ut scilicet fidem quam illis adimit suo conferat.* The rejection of St John's writings by Marcion is remarkable, because the Gospel is in its tendency essentially anti-Judaic. On the other hand this Gospel bears the mark of individuality so strongly as distinguished from the common form of Evangelic tradition that it could not have been taken to represent the typical Gospel of Christ. No-

thing I believe is known of the grounds on which Marcion assailed the position of St John's or St Matthew's Gospels, and it is uncertain whether Tertullian in the passage quoted speaks from a knowledge of what Marcion may have written on the subject or simply from his own point of sight. Still I can see no reason, in the absence of other evidence, to question the fact which he affirms.

The opinions of APELLES, a disciple of Marcion, upon the Books of the New Testament are vaguely described. He is said to have admitted 'such parts of the Gospels and 'the Apostle as pleased him,' (*τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἢ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰ ἀρεσκοντα αὐτῷ αἰρεῖται* [*Hipp.*] *adv. Her.* VII. 38). Epiphanius in refuting his opinions quotes without reserve the Gospel of St John among other Scriptures (*Her.* XLIV. 4). This however proves little, but from Origen (*in Johan.* XIX. 1) it is clear that St John's Gospel was used by some Marcionite schools.

Chap. iv.

when Marcion's appeared; but the minute and varied hints which have been already collected tend to prove that if it were not expressly fixed it was yet implicitly determined by the practice of the Church. And though undue weight must not be attached to the language of his adversaries, it is not to be forgotten that they always charge him with mutilating something which already existed, and not with endeavouring to impose a test which was not generally received.

NOTE: see page 310.

According to Tertullian the Epistles were arranged by Marcion (*adv. Marc. v.*) in the following order: Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians (Laodiceans), Colossians, Philippians, Philemon.

Epiphanius gives the same order, with the single exception that he transposes the last two (*Hær. XLII. p. 373*).

Tertullian expressly affirms the identity of the Epistles to the Laodiceans and to the Ephesians (*ib. 17*); and implies that Marcion prided himself on the restoration of the true title, *quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator*. The language of Epiphanius is self-contradictory.

The statements of Tertullian and Epiphanius as to the Epistle to Philemon are at first sight opposed; but I believe that Epiphanius either used the word *διαστροφῶς* loosely, or was misled by some author who applied it to the transposition and not to the corruption of the Epistle. He uses the same word of the Epistle to the Philippians, but Tertullian gives no hint that that Epistle was tampered with in an especial manner by Marcion. Cf. Epiph. *Hær. XLII. pp. 373 f.*; Tertull. *adv. Marc. v. 20, 21*. Again Epiphanius says (*ib. p. 371*) that the Epistles to the Thessalonians were 'distorted in like manner.'

Epiphanius notices the following readings as peculiar to Marcion:

Eph. v. 31, om. *τῇ γυναικί*. So Jerome.

Gal. v. 9, *δολοί*. So Lucif., al.

1 Cor. ix. 8, *ὁ νόμος + Μωσέως*. See the following verse.

— x. 9, *Χριστὸν* for *Κύριον*. So DEFGKL, al.

— — 19, *τί οὖν φημί*; *ὅτι ἱερόθιτόν τι ἔστιν ἢ εἰδωλόθιτόν τι ἔστιν*; *ἀλλ' ὅτι, κ.τ.λ.* Cf. varr. lectt.

1 Cor. xiv. 19, *διὰ τὸν νόμον* for *δ. τοῦ νοῦς μου*. So Ambrst.

2 Cor. iv. 13, om. *κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον*.

The language of Tertullian is more general. Speaking of the Epistle to the Romans he says: *Quantas autem foveas in ista vel maxime Epistola Marcion fecerit auferendo quæ voluit de nostri Instrumenti integritate parerit* (*adv. Marc. v. 13*); but he does not enumerate any of these lacunæ, nor are they noticed by Epiphanius. In the next chapter, after quoting Rom. viii. 11, he adds *Salio et hic amplissimum abruptum intercisæ scripturæ*, and then passes to Rom. x. 2. Epiphanius says nothing of any

omission here; and the language of Tertullian is at least ambiguous, especially when taken in connexion with his commentary on Rom. xi. 33. It appears however from Origen (*Comm. in Rom.* xvi. 25) that Marcion omitted the last two chapters of the Epistle.

In the Epistle to the Galatians it seems that there was some omission in the third chapter (Tert. *adv. Marc.* v. 3), but it is uncertain of what extent it was. In Gal. ii. 5 Marcion read οὐδέ, while Tertullian omitted the negative (*l. c.*).

The other variations mentioned by Tertullian are the following:

1 Cor. xv. 45, Κύριος for Ἀδάμ (2). Cf. varr. lectt.

2 Cor. iv. 4, Marcion was evidently right in his punctuation. *In quibus deus ævi hujus...* Nos contra, says Tertullian, sic distinguendum dicimus; *In quibus deus, dehinc: ævi hujus execravit mentes infidelium* (*adv. Marc.* v. 11).

Eph. ii. 15, om. αὐτοῦ.

— — 20, om. καὶ προφητῶν.

— iii. 9, om. ἐν.

— vi. 2, om. ἡγῆς—end.

1 Thess. ii. 15, + ἰδίους (before προφήτας). So D*** E** KL, al.

2 Thess. i. 8, om. ἐν ὑπὲρ φλογός.

In addition to these various readings Jerome (*in loc.*) mentions the omission of καὶ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς in Gal. i. 1; and from the Dialogue (c. 5) it appears that the Marcionites read 1 Cor. xv. 38 sqq. with considerable differences from the common text.

The examination of these readings perhaps belongs rather to the history of the text than to the history of the Canon; but they are in themselves a proof of the minute and jealous attention paid to the N. T. Scriptures. If the text was watched carefully, the Canon cannot have been a matter of indifference.

§ 10. Tatian.

The history of Tatian throws an important light on that of Marcion. Both were naturally restless, inquisitive, impetuous. They were subject to the same influences, and were probably resident for a while in the same city¹. Both remained for some time within the Catholic Church, and then sought the satisfaction of their peculiar wants in a system of stricter discipline and sterner logic. Both abandoned the received Canon of Scripture; and their combined witness goes far to establish it in its integrity. They exhibit different phases of the same temper; and while they testify to the existence of a critical spirit among Christians of the second century,

*The relation
of Tatian to
Marcion.*

¹ Tat. *Orat.* c. 18; Just. *Ap.* i. 26.

Chap. iv.

The eventfulness of his life.

they point to a Catholic Church as the one centre from which their systems diverged.

Tatian was an Assyrian by birth, and a pagan, but no less than his future master Justin an ardent student of philosophy. Like the most famous men of his age, he was attracted to Rome, and there he met Justin,—that ‘most admirable man,’ as he calls him—whose influence and experience could not fail to win one of such a character as Tatian’s to the Christian faith. The hostility of Crescens tested the sincerity of his conversion; and after the death of Justin he devoted himself to carrying on the work which his master had begun. For a time his work was successfully accomplished, and Rhodon was among his scholars. But afterwards, in consequence of his elevation, as Irenæus asserts, he introduced novelties of doctrine into his teaching; and at last returning to the East, placed himself at the head of the sect of the Encratites, combining the Valentinian doctrine of Æons with the asceticism of Marcion¹.

The consequent importance of his evidence.

The strange vicissitudes of Tatian’s life contribute to the value of his evidence. In part he continues the testimony of Justin, and in part he completes the Canon of Marcion. Doubts have been raised as to Justin’s acquaintance with the writings of St Paul and St John; and yet we find his scholar using them without hesitation. Marcion is said to have rejected the Pastoral Epistles on critical grounds; and Tatian, who was not less ready to trust to his individual judgment, affirmed that the Epistle to Titus was most certainly the Apostle’s writing.

The testimonies contained in his Address to Greeks

The existing work of Tatian, his *Address to Greeks*, offers no scope for Scriptural quotations. There is

¹ Tatian, *Orat.* cc. 42, 1, 35, 18, 19. Iren. *c. Her.* I. 28. 1 (Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 29). Epiph. *Her.* XLVI. Cf. Iren. *c. Her.* III. 23. 8.

abundant evidence to prove his deep reverence for the writings of the Old Testament, and yet only one anonymous quotation from it occurs in his *Address*¹; but it is most worthy of notice that in the same work he makes clear references to the Gospel of St John, to a parable recorded by St Matthew, and probably to the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans and his first Epistle to the Corinthians, and to the Apocalypse². The absence of more explicit testimony to the books of the New Testament is to be accounted for by the style of his writing, and does not imply either ignorance or neglect of them.

A few fragments and notices in other writers help to extend the evidence of Tatian. Eusebius relates on the authority of others that 'he dared to alter some of the 'expressions of the Apostle (Paul), correcting their style³.' In this there is nothing to shew that Eusebius was aware of greater differences as to the contents of the New Testament between the Catholics and Tatian than might fall under the name of various readings; yet in this it appears that he was deceived. Jerome states expressly that Tatian rejected some of the Epistles of St Paul, though he maintained the authenticity of that to Titus⁴. However this may be, it can be gathered from Clement

Chap. iv.

and in his fragments.

¹ *Orat.* c. 15; Ps. viii. 5. The quotation occurs in Heb. ii. 7; and it may be remarked that Tatian just before uses the word ἀπαύγασμα (Heb. i. 3).

² St Matthew xiii. 44, *Orat.* c. 30. St John [i. 1, *Orat.* c. 5, this reference is not certain]; i. 3, c. 19; i. 5, c. 13.

Romans i. 20, c. 4; vii. 15, c. 11.

1 Corinthians iii. 16, ii. 14, c. 15.

Apoc. xxi. sq. c. 20.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 29: τοῦ ἀποστόλου φασὶ τολμήσαι τινας αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φωνάς, ὡς ἐπιδιορθοῦ-

μενον αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς φράσεως σύνταξιν.

⁴ *Pref. in Tit.* (Fr. 11, Otto): Tatianus Encratitarum patriarches, qui et ipse nonnullas Pauli Epistolas repudiavit, hanc vel maxime (i. e. the Ep. to Titus) Apostoli pronunciamdam credidit, parvi pendens Marci-
onis et aliorum qui cum eo in hac parte consentiunt assertionem.

It is probable that he rejected the Epistles to Timothy (cf. Otto *l. c.*), but there is no evidence to prove it. Many of the Encratites rejected St Paul altogether. Cf. p. 319, n. 1.

Chap. iv.

of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Jerome, that he endeavoured to derive authority for his peculiar opinions from the Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians, and perhaps from the Epistle to the Ephesians and the Gospel of St Matthew¹. Nor is this all: the name of one out of 'the great multitude of his compositions' is not the least important element of his testimony; his Diatessaron is apparently the first recognition of a fourfold Gospel.

The earliest mention of the Diatessaron² of Tatian is found in Eusebius. 'Tatian,' he says, 'the former leader 'of the Encratites, having put together in some strange 'fashion a combination and collection of the Gospels, 'gave this the name of the *Diatessaron*, and the work is 'still partially current³.' The words evidently imply that the Canonical Gospels formed the basis of Tatian's Harmony; and that this was the opinion of Eusebius is placed beyond all doubt by the preceding sentence, in

*His Diates-
saron. The
account of it
given by Eu-
sebius,*

¹ 1 Corinthians vii. 5; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III. 12, 81 (ταὐτὰ φησιν τὸν ἀπόστολον ἐξηγουόμενος) (fr. 1): xv. 22; Iren. III. 23. 8 (fr. 5).

Galatians vi. 8; Hieron. *Comm. in loc.* (fr. 3).

St Matthew vi. 19; xxii. 30; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III. 12. 86 (fr. 2).

Ephesians iv. 24; Clem. Alex. *l. c.* 82 (fr. 8) ὁ παλαιὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ ὁ καινός. These two last references are from an anonymous citation (τις) which has been commonly assigned to Tatian.

² No notice is taken of the Diatessaron in Otto's Edition of Tatian. The most exact account of it with which I am acquainted is that of Credner, *Beiträge*, I. pp. 437 ff. He endeavours to shew that the Diatessaron was in fact a form of the Petrine Gospel, and identical with that of Justin Martyr (p. 444). When he says (p. 48) that the Diatessaron is spoken of 'bald als eine von ihm 'selbst (Tatian) verfasste, gottlose

'Harmonie aus unsern vier Evange-
'lien, bald als eine eigene, selbstständige
'Schrift,' I confess that I do not
recognize his usual accuracy and
candour. His further arguments do
not add plausibility to his conclusion:
Gesch. des N. T. Kanon, p. 22.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 29: ὁ μὲντοι
γε πρότερος αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς ὁ Τατι-
ανὸς συνάφειν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεῖς
τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τούτου προσωνόμασεν
ὃ καὶ παρὰ τισιν ἐστέτι νῦν φέρεται.
Eusebius evidently spoke from hear-
say; but he attributes the title of the
book to Tatian himself, and makes
no mention of any Apocryphal addi-
tions to the Evangelic narrative. The
vague language of Epiphanius (p. 319,
n. 2) cannot be fairly used to invalidate
Eusebius' direct statement as to the
authenticity of the title.

The term διὰ τεσσάρων was used in
music to express the concord of the
fourth (συλλαβή). This sense may
throw some light upon the name.

which he states that 'the Severians who consolidated Tatian's heresy made use of the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels, while they spoke ill of the Apostle Paul, rejecting his Epistles, and refusing to receive the Acts of the Apostles'.¹ The next testimony is that of Epiphanius, who writes that 'Tatian is said to have been the author of the Harmony of the four Gospels which some call the Gospel according to the Hebrews'.² The express mention of *the four Gospels* is important as fixing the meaning of the original title. Not long afterwards Theodoret gives a more exact account of the character and common use of the book. 'Tatian also composed the Gospel called *Diatessaron*, removing the genealogies, and all the other passages which shew that Christ was born of David according to the flesh. This was used not only by the members of his party, but even by those who followed the Apostolic doctrine, as they did not perceive the evil design of the composition, but used the book in their simplicity for its conciseness. And I found also myself more than two hundred such books in our churches (*i.e.* in Syria), which had been received with respect; and having gathered all together, I caused them to be laid aside, and introduced in their place the

Chap. iv.

Epiphanius,
and

Theodoret.

¹ Euseb. *I. c.* Credner (p. 439) supposes that the term *Severiani* was merely a translation of *ἐκκρατητα*. Origen (*c. Cels.* v. 65) mentions the Encratites among those who rejected the Epistles of St Paul. They received some Apocryphal books also: *κέχρηται δὲ γραφαῖς πρωτοτύπως* (? *πρωτοτύποις*) *ταῖς λεγομέναις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου πράξεις καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ ἀποκρύφους τισί* (Epiph. *Hær.* XLVII. 1).

² Epiph. *Hær.* XLVI. 1: *λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγελίων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι ὅπερ κατὰ Ἑβραίων τινὲς καλοῦσι*. Some perhaps may be in-

clined to change *εὐαγγελίων* into *εὐαγγέλιον*.

No stress can be laid on this conjectural identification of the *Diatessaron* with the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Epiphanius appears to give no credit to it; and the belief admits of easy explanation. Both books were current in the same countries, and different from the Canonical Gospels by the omission of the genealogies. Few writers out of Palestine could compare the books so as to determine their real difference.

Chap. iv.

'Gospels of the four Evangelists'¹. From this statement it is clear that the *Diatessaron* was so orthodox as to enjoy a wide ecclesiastical popularity. The heretical character of the book was not evident upon the surface of it, and consisted rather in faults of defect than in erroneous teaching. Moreover Theodoret had certainly examined it, and he like earlier writers regarded it as a compilation from the four Gospels. He speaks of omissions (taking the Synoptists as his standard) which were at least in part natural in a Harmony, but notices no such Apocryphal additions as would have found place in any Gospel not derived from Canonical sources. The later history of the *Diatessaron* is involved in confusion. Another *Diatessaron* was composed by Ammonius of Alexandria not long afterwards, and in process of time the two were confused². It is stated however by Dionysius Bar Salibi, a writer of the twelfth century, that Ephrem Syrus commented on the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, and that Tatian's work commenced with the first words of St John's Gospel. The fact in itself is by no means improbable, as appears from the narrative of Theodoret and from the use which Tatian elsewhere made of the fourth Gospel; but its authenticity is rendered questionable by a passage in Gregory Bar Hebræus, who relates that Ephrem commented on the

Later Syri-
an writers.

¹ Theodor. *Heret. Fab.* I. 20 (Credn. p. 442): οὗτος καὶ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων καλούμενον συντίθεικεν εὐαγγέλιον, τὰς γενεαλογίας περικόψας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα γεγεννημένον τὸν Κύριον δεικνύσιν. Ἐχρήσαντο δὲ τοῦτω οὐ μόνον οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου συμμορίας ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς ἐπόμενοι δόγμασι, τὴν τῆς συνθήκης κακουργίαν οὐκ ἐγνωκότες, ἀλλ' ἀπλούστερον ὡς συντόμῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ χρησάμενοι. Εὐρον δὲ καὶ πλείους ἢ διακοσίας βί-

βλους τοιαύτας ἐν ταῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκκλησίαις τετιμημένους καὶ πάσας συναγωγὰς ἀπεθέμην καὶ τὰ τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀντεισῆγαγον εὐαγγέλια. The technical sense of κακουργία (*ma'it'ia*) forbids us to lay any undue stress on the word.

The large number of copies is a striking indication of the wide circulation of the Gospels, which this compilation partially supplanted in a special district.

² See next note.

Diatessaron of Ammonius, and that the words in question were found in that¹. It is indeed quite possible that both Harmonies began in the same way, and even that the Harmony of Ammonius was a mere revision of that of Tatian. But it is unnecessary to discuss a point which if it does not confirm the Canonical origin of Tatian's Harmony does not in any way invalidate it.

All that can be gathered from history falls in with the idea suggested by the title of the book. And as there is no strong external evidence in support of another view, the title itself must be allowed to have great weight. There can be no reasonable doubt that the name was given to the work by Tatian himself; and if the Diatessaron was not a compilation of four Gospels, what is the explanation of the number? If again these four Gospels were not those which we receive, what other four Gospels ever formed a collection which needed no further description than *the Four*? I am not aware that any answer has been given to these questions; and in connexion with the belief and assertions of early Fathers they are surely decisive as to the sources of Tatian's Diatessaron. And thus once again a heretical writer is the first to recognize outwardly an important fact in the history of the Canon².

It must indeed have been evident to the reader throughout this chapter that the testimony of heretical

Chap. iv.

*The title
Diatessaron.*

*General result of the
Chapter.*

¹ The original passages are given at length by Credner (pp. 446 sqq.). Cf. Lardner, II. pp. 417 sqq. The testimony of Victor of Capua (c. A.D. 545) shews how great was the confusion even in his time between the Harmonies of Tatian and Ammonius (Lardner, p. 418). If there be no error in his statement that Tatian's Harmony was called *Dia-pente*, the fifth Gospel alluded to in the name was probably that accord-

ing to the Hebrews, and the title was given in consequence of the confusion already noticed. A Frankish Version of Ammonius' Harmony has been edited by A. Schmeller, but I have not been able to examine it with any care.

² Tatian's Diatessaron is said to have contained one important addition (Matt. xxvii. 49), which is however found in *MBCLU*, al. Cf. Tischendorf, *in loc.*

Conclusion.

writers to the books of the New Testament tends on the whole to give greater certainty and weight to that which is drawn from other sources. So far from obscuring or contravening the judgment of the Church generally, they offer material help in the interpretation of it. And this follows naturally from their position. As separatists they fixed the standard by which they were willing to be judged, wherever it differed from that which was commonly received. And all early controversy proceeds on this basis. The authority of the Apostolic Scriptures is everywhere assumed: this is the rule, and only exceptions from the rule are noticed in detail.

The summary of the First Part.

A BRIEF summary of the results which have been obtained in the First Part of our inquiry will shew how far they satisfy that standard of reasonable completeness which was laid down at the outset. The conditions of the problem must be fairly considered, as well as the character of the solution; and it cannot be too often repeated that the period which has been examined is truly the dark age of Church-history. In the absence of all trustworthy guidance every step requires to be secured by painful investigation; and if I have entered into tedious details, it has been because I know that nothing can rightly be neglected which tends to throw light upon the growth of the Catholic Church. And the growth of the Catholic Church is the comprehensive fact of which the formation of the Canon is one element.

i. *The direct evidence is fragmentary, but*

The evidence which has been collected is confessedly fragmentary both in character and substance. And that it must be so follows from the nature of the case. But when all the fragments are combined, the result exhibits the chief marks of complete trustworthiness.

First, it is of wide range both in time and place. Beginning with Clement of Rome the companion of St Paul an uninterrupted series of writers belonging to the chief Churches of Christendom witness with more or less fulness to the books of the New Testament. And though the evidence is thus extended, yet it is not without its points of connexion. Most of the writers who have been examined visited Rome: all of them might have been acquainted with Polycarp.

The character of the evidence is no less striking than its extent. The allusions to Scripture are perfectly natural. The quotations are prefaced by no apology or explanation. The language of the books used was so familiar as to have become part of the common dialect. And when men speak without any clear intimation that the opinions which they express are peculiar to themselves, it is evident that they express the general judgment of their time. The various testimonies which have been collected thus unite in one; and that one is the general judgment of the Church.

This is further shewn by the uniform tendency of the evidence. It is always imperfect, but the different parts are always consistent. It is derived from men of the most different characters, and yet all that they say is strictly harmonious. Scarcely a fragment of the earliest Christian literature has been preserved which does not contain some passing allusion to the Apostolic writings; and yet in all there is no discrepancy. The influence of some common rule is the only natural explanation of this common consent. Nor is evidence altogether wanting to prove the existence of such a rule. The testimony of individuals is expressly confirmed by the testimony of Churches. Two great Versions were current in the East and West from the earliest times, and the Canons

Conclusion.

*of wide
range,*

*of unaffected
simplicity,*

*of perfect
uniformity,*

*and sustain-
ed both by the
judgment of
Churches
and*

Conclusion.

*the practice
of heretics.**The relation
of Scripture
and Tradition in re-
gard to the
Canon.**ii. The au-
thenticity of
the Canon is
a key to the
history of
the early
Church.*

which they exhibit agree with remarkable exactness with the scattered and casual notices of ecclesiastical writers. And their common contents—the four Gospels, the Acts, thirteen Epistles of St Paul, the first general Epistles of St Peter and St John—constitute a Canon of acknowledged books. And this agreement of independent writers is not limited to those who were members of the same Catholic Church: the evidence of heretics is even more full and clear; and when they differed from the common opinion, doctrinal and not historical objections occasioned the difference.

One circumstance which at first sight appeared to embarrass the inquiry has been found in reality to give it life and consistency. A traditional word was current among Christians from the first coincidently with the written Word. It is difficult indeed to conceive that it should have been otherwise if we regard the Apostles as vitally connected with their age; but it is evident that the two might have been in many ways so related as to have produced an unfavourable impression as to the completeness of our present Canon. But now on the contrary the New Testament is found to include all the great elements which are elsewhere referred to Apostolic sources. Many imperfect narratives of our Lord's life were widely current, but the Canonical Gospels offer the types on which they were formed. In the first ages the New Testament may serve at once as the measure and as the rule of tradition.

For the earliest evidence for the authenticity of the books of which it is composed is not confined to direct testimony. Perhaps that is still more convincing which springs from their peculiar characteristics as representing special types of Christian truth. No one probably will deny the existence of distinguishing fea-

tures in the several forms of Apostolic teaching, and the history of the sub-apostolic age is the history of corresponding differences developed in early Christian writers, and in turn transformed into the germs of heresy. The ecclesiastical phase of the difference is in every case later than the scriptural; and thus, while I have spoken of the first century after the Apostles as the dark age of Church-history, the recognition of the great elements of the New Testament furnishes a satisfactory explanation of the progress of the Church during that critical period, which on the other hand itself offers no place for the forgery of such books as are included in the Canon.

But while the evidence for the authenticity of the Canonical books of the New Testament is up to this point generally complete and satisfactory, it is not such as to remove every doubt to which the subject is liable. At present no trace has been found of the existence of the second Epistle of St Peter¹. And the Epistles of St James and St Jude, the second and third Epistles of St John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse, were received only partially, though they were received exactly in those places in which their history was most likely to be known².

It is also to be noticed that the references to the books of the New Testament are for the most part anonymous. This, however, is the case not only in regard to the Gospels, where the words might have been de-

Conclusion.

*Yet there are
(1) doubts as
to the con-
tents of the
Canon;*

*(2) the evi-
dence is
mainly
anonymous;*

¹ One coincidence in addition to that noticed in p. 220, n. 1, has been pointed out by Dr Tregelles (*Can. Murat.* p. 102) which deserves notice. The language of the well-known reference to St Paul in Polycarp's Epistle (c. 3) bears considerable resemblance to the correspond-

ing passage in 2 Pet. iii. 15 (*σοφία, ἐπιστολαί*), but in the absence of all other evidence it is impossible to insist on this.

² Perhaps the Epistle of St Jude forms an exception to this statement. But the history of the Epistle is extremely obscure.

Conclusion.

rived from other sources, but also in regard to St Paul's Epistles, where the references are beyond question. If, therefore, parallelism of language, without explicit citation, is not sufficient to prove with absolute conclusiveness the use of the Canonical Gospels, the close correspondence in range, substance, and phraseology between the early evangelic quotations and the texts of the Synoptic Gospels, when taken in connexion with the practice of the Fathers in such of their earliest writings as are preserved, leaves no reasonable ground for doubting the habitual if not exclusive use of them.

But while the universal usage of the Church which is laid open at the close of the second century must have been the result of a continuous custom and not of a revolution, the idea of a Canon itself found no public and authoritative expression except where it was required by the necessities of translation. During the first age and long afterwards the Catholic Church offered no determination of the limits and groundwork of the authoritative collection of sacred books. These questions were practically settled by that instinctive perception of truth, if it may not be called by a nobler name, which I believe can be recognized as presiding over the organization of the early Church. The Canon of Marcion may have been the first which was publicly proposed, but the general consent of earlier Catholic writers proves that within the Church there had been no need for pronouncing a judgment on a point which had not been brought into dispute. The formation of the Canon may have been gradual, but it was certainly undisturbed. It was a growth, and not a series of contests¹.

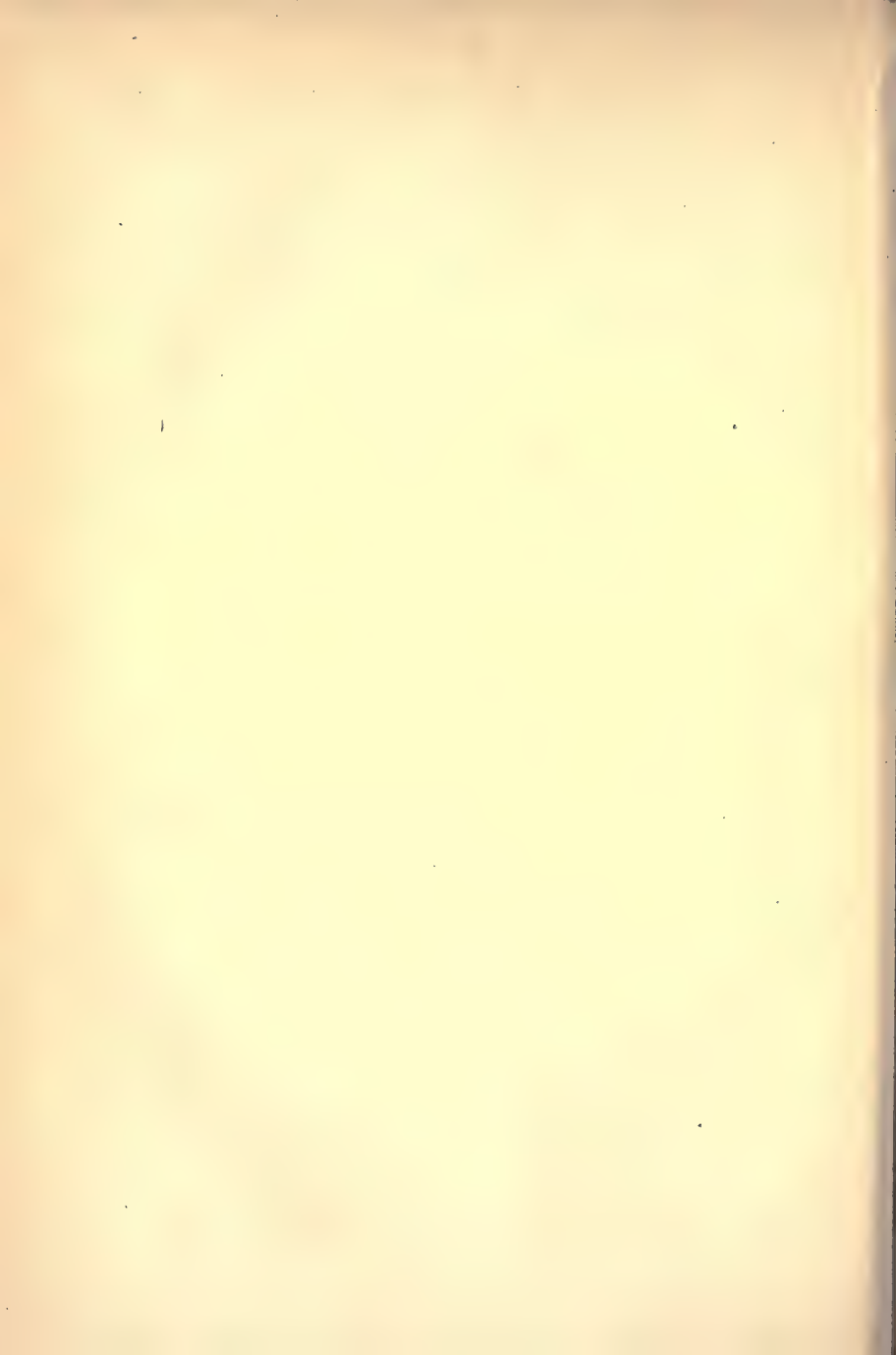
(3) *the idea of a Canon is implied rather than expressed.*

¹ The question of the Inspiration of the writers and writings of the New Testament does not belong to our present inquiry. The evidence on this point is collected in the *Introd. to the Study of the Gospels*. App. B.

In the next part it will be seen to what extent this agreement as to the Catholic Canon was established at the end of the second century. And this will furnish in some degree a measure of what had been already settled. The opinions of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian, were formed by influences which were at work within the age of Polycarp; and it is wholly arbitrary to suppose that the later writers originated the principles which they organized.

Conclusion.

The result of the teaching of this period to be sought in the first generation of the next.



SECOND PERIOD.

HISTORY OF THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
FROM THE TIME OF HEGESIPPUS TO THE
PERSECUTION OF DIOCLETIAN.

A.D. 170—303.

Τοῖς πειθόμενοις μὴ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι σύγγραμμα τὰς
ιεράς βίβλους ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος βουλή-
ματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ταύτας ἀνα-
γεγράφθαι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐληγθέναι, τὰς φαινόμενας ὁλοῦς
ὑποδεικτέον, ἐχομένοις τοῦ κανόνος τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ
διαδοχὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐρανίου ἐκκλησίας.

ORIGENES

CHAPTER I.

THE CANON OF THE ACKNOWLEDGED BOOKS AT THE CLOSE OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

*Communicamus cum Ecclesiis Apostolicis quod nulli doctrina diversa: hoc
est testimonium veritatis.*

TERTULLIANUS.

THE close of the second century marks a great change in the character and position of the Christian Church. It cannot be a mere accident that up to that time the remains of its literature are both unsystematic and fragmentary, a meagre collection of Letters, Apologies, and traditions, while afterwards Christian works ever occupy the foremost rank in genius as well as in spiritual power. The contrast really expresses the natural progress of Christianity. At first its work was in the main with the heart; and when that was filled, it next asserted its right over the intellect. And this conquest was necessarily gradual and slow. A Christian dialect could not be fixed at once; and the scientific aspect of the new doctrines could be determined only by the experience of many efforts to unite them with existing systems. It was thus that for a time philosophic views of Christianity were chiefly to be found without the Church, since the partial representation of its philosophic worth naturally preceded any adequate realization of it. And perhaps it is not difficult to see a fitness in that disposition of events which

Chap. i.

*The three
stages of the
advance of
Christian-
ity.*

Chap. i.

committed the teaching of the Apostles to minds essentially receptive and conservative, that it might be wrought into the life of men before it became the subject of subtle analysis. However this may be, it is impossible not to recognize the vast access of power which characterizes the works of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian, when compared with earlier writings, both in their scope and in their composition. In them Christianity asserts its second conquest: the easiest and yet the most perilous alone remained. It had won its way to the heart of the simple and to the judgment of the philosopher: it had still to claim the deference of the statesman. And each success brought its corresponding trial. When Wisdom (*γνῶσις*) was ranged with Truth, it was not always contented to follow; and in after times the subjugation of the imperial government prepared the way for the corruption of the Church by material influences.

The connexion of the Fathers of the second period with their predecessors.

But though the Fathers of the close of the second century are thus prominently distinguished from those who preceded them, it must not be forgotten that they were trained by that earlier generation which they surpassed. They inherited the doctrines which it was their task to arrange and harmonize. They made no claims to any discoveries in Christianity, but with simple and earnest zeal appealed to the testimony of the Apostolic Church to confirm the truth of their writings. They never admitted the possibility of being separated from their forefathers; and if it has been shewn that the continuity of the Christian faith has hitherto suffered no break, from this point it is confessedly maintained without interruption. From Lyons, from Carthage, from Alexandria, one voice proceeds, the witness and herald of the truth.

In other words the Catholic Church was now externally established. Partial but not exclusive views of truth were outwardly harmonized. The barriers of local or traditional separation between different societies were broken down. The various sides of Christian doctrine, after the rude test of conflict and the still surer trial of life, were combined in one great whole. Henceforth complexity in faith was seen to be the condition of unity. The Christian body, if we may use such an image, awoke to the consciousness of what it was. No great change or revolution passed over it: no great mind moulded its creed or its fabric: history itself revealed the sublime truth of which it was itself the preparation and the witness.

With regard to the Canon of the New Testament this development of the Church is of the greatest importance. In the final establishment of outward Catholicity that which has been already recognized in practice finds a formal expression. As long as those lived who had seen the Apostles; as long as the teaching of the Apostles was fresh in men's minds; it was, as has been already seen, unlikely that their writings as distinguished from their words would be invested with any special importance. But traditions soon became manifold, while the books remained unchanged: a catholic Church was organized, and it was needful to determine the *Covenant* in which its laws were written: Christianity furnished subjects for the philosopher, and it was requisite to settle from what sources his premises might be taken. As soon as the want was felt, it was satisfied. As soon as an independent Christian literature arose in which it was reasonable to look for any definite recognition of the Apostolic writings, we find that recognition substantially clear and correct. With the exception of the Epistle to

*How this
bears on the
history of the
Canon.*

Chap. i.

the Hebrews, the two shorter Epistles of St John, the second Epistle of St Peter, the Epistles of St James and St Jude, and the Apocalypse¹, all the other books of the New Testament are acknowledged as Apostolic and authoritative throughout the Church at the close of the second century. The evidence of the great Fathers by which the Church is represented varies in respect of these disputed books, but the Canon of the acknowledged books is established by their common consent. Thus the testimony on which it rests is not gathered from one quarter but from many, and those the most widely separated by position and character. It is given, not as a private opinion, but as an unquestioned fact: not as a late discovery, but as an original tradition.

The Canon of acknowledged books at the close of the second century.

From this point then it will be needless to accumulate testimonies to the Canonicity of the four Gospels, of the Acts, of the thirteen Epistles of St Paul, of the first Epistles of St John and St Peter. No one at present will deny that they occupied the same position in the estimation of Christians in the time of Irenæus as they hold now. But here one strange fact must be noticed: the authenticity of the Apocalypse, which is supported by the satisfactory testimony of early writers, was disputed for the first time in the Western Church in the course of the third century. In other words there was a critical spirit still alive among Christians which impelled them even then to test afresh the records on which their faith rested.

On what grounds it rested.

But before dismissing the Canon of the acknowledged books it will be well to revert once again at greater length to the manner in which it is recognized by Irenæus and his contemporaries. Their evidence, considered

¹ The position of the Apocalypse omission in the Peshito it would be up is anomalous. If it were not for its to this time an acknowledged Book.

in connexion with the circumstances under which it is given, will go far to establish the point to which our investigations have all tended, that the formation of a Canon was among the first instinctive acts of the Christian society: that it was at first imperfect as the organization of the Church was at first incomplete: that it attained its full proportions by a sure growth as the development of the Church itself was finally matured.

Nothing is known directly of the origin of the Gallican Church; but from several ritual peculiarities its foundation may be probably referred to teachers from Asia Minor¹, with which province it long maintained an intimate connexion. And thus Gaul owed its knowledge of Christianity to the same country from which in former times it had drawn its civilization: the Christian missionary completed the work of the Phocæan exile. However this may have been, the first notice of the Church shews its extent and constancy. In the seventeenth year of the reign of Antoninus Verus it was visited by a fierce persecution, of which Eusebius has preserved a most affecting narrative addressed by the Christians of Vienne and Lyons to 'the brethren in Asia and Phrygia who held the same faith and hope of redemption as themselves'. This narrative was written immediately after the events which it describes, and is everywhere penetrated by scriptural language and thought. It contains no reference by name to any book of the New Testament, but its coincidences of language with the Gospels of St Luke and St John, with the Acts of the Apostles, with the Epistles of St Paul to the

Chap. i.

i. *The testimony of the Gallican Church.*

177 A.D.

The Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons.

¹ Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*, i. pp. 155 sqq. Compare Stuart, *Book of Deer*, p. lviii.

² Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1.

Chap. i.

Romans, Corinthians (?), Ephesians, Philippians, and the first to Timothy, with the first catholic Epistles of St Peter and St John, and with the Apocalypse, are unequivocal¹. In itself this fact would perhaps call for little notice after what has been said of the general reception of the acknowledged books at the close of the second century, but it becomes of importance as being the testimony of a Church, and one which was not without connexion with the Apostolic age even at the time of the persecution. In the same Church where Irenæus was a presbyter 'zealous for the covenant of Christ'² Pothinus was bishop, already ninety years old. Like Polycarp he was associated with the generation of St John, and must have been born before the books of the New Testament were all written. And how then can it be supposed with reason that forgeries came into use in his time which he must have been able to detect by his own knowledge? that they were received without suspicion or reserve in the Church over which he presided? that they were upheld by his hearers as the ancient heritage of Christians? It is possible to weaken the connexion of the facts by arbitrary hypotheses, but interpreted according to their natural meaning they tell of a Church united by its head with the times of St John to which the books of the New Testament, and the books of St John above all others, furnished the unaffected language of hope and resignation and triumph. And the testimony of Irenæus is the testimony of this Church. Nor was this the only point in which

IRENÆUS
the representative of the

¹ Euseb. *I. c.* The reference to *gelium* of St James can shew that Apoc. xxii. 11 is introduced by the description of the character of the words *ἡ γράφη πληρωθή*. Zacharias was borrowed from that writing.

I do not see that the supposed reference to the death of Zacharias which is related in the *Protevangelium* ² Euseb. *H. E.* v. 4.

he came in contact with the immediate disciples of the Apostles. It has been seen already that he recalled in his old age the teaching of Polycarp the disciple of St John; and his treatise *against Heresies* contains several references¹ to others who were closely connected with the Apostolic age. He stood forth to maintain no novelties, but to vindicate what had been believed of old. Those whom he quoted had borne witness to the New Testament Scriptures, and he only continued on a greater scale the usage which they had recognized. When he wished to win back Florinus once his fellow-disciple to the truth, he reminded him of the zeal and doctrine of Polycarp their common master, and how he spake of Christ's teaching and mighty works from the words of those who followed Him 'in all things harmoniously with the Scriptures'.² And is it then possible that he who was taught of Polycarp was himself deceived as to the genuine writings of St John? Is it possible that he decided otherwise than his first master, when he speaks of the tradition of the Apostles by which the Canon of Scripture was determined³? He appeals to the known succession of teachers in the Churches of Rome, Smyrna, and Ephesus, who held fast up to his own time the doctrine which they had received from the first age; and is it possible that he used writings as genuine and authoritative which were not recognized by those who must have had unquestionable means of deciding on their Apostolic origin⁴?

Chap. i.

*Church of
Lyons.
c. 130—200
A.D.*

¹ Cf. pp. 79 f.² Iren. *Ep. ad Flor. ap. Euseb. H. E.* v. 20.³ Iren. *c. Her.* IV. 33. 8: Agnitio (γνώσις) vera est Apostolorum doctrina et antiquus Ecclesiæ status in universo mundo et character corporis Christi secundum successiones

episcoporum quibus illi eam quæ in unoquoque loco est Ecclesiam tradiderunt; quæ pervenit usque ad nos custoditione sine fictione Scripturarum tractatio plenissima neque additamentum neque ablationem recipiens.

⁴ Volkmar has endeavoured to

Chap. i.

ii. *The testimony of the Church of Alexandria.*

PANTÆNUS.

From Lyons we pass to Alexandria. The early history of the Egyptian Churches is not more certain than that of those in Gaul. Tradition indeed assigns the foundation of the Church of Alexandria to St Mark, but the best evidence of its antiquity is found in its state at the time of the earliest authentic record which remains of it. Towards the close of the second century, 'in the 'time of Commodus,' Pantænus 'presided over the school' (*διατριβή*) of the faithful there¹. The school then was already in existence, however much it may have owed to one distinguished alike 'for secular learning and 'scriptural knowledge.' Indeed there is no absolute improbability in the statement of Jerome², who interprets the words of Eusebius 'that a school (*διδασκαλεῖον*)

shew that though Irenæus was acquainted with ¹ Peter, yet he did not use it as authoritative Scripture (Credner, *Gesch. d. N. T. Kanon*, § 185). But his argument certainly breaks down. See for instance *c. Hæc. iv. 16. 5.* Propter hoc ait Dominus (Matt. xii. 36)... Et propter hoc Petrus ait (¹ Peter ii. 16)... On the use of the Epistle in the Latin Churches, see *supra*, p. 260, n. 2.

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* v. 10. Hieron. *de Virr. Ill.* 36. There is considerable confusion in the account given by Jerome of the relation of Pantænus to Clement. In his notice of Pantænus he says that he 'was sent into 'India by Demetrius bishop of Alexandria' who succeeded to the See in 289, and that 'he taught in the 'reigns of Severus and Caracalla' (*De Virr. Ill. c. 36*). Again in the account of Clement he says that Clement was set at the head of the Catechetical school 'after the death of Pantænus' (*id. c. 38*). Now Clement left Alexandria in 202—3 and Origen then entered on the charge of the School (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 3); nor is there any evi-

dence that Clement returned to Alexandria. It is therefore all but impossible to suppose that Clement first succeeded Pantænus in the reign of Caracalla, and that he was afterwards succeeded by Origen. Jerome's statement as to the time of the teaching of Pantænus has probably been misplaced, as the order of the notices shews. If this be admitted, the narratives of Eusebius and Jerome can be reconciled. The mission to India by Demetrius was, if the fact is authentic, a special and second journey undertaken 'at the request of the Indians,' and not that which preceded the work of Pantænus in the Catechetical school. It may be added that the statement of Philippus Sidetes that Pantænus succeeded Clement is probably due to the false date of the labours of Pantænus 'under Severus and Caracalla.' It does not fall within our present scope to inquire into the Hebrew Gospel which Pantænus found among the 'Indians.' The mention of the fact shews that attention was directed to the sacred books.

² Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* I. 375.

'of the Holy Scriptures had existed there after ancient 'custom' as meaning that 'ecclesiastical teachers had 'always been there from the time of the Evangelist 'Mark.' Without insisting however on the Apostolic origin of the school itself, it seems not improbable that Pantænus was personally connected with some immediate disciples of the Apostles. Many contemporaries of Pothinus and Polycarp may have survived to declare the teaching of St John; and Photius in fact represents Pantænus as a hearer of the Apostles¹. At any rate there is not the slightest ground for assuming any organic change in the doctrine of the Alexandrine Church between the age of the Apostles and Pantænus. Everything on the contrary bespeaks its unbroken continuity. And Clement, the second of our witnesses, was trained in the school of Pantænus. He speaks as the representative of a class devoted specially to the study of the Scriptures, and established in a city second to none for the advantages and encouragement which it offered to literary criticism. Like Irenæus, Clement appeals with decision and confidence to the judgment of those who had preceded him. His writings were no 'mere compositions wrought for display,' but contained a faint picture 'of the clear and vivid discourses, and of 'the blessed and truly estimable men whom it was his 'privilege to hear.' For though Alexandria was in itself the common meeting-place of the traditions of the East and West, Clement had sought them out in their proper sources. As far as can be gathered from the clause in which he describes his teachers, he had studied in Greece and Italy and various parts of the East under various masters from Cœle-Syria, from Egypt, and from Assyria, and also under a Hebrew in Palestine,

CLEMENT.

C. 165—220
A.D.

¹ *Cod.* 118, p. 160, ed. Hoesch.; Lumper, IV. 44; Routh, I. 377.

Chap. i.

before he met with Pantænus. 'And these men,' he writes, 'preserving the true tradition of the blessed 'teaching directly from Peter and James, from John and 'Paul, the holy Apostles, son receiving it from father '(but few are they who are like their fathers), came by 'God's providence even to us, to deposit among us those 'seeds [of truth] which were derived from their ancestors 'and the Apostles'.

Of the African Church I have already spoken. The venerable relics of the Old Latin Version attest the early reception of the New Testament there, and the care with which it was studied. In themselves those fragments are incomplete, and often questionable; but they do not stand alone. The writings of Tertullian furnish an invaluable commentary on the conclusions which have been drawn from them²; and in turn his testimony is the judgment of his Church; an inheritance, and not a deduction.

¹ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. i. 11 (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 11): "Ἡδὴ δὲ οὐ γραφὴ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τετεχνασμένη ἦδε ἡ πραγματεία ἀλλὰ μοι ὑπομνήματα εἰς γήρας θησαυρίζεται λήθης φάρμακον, εἰδῶλον ἀτεχνῶς καὶ σκιογραφία τῶν ἐναργῶν καὶ ἐμψύχων ἐκείνων ὧν κατηξιώθην ἐπακοῦσαι λόγων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν μακαρίων καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀξιολόγων. τούτων ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Ἰωνικός, οἱ (Euseb. ὁ) δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος, τῆς κοίτης θάτερος αὐτῶν Συρίας ἦν ὁ δὲ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου· ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν, καὶ ταύτης ὁ μὲν τῆς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὁ δὲ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Ἑβραῖος ἀνέκαθεν· ὑστάρῳ δὲ περιτυχὼν (ἐυνάμει δὲ οὗτος πρῶτος ἦν) ἀνεπαυσάμην ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θηράσας λεληθότα. Σικελικῇ τῷ ὄντι ἡ μέλιττα, προφητικῷ τε καὶ ἀποστολικῷ λειμῶνος τῷ ἀνθῇ δρεπόμενος ἀκήρατόν τι γνώσεως χρήμα ταῖς τῶν ἀκρωμέων ἐνεγέννησε ψυχαῖς. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς μακαρίας σῶζοντες δι-

δασκαλίας παράδωκαν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Πέτρου τε καὶ Ἰακώβου, Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Παύλου, τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεχόμενος (ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ πατράσιν ὅμοιοι), ἦκον δὴ σὺν θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ προγονικά ἐκείνα καὶ ἀποστολικά καταθησόμενοι σπέρματα. καὶ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἀγαλλιάσονται, οὐχὶ τῇ ἐκφράσει ἡσθέντες λέγω τῇδε, μόνῃ δὲ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ὑποσημείωσιν τηρήσει. The passage is of great importance as shewing the intimate intercourse between different churches in Clement's time and the uniformity of their doctrine. The use of the prepositions is singularly exact and worthy of notice. I have changed Klotz's punctuation, which makes the passage unintelligible.

² Compare his sequence of quotations *De resurr. carnis*, 33 ff., *De pudicitia*, 6 ff., given above pp. 258—9.

Tertullian himself insists on this with characteristic energy. 'If,' he says, 'it is acknowledged that that is 'more true which is more ancient, that more ancient 'which is even from the beginning, that from the beginning which is from the Apostles; it will in like manner 'assuredly be acknowledged that that has been derived 'by tradition from the Apostles which has been preserved 'inviolate in the Churches of the Apostles. Let us see 'what milk the Corinthians drank from Paul; to what 'rule the Galatians were recalled by his reproofs; what 'is read by the Philippians, the Thessalonians, the Ephesians; what is the testimony of the Romans, who are 'nearest to us, to whom Peter and Paul left the Gospel, 'and that sealed by their own blood. We have more- 'over Churches founded by John. For even if Marcion 'rejects his Apocalypse, still the succession of bishops [in 'the seven Churches] if traced to its source will rest on 'the authority of John. And the noble descent of other 'Churches is recognized in the same manner. I say then 'that among them, and not only among the Apostolic 'Churches, but among all the Churches which are united 'with them in Christian fellowship, that Gospel of Luke 'which we earnestly defend has been maintained from 'its first publication'. And 'the same authority of the

Chap. i.

TERTUL-
LIAN.c. 160—240
A. D.

¹ *Adv. Marc.* IV. 5: In summa si constat id verius quod prius, id prius quod et ab initio, ab initio quod ab Apostolis: pariter utique constabit id esse ab Apostolis traditum quod apud ecclesias Apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum. Videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; ad quam regulam Galatæ sint reorrecti; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. Habemus

et Johannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recens in Johannem stabit auctorem. Sic et cæterarum generositas recognoscitur. Dico itaque apud illas, nec solas jam Apostolicas sed apud universas quæ illis de societate sacramenti confœderantur, id evangelium Lucæ ab initio editionis suæ stare quod cum maxime tuetur. The clause *in Johannem stabit auctorem* is commonly translated 'will shew it [the Apocalypse] to have

Chap. i.

'Apostolic Churches will uphold the other Gospels which we have in due succession through them and according to their usage, I mean those of [the Apostles] Matthew and John: although that which was published by Mark may also be maintained to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was: for the narrative of Luke also is generally ascribed to Paul: [since] it is allowable that that which scholars publish should be regarded as their master's work.' 'These are for the most part the summary arguments which we employ when we argue about the Gospels against heretics, maintaining both the order of time which sets aside the later works of forgers (positivitate falsariorum præscribenti), and the authority of Churches which upholds the tradition of the Apostles; because truth necessarily precedes forgery, and proceeds from them to whom it has been delivered¹.'

*All appeal
to antiquity.*

The words of Tertullian sum up clearly and decisively what has been said before of the evidence of Irenæus and Clement. All the Fathers at the close of the second century agree in appealing to the testimony of antiquity as proving the authenticity of the books which they used as Christian Scriptures². And the appeal was made at

'John for its author;' but it is evident that such a translation is quite out of place even if the words admit of it. *Comp. de Præscr. Hæc.* 36.

¹ *Adv. Marc.* l. c.. Cf. *ib.* iv. 2: Constitutum in primis evangelicum instrumentum Apostolos auctores habere, quibus hoc munus evangelii promulgandi ab ipso Domino sit impositum; si et Apostolicos, non tamen solos sed cum Apostolis et post Apostolos; quoniam prædicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset de gloriæ studio si non assistat illi auctoritas magistrorum, immo Christi, quæ magistros Apostolos fecit.

² It is almost superfluous to give any references to the quotations from

the acknowledged Books made by Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian; but many of the following are worthy of notice on other grounds than merely as attesting the authenticity of the books.

(α) The Four Gospels:

Iren. *c. Hæc.* III. 11. 8; Clem. *Strom.* III. 13. 93; Tert. *adv. Marc.* IV. 2.

(β) The Acts:

Iren. III. 15. 1; Clem. *Strom.* v. 12. 83; Tert. *adv. Marc.* v. 2. Compare the remarkable passage, *De Præscr. Hæc.* 22.

(γ) The Catholic Epistles:

1 John: Iren. III. 16. 8; Clem.

a time when it was easy to try its worth. The links which connected them with the Apostolic age were few and known; and if they had not been continuous it would have been easy to expose the break. But their appeal was never gainsaid; and it still remains as a sure proof that no chasm separates the old and the new in the history of Christianity. Those great teachers are themselves an embodiment of the unity and progress of the faith.

This will appear in yet another light when it is noticed that Clement and Irenæus speak from opposite quarters of Christendom, and exactly from those in which we have found before no traces of the circulation of the Apostolic writings. They tell us what was the fulness of the doctrine on Scripture where the Churches had grown up in silence. They shew in what way the books of the New Testament were the natural help of Christian men, as well as the ready armoury of Christian advocates.

The evidence for the reception of the acknowledged

Strom. II. 15. 66; Tert. *adv. Prax.* 25.

- 1 Peter: Iren. IV. 9. 2; Clem. *Ped.* I. 6. 44; Tert. *c. Gnost.* 12. See however p. 260, n. 2.

(δ) *The Pauline Epistles:*

- Romans: Iren. II. 23. 2; Clem. *Strom.* II. 21. 134.
1 Corinthians: Iren. I. 8. 2; Clem. *Strom.* I. 1. 10.
2 Corinthians: Iren. III. 7. 1; Clem. *Strom.* I. 1. 4.
Galatians: Iren. III. 7. 2; Clem. *Strom.* I. 8. 41.
Ephesians: Iren. I. 8. 5; Clem. *Strom.* III. 4. 28.
Philippians: Iren. I. 10. 1; Clem. *Strom.* I. 11. 53.
Colossians: Iren. III. 14. 1; Clem. *Strom.* I. 1. 15.

- 1 Thessalonians: Iren. V. 6. 1; Clem. *Strom.* I. 11. 53.
2 Thessalonians: Iren. V. 25. 1; Clem. *Strom.* V. 3. 17.
1 Timothy: Iren. I. Pref.; Clem. *Strom.* II. 11. 52.
2 Timothy: Iren. III. 14. 1; Clem. *Strom.* III. 6. 53.
Titus: Iren. I. 16. 3; Clem. *Strom.* I. 14. 59.

The Epistle to Philemon is nowhere quoted by Clement or Irenæus, but Tertullian, who examines the *thirteen* Pauline Epistles in the fifth book against Marcion, distinctly recognizes it.

- (ε) *The Apocalypse:*
Iren. V. 35. 2; Clem. *Ped.* II. 10. 108; Tert. *adv. Marc.* III. 14.

Chap. i.

The testimony is the same when its original sources cannot be traced.

Chap. i.

And it includes the notion of a definite collection of sacred books.

books of the New Testament at the close of the second century is made more complete by the general character which was assigned to them. Special causes hindered the universal circulation of the other books, but these were regarded throughout the Church as parts of an organic whole, correlative to the Old Testament, and of equal weight with it. They were considered to be not only Apostolic, but also authoritative. 'The Scriptures 'are perfect,' Irenæus says, 'inasmuch as they were uttered by the word of God and His Spirit¹;' and what he understands by the Scriptures is evident from the course of his arguments, in which he makes use of the books of the Old and New Testaments without distinction. 'There could not,' he elsewhere argues, 'be either more 'than four Gospels or fewer.' That number was prefigured by types in the Mosiac ritual and by analogies in nature, so that all are 'vain and ignorant and daring 'besides who set at nought the fundamental notion (*ιδέα*) 'of the Gospel².' Clement again recognizes generally a collection of 'the Scriptures of the Lord,' under the title of 'the Gospel and the Apostle³;' and this collective title shews that the books were regarded as essentially one. But this unity was produced by 'the harmony 'of the Law and the Prophets, and of the Apostles and 'the Gospels in the Church⁴.' All alike proceeded from One Author: all were 'ratified by the authority of 'Almighty Power⁵.' Tertullian marks the introduction of the 'phrase New Testament' as applied to the Evangelic Scriptures. 'If,' he says, 'I shall not clear up this

¹ Iren. *c. Har.* II. 28. 2: Scripturæ quidem perfectæ sunt, quippe a Verbo Dei et Spiritu ejus dictæ. δ τε ἀπόστολος κελεύουσι. Elsewhere Clement uses the plural ἀπόστολοι.

² Iren. *c. Har.* III. II. 8. sq.

⁴ Strom. VI. II. 88.

³ Strom. VII. 3. 14: σφᾶς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀρχαλωτίζειν...τό τε εὐαγγέλιον

⁵ Strom. IV. 1. 2.

'point by investigations of the Old Scripture, I will take the proof of our interpretation from the New Testament...For behold both in the Gospels and in the Apostles I observe a visible and an invisible God...¹'

The clear testimony of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian—clear because their writings are of considerable extent—finds complete support not only in the fragments of earlier Fathers, but also in smaller contemporary works. Athenagoras at Athens and Theophilus at Antioch make use of the same books generally, and treat them with the same respect². And from the close of the second century, with the single exception of the Apocalypse, the books thus acknowledged were always received without doubt until subjective criticism ventured to set aside the evidence of antiquity³.

But it is necessary to repeat, what has been continually noticed during the course of our enquiry, that this result was obtained gradually, spontaneously, silently⁴. There is no evidence to shew that at any time the claims of the Apostolic writings to be placed on an equal footing with those of the Old Testament, which formed the first Christian Bible, were deliberately discussed and admitted. The establishment of purely Gentile Churches, unfamiliar with the Jewish Scriptures, led no doubt to the collection of other books which answered more

Chap. i.

The testimony of the chief Fathers supported by collateral evidence.

The Canon of the acknowledged Books formed by practical consent not by definite authority.

¹ *Adv. Prax.* 15: Si hunc articulum quæstionibus Scripturæ Veteris non expediam, de Novo Testamento sumam confirmationem nostræ interpretationis, ne quodcumque in Filium reputo in Patrem proinde defendas. Ecce enim et in Evangeliiis et in Apostolis visibilem et invisibilem Deum deprehendo, sub manifesta et personali distinctione conditionis utriusque. *id.* c. 20: totum instrumentum utriusque Testamenti... *De Pudic.* 1: Pudicitia...

trahit...disciplinam per instrumentum prædicationis et censuram per judicia ex utroque Testamento... *Comp.* p. 250 and notes.

² Compare pp. 225 ff.

³ The assaults of the Manichees on the books of the New Testament cannot be considered an exception to the truth of this statement. Something will be said about them hereafter.

⁴ Compare pp. 5 f., 12 f., 55 ff., 227, 325 ff.

Chap. i.

directly to new religious wants. The controversies with Ebionites and Marcionites served soon after to quicken the sense of the loss which followed from the neglect of the records of the earlier or of the later revelation. There must also have been frequent interchange and comparison of the first Christian writings. But when full allowance is made for these occasional influences and essays in criticism, the fact remains that slow experience and spiritual instinct decided the practical judgment of the Church. Step by step the books which were stamped with Apostolic authority were separated from the mass of other works which contained the traditions or opinions of less authoritative teachers. Without controversy and without effort 'the Gospel and the Apostles' were recognized as inspired sources of truth in the same sense as 'the Law and the Prophets.' In both cases the judgment appeared as a natural manifestation of the life of the Christian body, and not as a logical consequence of definite principles. It was an inevitable consequence of this progressive and vital recognition of an Apostolic canon that some difference of opinion as to its exact limits should coexist with general agreement as to its contents, though no difference of opinion remained as to the religious authority of all the books admitted in it. Thus doubts existed in various Churches as to the completeness with which some books satisfied the criterion of Apostolicity which was made the final test of reception; and an examination of these doubts as to their ground and their prevalence, which forms the subject of the next Chapter, throws considerable light upon the mode and circumstances in which the contents of the New Testament were fixed.

CHAPTER II.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE CHURCHES TO THE DISPUTED BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

In Canonicis Scripturis Ecclesiarum Catholicarum quamplurimum auctoritatem [indagator solertissimus] sequatur.

AUGUSTINUS.

SEVEN books of the New Testament, as is well known, have been received into the Canon on evidence less complete than that by which the others are supported¹. In the controversy which has been raised about their claims to Apostolic authority much stress has been laid on their internal character. But such a method of reasoning is commonly inconclusive, and inferences are drawn on both sides with equal confidence. In every instance the result will be influenced by preconceived notions of the state of the early Church, and it is possible that an original source of information may be disparaged because it is independent. History must deliver its full testimony before internal criticism can find its proper use. And here the real question to be answered in the case of the disputed books is not Why we receive them? but Why should we not receive them? The general agreement of the Church in the fourth century is an antecedent proof of their claims; and it remains to be seen whether it is set aside by the more uncertain and frag-

Chap. ii.

The question of the disputed Books to be decided historically.

¹ The Epistles of James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse.

Chap. ii.

The acceptance of a Deutero-canon no solution of the problem.

mentary evidence of earlier generations. If on the contrary it can be proved, that the books were known from the first though not known universally; if any explanation can be given of their limited circulation; if it can be shewn that they were more generally received as they were more widely known: then it will appear that history has decided the matter; and this decision of history will be conclusive. The idea of forming the disputed books into a Deutero-canon of the New Testament (advocated by many Roman Catholics in spite of the Council of Trent, and by many of the early reformers¹), though it appears plausible at first sight, is evidently either a mere confession that the question is incapable of solution, or a re-statement of it in other words. The second Epistle of St Peter is either an authentic work of the Apostle or a forgery; for in this case there can be no mean. And the Epistles of St James and St Jude and that to the Hebrews, if they are genuine, are Apostolic at least in the same sense as the Gospels of St Mark and St Luke and the Acts of the Apostles². It involves a manifest confusion of ideas to compensate for a deficiency of historical proof by a lower standard of Canonicity. The extent of the divine authority of a book cannot be made to vary with the completeness of the proof of its genuineness. The genuineness must be admitted before the

¹ Even Augustine appears to have favoured this view: Tenebit igitur [Scripturarum indagator] hunc modum in Scripturis Canonicis ut eas quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur Ecclesiis Catholicis præponat iis quas quædam non accipiunt; in iis vero quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus præponat eas quas plures gravioreque accipiunt iis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis Ecclesiæ tenent (*De Doctr. Chr.* II. 12). In spite of the authority however it is clear that such a statement can rest on no logical basis.

² I do not by any means intend to assert that every work of an Apostle or Apostolic writer as such would have formed part of the Canon; indeed I believe that many Apostolic writings may have been lost when they had wrought their purpose, but that these books have received the recognition of the Church in such a manner that if genuine they must be Canonical.

authority can have any positive value, which from its nature cannot admit of degrees; and till the genuineness be established the authority remains in abeyance.

The evidence which has been collected hitherto for the Apostolicity of the disputed books may be briefly summed up as follows. The Epistle to the Hebrews is certainly referred to by Clement of Rome, and probably by Justin Martyr; it is contained in the *Peshito*, though probably the version was made by a separate translator; but it is omitted in the fragmentary Canon of Muratori, and, as it appears, was wanting also in the *Old Latin* version¹. Except the opinion of Tertullian, which has been mentioned by anticipation, nothing has been found tending to determine its authorship. The Epistle of St James is referred to by Hermas and probably by Clement, and is included in the *Peshito* (according to some copies as the work of St James the Elder); but it is not found in the Muratorian Canon, nor in the *Old Latin*². The Epistle of St Jude and probably the two shorter Epistles of St John are supported by the authority of the Muratorian Canon and of the *Old Latin* version; but they are not found in the *Peshito*³. The Apocalypse is distinctly mentioned by Justin as the work of the Apostle John, and Papias and Melito bear witness to its authority: it is included in the Muratorian Canon, but not in the *Peshito*⁴. No certain trace has yet been found of the second Epistle of St Peter⁵.

From this general summary it will be seen that up to this time the Epistle of St James and that to the Hebrews rest principally on the authority of the Eastern (Syrian) Church: the second and third Epistles of St John and

Chap. ii.

A summary of the evidence up to this point. The Epistle to the Hebrews.

The Epistles of St James,

*Jude,
2 and 3
John.*

The Apocalypse.

According to Churches.

¹ Cf. pp. 49, 168, 215, 235 n. 2, 256, 262.

² Cf. pp. 48, 198, 215, 241, 261.

³ Cf. pp. 215, 241, 254.

⁴ Cf. pp. 76, 166, 215, 219, 241.

⁵ Cf. pp. 220 n. 1, 325 n. 1.

Chap. ii.

the Epistle of St Jude on that of the Western Church: the Apocalypse on that of the Church of Asia Minor. It remains to inquire how far these lines of evidence are extended and confirmed in the great divisions of the Church up to the close of the third century¹.

§ 1. *The Alexandrine Church.*

The importance of the witness of the Alexandrine Church,

The testimony of the Alexandrine Church, as has been noticed already, is of the utmost importance, owing to the natural advantages of its position and the conspicuous eminence of its great teachers during the third century. Never perhaps have two such men as Clement and Origen contributed in successive generations to build up a Christian Church in wisdom and humility. No two fathers ever did more to vindicate the essential harmony of Christian truth with the lessons of history and the experience of men; and in spite of their many faults and exaggerations, perhaps no influence on the whole has been less productive of evil².

CLEMENT.
c. 165—220
A.D.

No catalogue of the Books of the New Testament occurs in the writings of Clement; but Eusebius has given a summary of his 'Hypotyposes' or 'Outlines' which serves in some measure to supply the defect³. 'Clement in his *Outlines*, to speak generally, has given concise 'explanations of all the Canonical Scriptures (πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκου γραφῆς) without omitting the disputed books: 'I mean the Epistle of Jude and the remaining Catholic 'Epistles, as well as the Epistle of Barnabas and the so-

¹ On the partial use of Apocryphal or Ecclesiastical writings as of Lardner, Pt. II. c. 18, § 12; supr. authority by different Fathers, see pp. 226 f. App. B.

² Athenagoras is sometimes classed with the Alexandrine school, but his writings contain no clear references to any of the disputed books. Cf. Lardner, Pt. II. c. 18, § 12; supr. authority by different Fathers, see pp. 226 f. App. B.

³ The testimony of Pantænus (?) to the Epistle to the Hebrews as a work of St Paul is noticed on the following page.

‘called Revelation of Peter. And moreover he says that the Epistle to the Hebrews is Paul’s, but that it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew dialect, and that Luke having carefully (*φιλοτίμως*) translated it published it for the use of the Greeks. And that it is owing to the fact that he translated it that the complexion (*χρῶτα*) of this Epistle and that of the Acts is found to be the same. Further he remarks that it is natural that the phrase *Paul an Apostle* does not occur in the superscription, for in writing to Hebrews, who had conceived a prejudice against him and suspected him, he was very wise in not repelling them at the beginning by affixing his name. And then a little further on he (Clement) adds: And as the blessed presbyter (? Pantænus) before now used to say, since the Lord, as being the Apostle of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul through his modesty, inasmuch as he was sent to the Gentiles, does not inscribe himself Apostle of the Hebrews, both on account of the honour due to the Lord, and because it was a work of supererogation that he addressed an Epistle to the Hebrews also (*ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπιστέλλειν*) since he was herald and Apostle of the Gentiles¹. The testimony to the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews which is contained in this passage is evidently of the greatest value. There can be little doubt that the ‘blessed presbyter’ was Pantænus; and thus the tradition is carried up almost to the Apostolic age. With regard to the other disputed books, the words of Eusebius imply some distinction between ‘the Epistle of Jude and the Catholic Epistles,’ and ‘the Epistle of Barnabas and the Revelation of Peter.’ But the whole statement is very loosely worded, and its true meaning must be sought by

Chap. ii.

Hebr. iii. 1.

to the Epistle
to the Hebrews,to the Catholic
Epistles.¹ Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14.

Chap. ii.

† c. 885 A.D.

comparison with other evidence. Fortunately this is not wanting. Photius after commenting very severely on the doctrinal character of the *Outlines* adds; 'Now the whole scope of the book consists in giving as it were interpretations of Genesis, of Exodus, of the Psalms; of the Epistles of St Paul, and of the Catholic Epistles, and of Ecclesiasticus¹.' The last clause is very obscure; but whatever may be meant by it, it is evident that the detailed enumeration is most imperfect, for the *Outlines* certainly contained notes on the four Gospels. But if Clement had distinctly rejected any book which Photius held to be Canonical, or treated any Apocryphal book as part of Holy Scripture, it is likely that he would have mentioned the fact; and thus negatively his testimony modifies that of Eusebius, at least so far as that seems to imply that Clement treated the Epistle of Barnabas and the Revelation of Peter as Canonical. A third account of the *Outlines* further limits the statements of Eusebius and Photius. Cassiodorus, the chief minister of Theodoric, in his 'Introduction to the reading of Holy Scripture' says: 'Clement of Alexandria a presbyter, who is also called Stromateus, has made some comments on the Canonical Epistles, that is to say on the first Epistle of St Peter, the first and second of St John, and the Epistle of St James, in pure and elegant language. Many things which he has said in them shew refinement, but some a want of caution: and we have caused his comments to be rendered into Latin, so that by the omission of some trifling details which

¹ Phot. *Cod.* 109. Bunsen, *Anal. Ante-Nic.* I. p. 165. For καὶ τῶν καθολικῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ (Bekk. ἐκκλησιαστοῦ) Bunsen prints καὶ τῶν καθ. καὶ τοῦ καθόλου τόμου Ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ. But surely ὁ καθό-

λου τόμος Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς is a marvellous phrase. The reference to the book of Ecclesiasticus in such a connexion, however perplexing, is not without parallel. Cf. pp. 215 ff., 380.

'might cause offence his teaching may be imbibed with 'greater security'. There can be little doubt that the Latin *Adumbrationes* which are given in the editions of Clement are the notes of which Cassiodorus speaks. There is however one discrepancy between the description and the *Adumbrationes*. These are written on the first Epistle of St Peter, the Epistle of St Jude (not St James), and the first two Epistles of St John; but in general character they answer to the idea which might be formed of the work, and Cassiodorus himself is by no means so accurate a writer that his testimony should be decisive². The *Adumbrationes* contain numerous references to Scripture, and expressly assign the Epistle to the Hebrews to St Paul³. The scattered testimonies which are gathered from the text of Clement's extant works recognize the same books. He makes several quotations from the Epistle to the Hebrews as St Paul's⁴, from the Epistle of St Jude⁵, and one among many others from the first Epistle of St John which implies the existence of a second⁶; while he uses the Apocalypse frequently, assigning it to the Apostle St John⁷; but he nowhere makes any reference to the Epistle of St James⁸. There can then be little doubt that the reading in Cassiodorus is false, and that 'Jude' should be substituted

¹ The passages are printed at length by Bunsen, *ib.* pp. 323 sqq.; and in the editions of Clement. Klotz, iv. pp. 52 sqq.

² It may be added that Cassiodorus omits Jude in his list of the books of the New Testament. See App. D.

³ But it is added that it was translated by St Luke: Lucas quoque et Actus Apostolorum stylo exsecutus agnoscitur et Pauli ad Hebræos interpretatus epistolam. Cf. p. 351.

⁴ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 8. 62:

Παῦλος... τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γράφων.

⁵ *Strom.* III. 2. 11: ἐπὶ τούτων οἶμαι... προφητικῶς Ἰούδαν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εἰρηκέναι.

⁶ *Strom.* II. 15. 66: φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ μείζονι ἐπιστολῇ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἐκδιδάσκων. Comp. p. 379, n. 3.

⁷ *Pæd.* II. 12. 119. *Strom.* VI. 13. 107: ὡς φησιν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ὁ Ἰωάννης.

⁸ The instances commonly quoted are rightly set aside by Lardner, II. 22, § 8.

Chap. ii.

for 'James;' and thus the different lines of evidence are found to coincide exactly. Clement, it appears, recognized as Canonical all the books of the New Testament except the Epistle of St James, the second Epistle of St Peter, and the third Epistle of St John. And his silence as to these can prove no more than that he was unacquainted with them¹.

ORIGEN.
186—353A.D.

Origen completed nobly the work which Clement began. During a long life of labour and suffering he learnt more fully than any one who went before him the depth and wisdom of the Holy Scriptures; and his testimony to their divine claims is proportionately more complete and systematic. Eusebius has collected the chief passages in which he speaks on the subject of the Canon, and though much that he says refers to the Acknowledged Books, his evidence is too important to be omitted. Like the Fathers who preceded him, he professes only to repeat the teaching which he had received. 'In the first book of his Commentaries on 'Matthew,' Eusebius writes, 'preserving the rule of the 'Church, he testifies that he knows only four Gospels, 'writing to this effect: I have learnt by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are uncontroverted 'in the Church of God spread under heaven, that that 'according to Matthew, who was once a publican but 'afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, was written first; '...that according to Mark second;...that according to 'Luke third;...that according to John last of all².'

How Eusebius records his evidence in reference to the Gospels;

the Apostolic Epistles;

'The same writer,' Eusebius continues, 'in the fifth

¹ Clement's use of the writings of the sub-apostolic Fathers (Clement of Rome, Hermas, Barnabas) and of certain Apocryphal books (the Gospels according to the Hebrews and the Egyptians, the preaching and the Apocalypse of Peter, the Traditions of Mathias) will be considered in App. B. It is enough to notice that there is no evidence to shew that he attributed to them a decisive authority, as he did to the writings of the Apostles in the strictest sense.

² Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 25.

'book of his Commentaries on the Gospel of John says
'this of the Epistles of the Apostles: Now he who was
'*made fit to be a minister of the new covenant, not of the*
'*letter but of the spirit*, Paul, who fully preached the
'Gospel from Jerusalem round about as far as Illyricum,
'did not even write to all the Churches which he taught,
'and sent moreover but few lines (*στίχους*) to those to
'which he wrote. Peter again, on whom the Church of
'Christ is built *against which the gates of hell shall not*
'*prevail*, has left behind one Epistle generally acknow-
'ledged; perhaps also a second, for it is a disputed ques-
'tion. Why need I speak about him who reclined upon
'the breast of Jesus, John, who has left behind a single
'Gospel, though he confesses that he could make so
'many as *not even the world could contain?* He wrote
'moreover the Apocalypse, having been commanded to
'keep silence, and not to write the voices of the seven
'thunders. He has left behind also one Epistle of very
'few lines: perhaps too a second and third; for all do
'not allow that these are genuine; nevertheless both
'together do not contain a hundred lines.'

'In addition to these statements [Origen] thus dis-
'cusses the Epistle to the Hebrews in his Homilies upon
'it: Every one who is competent to judge of differences
'of diction (*φράσεων*) would acknowledge that the style
'(*χαρακτήρ τῆς λέξεως*) of the Epistle entitled to the
'Hebrews does not exhibit the Apostle's rudeness and
'simplicity in speech (*τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικόν*), though he
'acknowledged himself to be *simple in his speech*, that is
'in his diction (*τῇ φράσει*), but it is more truly Greek in
'its composition (*συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως*). And again, that
'the thoughts (*νοήματα*) of the Epistle are wonderful,
'and not second to the acknowledged writings of the
'Apostle, every one who pays attention to the reading

Chap. ii.

John xxi. 25.
the Apoca-
lypse;
Apoc. x. 4.

the Epistle
to the He-
brews.

Chap. ii.

'of the Apostle's works would also grant to be true. 'And after other remarks he adds: If I were to express 'my own opinion I should say that the thoughts are 'the Apostle's, but the diction and composition that of 'some one who recorded from memory the Apostle's 'teaching, and as it were illustrated with a brief Com- 'mentary the sayings of his master (*ἀπομνημονεύσαντος... 'καὶ ὥσπερ εἰ σχολιογραφήσαντος*). If then any Church 'hold this Epistle to be Paul's, we cannot find fault with 'it for so doing (*εὐδοκιμείτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ*); for it was 'not without good reason (*οὐκ εἰκῇ*) that the men of old 'time have handed it down as Paul's. But who it was 'who wrote the Epistle God only knows certainly. The 'account (*ἱστορία*) which has reached us is [manifold,] 'some saying that Clement who became Bishop of Rome 'wrote it, while others assign it to Luke the author of 'the Gospel and the Acts.'

Much has been written since upon the subject with which Origen deals thus wisely, but not one step has been surely made beyond the limit which he fixes. Others have expounded the arguments on which he touches, but without adding anything to their real force. New conjectures have been made, more groundless than those which he mentions, but his practical conclusion remains unshaken. The Epistle though not St Paul's in the strictest sense is eminently Pauline; and from the time of Origen it was generally received as St Paul's in this wider view of authorship by the Alexandrine Church, and thence in the fourth century by the great scholars of the West.

There still remain two passages in Rufinus' version¹ of the Homilies on Genesis and Joshua in which we find

*The testimo-
nies in the
Homilies.*

¹ There can be no doubt that he was the author of it. Cf. Huet, *Origen*.
III. 2.

an incidental enumeration of the different authors and books of the New Testament. It is however impossible to insist on these as of primary authority. Rufinus, as is well known, was not content to render the simple words of Origen, but sought in several points to bring them into harmony with the current belief; and the comparison of some fragments of the Greek text of one of the Homilies with his rendering of it shews clearly that he has allowed himself in these the same licence as in his other translations¹. Still there is something of Origen's manner throughout the pieces; and in his popular writings he quotes parts of the disputed books without hesitation.

The first passage is contained in a spiritual explanation² of the narrative concerning the wells which were opened by Isaac after the Philistines had stopped them, and the new wells which he made. Moses, Origen tells us, was one of the servants of Abraham who first opened the fountain of the Law. Such too were David and the Prophets. But the Jews closed up those sources of life, the Scriptures of the Old Testament, with earthly thoughts; and when the antitype of Isaac had sought to lay them open, the Philistines strove with him. 'So 'then he dug new wells; and so did his servants. 'Isaac's servants were Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: 'his servants are Peter, James, and Jude: his servant 'also is the Apostle Paul; who all dig wells of the New 'Testament. But those *who mind earthly things* strive 'ever for these also, and suffer not the new to be formed, 'nor the old to be cleansed. They gainsay the sources

*The passage
from a Ho-
mily on
Gen. xxvi.
18 sqq.*

¹ For instance, he adds such phrases as Sanctus Apostolus, and translates *ὡς οὐχ ἄγια τὰ Μωυσέως συγγράμματα* by Scripta Mosis nihil in se divinæ sapientiæ nihilque operis sancti Spiritus continere (*Hom. in Gen. II. 2*).
² *Hom. in Gen. XIII. 2*. A different explanation of the wells is given *Select. in Gen. VIII. p. 77* (ed. Lomm.).

Chap. ii.

From a Homily on Joshua.

'opened in the Gospel: they oppose those opened by 'the Apostles' (*Evangelicis puteis contradicunt: Apostolicis adversantur*).

The last quotation which I shall make is equally characteristic of Origen's style. He has been speaking of the walls of Jericho which fell down before the blasts of the trumpets of the priests. 'So too,' he says¹, 'our 'Lord, whose advent was typified by the son of Nun, 'when he came sent his Apostles as priests bearing 'well-wrought (*ductiles*) trumpets. Matthew first sounded the priestly trumpet in his Gospel. Mark also, 'Luke and John, each gave forth a strain on their 'priestly trumpets. Peter moreover sounds loudly on 'the twofold² trumpet of his Epistles: and so also James 'and Jude. Still the number is incomplete, and John 'gives forth the trumpet-sound in his Epistles and 'Apocalypse; and Luke while describing the Acts of the 'Apostles. Lastly however came he who said: *I think 'that God hath set forth us Apostles last of all*, and thundering on the fourteen trumpets of his Epistles threw 'down even to the ground the walls of Jericho, that 'is to say all the instruments of idolatry and the doctrines of philosophers.'

Isolated testimonies to the several Books in the Greek Text.

Such appears to have been Origen's popular teaching on the Canon, in discourses which aimed at spiritual instruction rather than at critical accuracy; and it remains to be seen how far these general outlines are filled up in detail by special testimonies. The first place is naturally due to references contained in the Greek text of his writings; and it is indeed on these only that absolute reliance can be placed. It is evident then from this

¹ *Hom. in Jos. VII. I.*

has a very remarkable reading, *ex*

² *Duabis tubis*. One Manuscript *tubis*.

kind of evidence, no less than from all other, that like Clement he received the Apocalypse as an undoubted work of the Apostle St John¹. Like Clement also he quotes the Epistle of St Jude several times, and expressly as the work of 'the Lord's brother;' but he implies in one place the existence of doubts as to its authority². In addition to this he refers to the 'Epistle in circulation under the name of James³;' but he nowhere I believe either quotes or mentions the second Epistle of St Peter⁴, or the two shorter Epistles of St John. On the contrary, he quotes *the Epistle of Peter*⁵ and *the Epistle of John*⁶ in such a manner as at least to shew that the other Epistles were not familiarly known.

The Latin version of the Homilies supplies in part what is wanting in the Greek Commentaries. It contains several distinct quotations of the second Epistle of St Peter⁷, and of the Epistle of St James, who is described in one place as 'the brother of the Lord,' but generally

Chap. ii.

The Apoc-
lypse.

St JUDE.

St JAMES.

2 Peter.

2 and 3 John.

In the Latin
Version.

2 Peter.

St JAMES.

¹ *Comm. in Joan.* T. I. 14: φησιν οὖν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ὁ τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου Ἰωάννης.

² *Comm. in Matt.* T. X. 17 (Matt. xiii. 55, 56): καὶ Ἰούδας ἐγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν ὀλιγόστιχον μὲν πεπληρωμένην δὲ τῆς οὐρανόθεν χάριτος ἐρρωμένων λόγων... *id.* T. XVII. 30: εἰ δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἰούδα πρόσσιτό τις ἐπιστολὴν...

³ *Comm. in Joan.* T. XIX. 6: ὡς ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολῇ ἀνέγνωμεν. Cf. T. XX. 10. He once quotes it without further remark: ὡς παρὰ Ἰακώβω, *Select. in Ps.* xxx. T. XII. p. 129. It may be concluded from one passage in his Commentaries on St Matthew (xiii. 55, 56), in which he notices that the St Jude there mentioned was the author of the Epistle which bore his name, and St James the one to whom St Paul refers in Gal. i. 19, that he was not inclined to believe that the Epistle

of St James was written by the Lord's brother.

⁴ It is impossible to insist confidently on the doubtful reading. *Comm. in Matt.* T. XV. 27: ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς. Πέτρου is apparently omitted in the Manuscripts.

⁵ *Select. in Ps.* iii. (T. XI. 420): κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ παρὰ τῷ Πέτρῳ. Cf. *Comm. in Joan.* T. VI. 18.

⁶ *Comm. in Matt.* T. XVII. 19: τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς. *ib.* T. XV. 31: ἡ Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολὴ. Yet cf. p. 362, n. 1.

⁷ *Hom. in Levit.* IV. 4: Petrus dixit (2 Pet. i. 4). Cf. *Comm. in Rom.* IV. 9. *Hom. in Num.* XIII. 8: ut ait quodam in loco scriptura (2 Pet. ii. 16). Cf. *Hom.* XVIII. s. f. Thus also *de Princ.* II. 5. 3: Petrus in prima epistola...

Chap. ii.

The Epistle
to the He-
brews.

Summary of
Origen's opi-
nion on the
New Testa-
ment Canon

only as 'the Apostle¹;' but even in this there is no reference to the shorter Epistles of St John.

The Epistle to the Hebrews is quoted continually both in the Greek and in the Latin text, sometimes as the work of St Paul, sometimes as the work of the Apostle, and sometimes without any special designation².

On the whole then there can be little doubt as to Origen's judgment on the New Testament Canon. He was acquainted with all the books which are received at present, and received as Apostolic all those which were recognized by Clement. The others he used, but with a certain reserve and hesitation, arising from a want of information as to their history, rather than from any positive grounds of suspicion³.

¹ *Comm. in Rom.* iv. 8; James vi. 4.

² The passage quoted by Eusebius from a Homily on the Hebrews gives probably Origen's mature judgment on the authorship of the Epistle. In the earlier letter to Africanus he says, after quoting Hebr. xi. 37: ἀλλ' εἰκός τινα θλιβόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποδείξεως συγχρήσασθαι τῷ βουλείματι τῶν ἀθετούντων τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς οὐ Παύλῳ γεγραμμένην· πρὸς δὲ ἄλλων λόγων κατ' ἰδίαν χρῆσμεν εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ εἶναι Παύλου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν (T. xvii. p. 31). Though the date of this letter is probably A.D. 240, the Homilies were not written till after 245.

³ Origen's quotations from the sub-apostolic Fathers (Clement of Rome, Hermas, Barnabas) and Apocryphal Books (the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Preaching of Peter, the Acts of Paul) will be noticed in App. B.

One famous passage in which Origen contrasts the Canonical Gospels with others deserves to be quoted. In commenting on Luke i. 1 he says 'The phrase *have taken in hand* im-

'who rushed hastily to write Gospels 'without the grace of the Holy Spirit. Matthew and Mark and 'Luke and John did not *take in hand* to write their Gospels, but 'wrote them being full of the Holy Spirit.....The Church has four 'Gospels, heresies very many, of 'which one is entitled *according to the Egyptians*, another *according to the twelve Apostles*.....Four Gospels 'only are approved, out of which 'we must bring forth points of teaching under the person of our Lord 'and Saviour. There is I know a 'Gospel which is called *according to Thomas*, and [one] *according to Matthias*; and there are many others 'which we read, lest we should seem 'to be unacquainted with any point 'for the sake of those who think they 'possess some valuable knowledge if 'they are acquainted with them. 'But in all these we approve nothing 'else but that which the Church approves, that is, four Gospels only as 'proper to be received' (*Hom. i. in Luc.*). The passage may stand as a complete explanation of his judgment and his practice.

Clement divided the Christian books into two great divisions, *the Gospel* and *the Apostle* or *the Apostles*. Origen repeats the same classification¹; but he also advanced a step further, and found that these were united in one whole as 'Divine Scriptures of the New Covenant²,' written by the same Spirit as those before Christ's coming³, and giving a testimony by which every word should be established⁴.

Among the most distinguished scholars of Origen was Dionysius, who was promoted to the presidency of the Catechetical School about the year 231 A.D., and afterwards was chosen Bishop of Alexandria. During an active and troubled episcopate he maintained an intimate communication with Rome, Asia Minor, and Palestine; and in one place (referring to the schism of Novatus) he expresses his joy at 'the unity and love everywhere prevalent in all the districts of Syria, in Arabia, Mesopotamia, Pontus, and Bithynia,' and 'in all the churches of the East⁵.' Important fragments of his letters still remain, which contain numerous references to the New Testament; and among other quotations he makes use of the Epistle to the Hebrews as St Paul's⁶, of the Epistle of St James⁷, and in his remarks

Chap. ii.
as a whole.

DIONYSIUS.

248 A.D.

The Epistle
to the He-
brews.

¹ Clem. *Strom.* VII. 3. 14; V. 5. 31; VI. 2. 88. Orig. *Hom. in Jerem.* XXI. f. See p. 344.

² *De Princip.* IV. 1 (*Philoc.* c. 1): ...ἐκ τῶν πεπιστευμένων ἡμῖν εἶναι θείων γραφῶν τῆς τε λεγομένης παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καὶ τῆς καλουμένης καινῆς...

³ *De Princip.* IV. 16: οὐ μόνον δὲ περὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας ταῦτα τὸ πνεῦμα ὠκονόμησεν, ἀλλ' αὖτε τὸ αὐτὸ τυγχάνον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνὸς θεοῦ, τὸ ὁμοιον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων πεποίηκε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων. *Comp. Comm. in Joh.* I. 15.

⁴ *Hom. in Jerem.* I. The well-known reference of Origen to the Shepherd of Hermas (*Comm. in Rom.* xvi. 14. Cf. *Comm. in Matt.* T. XIV. 21) evidently expresses a private opinion on the book, and by no means places it on an equality with the Canonical Scriptures. Cf. App. B.

⁵ Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 46; VII. 4. 5.

⁶ Dion. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 41: τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις οἷς καὶ Παῦλος ἐμαρτύρησε μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξαντο. Cf. *Hebr.* x. 34.

⁷ *Comm. in Luc.* XXII. (Gallandi,

Chap. ii.

2 and 3 John.

The Apoca-
lypse.

on the Apocalypse mentions 'the second and third Epistles circulated as works of John' in such a way as to imply that he was inclined to receive them as authentic¹. His criticism on the Apocalypse has been already noticed. He had weighed the objections which were brought against it, and found them insufficient to overthrow its Canonicity², though he believed that it was not the work of the Apostle, and admitted that it was full of difficulties which he was unable to explain. 'I will not deny,' he says, 'that the author of the Apocalypse was named John, for I fully allow (συναινῶ) that it is the work of some holy and inspired man (ἀγίου...τινὸς καὶ θεο-πνεύστου); but I should not easily concur in the belief that this John was the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, who wrote the Gospel and the Catholic Epistle.' And he then adds the grounds of his opinion: 'for I conclude from a comparison of the character of the writings, and from the form of the language, and the general construction of the book [of the Revelation] that [the John there mentioned] is not the same³.' In this passage Dionysius makes no reference

Bibl. Pp. xiv. App. p. 117. Cf. Proleg. v.) ὁ γὰρ θεός, φησὶν, ἀπειραστός ἐστι κακῶν. James i. 13.

¹ Dion. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 25: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένη Ἰωάννου καὶ τρίτῃ καίτοι βραχείαις οὐσαις ἐπιστολαῖς ὁ Ἰωάννης ὀνομαστί πρόκειται ἀλλ' ἀνωνύμως ὁ πρεσβύτερος γέγραπται. Though the context implies that he held these letters to be St John's, yet he afterwards speaks of 'his Epistle,' as if he had written but one (ἡ ἐπιστολή, ἡ καθολικὴ ἐπιστολή). This may serve to explain the similar usage of Origen. Cf. p. 359. This mode of speaking is most remarkably illustrated in the records of the seventh Council of Carthage (A.D. 256,

Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. p. 130), where the second Epistle of St John is thus quoted: Ioannes Apostolus in epistola sua posuit dicens (2 John 10, 11). In the fifth Council (Routh, p. 111) the first Epistle is quoted in the same words.

² Cf. pp. 274 f.

³ Dion. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* i. c.: τεκμαίρομαι γὰρ ἐκ τε τοῦ ἤθους ἐκτέρων καὶ τοῦ τῶν λόγων εἶδους καὶ τῆς τοῦ βιβλίου διεξαγωγῆς λεγομένης μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι. The whole passage is too long to quote, but will repay a careful perusal. I do not think there is any other piece of pure criticism in the early Fathers to compare with it for style and manner.

to any historical evidence in support of the opinion which he advocates, and consequently his objections gain no weight from his position. But the fact that he urged them is of great interest, as shewing the liberty which was still allowed in dealing with the Canon. He set forth the absolute authority of that which 'could be 'proved by demonstration and teaching of the Holy 'Scriptures¹:' he regarded it as a worthy task even in small matters to 'harmonize the words of the Evangelists 'with judgment and good faith²:' he allowed the Apocalypse itself to be the work of an inspired man; but nevertheless he regarded the special authorship of the sacred books as a proper subject for critical inquiry³. And this is entirely consistent with the belief that the Canon was fixed practically by the common use of Christians, and not definitely marked out by any special investigation—that it was formed by instinct, and not by argument. Dionysius exercised a free judgment on Scripture within certain limits, but these limits themselves were already recognized.

It does not appear that the opinion of Dionysius on the authorship of the Apocalypse made any permanent impression on the Alexandrine Church; but indeed the few fragments of later writers by which it is represented contain very little that illustrates the history of the disputed books. In the meagre remains which survive of the writings of Pierius, Theonas⁴ (the successor of

Chap. ii.

*Later Alex-
andrine
writers.*

265 A.D.

¹ Dion. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 24: *περὶ τὸ ζητούμενον... ἡμεῖς εὐγνωμόνως... τὰ ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι καὶ διδασκαλίαις τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν συνιστανόμενα καταδεχόμενοι.* He is referring to the accounts of the Resurrection.

² Dion. *Ep. Canon.* (Routh, *Rel.*

Sacr. III. p. 225): *καὶ μηδὲ διαφωρεῖν μηδὲ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοὺς εὐαγγελιστάς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπολάβωμεν, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μικρολογία τις εἶναι δοῖται*

³ It must be noticed that Dionysius himself quoted the Apocalypse with respect: Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 10 *ad init.*

⁴ One passage of his famous letter

Chap. ii.

THEOGNOSTUS.

PETER
MARTYR.
300 A.D.Summary of
the judgment of the
Alexandrine
Church.

Dionysius in the Episcopate), and Phileas, I have noticed nothing which bears upon it. Theognostus, who was at the head of the Catechetical School towards the close of the third century, makes use of the Epistle to the Hebrews as authoritative Scripture¹; and Peter Martyr (the successor of Theonas) refers to it expressly as the work of the Apostle².

The testimony of the Alexandrine Church to the New Testament Canon is thus generally uniform and clear. In addition to the acknowledged books the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse were received there as divine Scripture even by those who doubted their immediate Apostolic origin. The two shorter Epistles of St John were well known and commonly received³; but no one except Origen, so far as can be discovered now, was acquainted with the second Epistle of St Peter, and it is doubtful whether he made use of it⁴.

to Lucianus deserves to be quoted. As one step by which he was to bring his master to the faith it is said: *laudabitur et interim Evangelium Apostolusque* pro divinis oraculis (Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* III. p. 443). The common use of this collective term, as has been noticed before (p. 344), marks a period in the history of the Canon.

¹ Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* III. 409: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς γευσασμένοις τῆς οὐρανοῦ δωρεᾶς καὶ τελειωθεῖσιν οὐδεμία περιλείπεται συγγνώμης ἀπολογία καὶ παραιτήσις (Hebr. vi. 4).

² Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* IV. 35: εἰ μὴ, ὡς λέγει ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἐπίλοιποι δ' ἂν ἡμᾶς διηγούμενος ὁ χρόνος (Hebr. xi. 32). The succession of testimony does not end here. Alexander who became bishop about 313 A.D., and Athanasius who succeeded him (326—373 A.D.), both quote the Epistle as St Paul's. And Eutha-

lius (c. 460 A.D.) only mentions the doubts which had been raised on the question to refute them (Credner, *Einleit.* II. 498 f.).

³ Alexander, who has been mentioned above, in a letter preserved by Socrates quotes the second Epistle as the work of 'the Blessed John.' Socr. *H. E.* I. 6. 30. His testimony is valuable as indicating the tendency of the Alexandrine Church, which is clearly seen in later writers.

⁴ In connexion with the Alexandrine Church it is convenient to notice JULIUS AFRICANUS, who wrote a famous letter to Origen (cf. p. 360, n. 2), and studied at Alexandria, and afterwards lived at Emmaus in Palestine (c. 220 A.D.). His method of reconciling the genealogies in St Matthew and St Luke is well known, and furnishes an important proof of the attention bestowed in his time

In speaking of the Alexandrine Canon it is impossible to omit all mention of the Egyptian versions, which even in their present state shew singular marks of agreement with the Alexandrine text; but further investigations are still required before any satisfactory results can be obtained as to their exact age or as to their original form and character¹. Two versions into the dialects of Upper and Lower Egypt—the Thebaic (Sahidic) and Memphitic (Bahuric, often called Coptic)—date from the third century². The few fragments of the Bashmuriac version belong to a dialectic revision of the Thebaic. Of the Thebaic version considerable portions have been preserved, and among them parts of all the disputed books; but it is as yet impossible to decide how far

Chap. ii.
The Egyptian Versions.

Thebaic.

on the criticism of the Apostolic Books. He speaks generally of 'all [the writings] of the Old Testament' (*ὅσα τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης φέρεται*, Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* II. p. 226), thus implying (as Melito had done before him) the existence of a written New Testament. It is uncertain from the language of Origen whether he received the Epistle to the Hebrews.

ANATOLIUS bishop of Laodicea c. 270 A.D. was likewise an Alexandrian, but there is nothing in the fragments of his Paschal Canons (Euseb. *H. E.* VII. 32) which bears on the history of the disputed books; he makes use however of 2 Cor. iii. 12 sqq., giving to *κατοπτρίζεσθαι* (ver. 18) the sense of 'beholding' and not 'reflecting.'

It may also be convenient to notice here the reference to the Canon of the Old and New Testaments in the APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS, II. 57, cf. 55. (See App. D.) The description of the New Testament is very incomplete and comprises only 'the Acts of the Apostles...the Epistles of Paul...the Gospels of

'Matthew and John...and of Luke and Mark...' The enumeration, it must be added, is made with reference to the use of the books in public services; but still the omission of all the Catholic Epistles is remarkable, and there are no certain references to any of them in the text of the book itself. Compare however Lardner, IV. 352.

¹ By far the most complete account of these versions yet given is that by Dr Lightfoot in the second edition of Dr Scrivener's *Plain Introduction*, pp. 319 ff.

² 'We should probably not be exaggerating, if we placed one or both of the principal Egyptian Versions, the Memphitic and the Thebaic, or at least parts of them, before the close of the second century.' Lightfoot, *l. c.* p. 324. Dr Lightfoot suggests that the date 'of the completion or codification of the Memphitic version' may be fixed at the middle of the third century, when doubts were raised at Alexandria as to the authorship of the Apocalypse (*id.* p. 343).

Chap. ii.

Memphitic.

they are derived from one source¹. The Memphitic version offers a far more hopeful field for criticism. This has been published entire from ancient Manuscripts, and the store of these has not yet been exhausted. It is then not unreasonable to expect that some scholar will point out in this translation, as has been done in the Latin and Syriac, how far an older work underlies the printed text, and whether that can be attributed to one author. But till this has been determined no stress can be laid upon the evidence which the Version affords for the disputed Catholic Epistles². One point however is clear. The Apocalypse had not a place among the Canonical books in the Memphitic version³. It appears also that it was not included in the Thebaic Canon⁴. The other books are arranged in the MSS. of the Memphitic version, and in systematic quotations from the Thebaic in the same way: (1) Gospels, (2) Pauline Epistles, (3) Catholic Epistles, (4) Acts⁵. In the Memphitic version the Gospels are found in their common order; but there are indications that at one time the Gospel of St John stood before that of St Matthew in the Thebaic version⁶. It is further worthy of notice that the position in the Manuscripts occupied by the Epistle to the Hebrews—before the Pastoral Epistles—is consistent with the judgment of the Alexandrine Church, which received it as the work of St Paul⁷.

¹ Lightfoot, *l. c.* pp. 354 ff.

² Though the Æthiopic Version belongs to the next century, I may notice that it contains the entire N.T. The Acts however is contained only in one Manuscript in addition to the two used in the printed Roman edition (1548—9), on which no great reliance can be placed, as the Vul-

gate was used to supply lacunæ.

³ Lightfoot, *l. c.* p. 342.

⁴ *id.* p. 351.

⁵ *id.* pp. 343, 351.

⁶ *id.* p. 351.

⁷ It may be observed here that the Epistle to the Hebrews is placed in the same position in the [Eastern] Manuscripts N A B C H and several

§ 2. *The Latin Churches of Africa.*

At Alexandria, as has been said, the two streams of tradition from the East and from the West unite; but elsewhere they may be traced each in its separate course. On the one side we follow the Latin Churches of Africa: on the other the Greek Churches of Asia. And both again re-appear in close connexion at Rome, a second centre of Christendom, but widely different from the first.

In one respect the judgment of the Churches of North Africa materially differed from that of Alexandria on the New Testament Canon. The Alexandrine Fathers uniformly recognized the Epistle to the Hebrews as possessed of Apostolic authority, if not indeed as the work of St Paul. The early Latin Fathers with equal unanimity either exclude it from the Canon or ignore its existence. The evidence of Tertullian on this point is at once the earliest and the most complete. Though the teaching of the Epistle offered the most plausible support to the severe doctrines of Montanism, yet he nowhere quotes it but in one place, and then assigns it positively to Barnabas the companion of St Paul, placing its authority above that of the Shepherd of Hermas, but evidently below that of the Apostolic Epistles¹. In

Chap. ii.

The divergence of tradition in the East and West.

The opinion of the Latin Churches on

i. The Epistle to the Hebrews.

TERTULLIAN.

CYPRIAN.

others, and also by many of the Greek Fathers. Cf. Tisch. in *Heb.* i. 1. The [Western] Manuscripts D E F G, on the contrary, place the Pastoral Epistles after those to the Thessalonians. There are also traces of another order: In B capitulum numeri tales appositi ut appareat eorum auctorem hanc [ad Hebr. ep.] post. ep. ad Galatas collocasse. Lachm. *N. T.* II. 537.

¹ *De Pudic.* c. 20: Volo tamen ex

redundantia alicujus etiam comitis Apostolorum testimonium superducere idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam magistrorum. Exstat etiam Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos: adeo satis auctorati viri ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiæ tenore, 1 Cor. ix. Et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabæ illo apocrypho Pastore mœchorum. Cf. p. 256 f., 259. The phrase *de proximo jure*

Chap. ii.

Cyprian again there is no reference to the Epistle; and on the contrary he implicitly denies that it was a work of St Paul. After enumerating many places in which the mystical number seven recurs in Holy Scripture, he adds: 'And the Apostle Paul who was mindful of this proper and definite number writes to *seven* Churches. And in the Apocalypse the Lord writes his divine commands and heavenly precepts to seven Churches and their Angels¹.' It will be remembered that the same reference to the symbolism of the number of the Epistles occurs in the Muratorian Canon²; and on the very confines of the Latin Church, Victorinus bishop of Petavium (Pettau) in Pannonia reproduces the same idea: 'There are,' he says, '... seven spirits ... seven golden candlesticks ... seven Churches addressed by Paul, seven deacons³...' And even Jerome bears witness to the general prevalence of the belief when he says: 'The Apostle Paul writes to seven Churches, for his eighth Epistle to the Hebrews is by most excluded from the number⁴.'

VICTORINUS.

clearly implies that the Apostles had the *primum jus*, to which an Apostolic man approached nearest. The reading *adeo satis auctorati viro* (for auctoritatis viro) is justified by the context and *de Cor. Mil. 2*: ...*observationem...satis auctoratam consensus patrocínio*. The substitution of *a Deo* for *adeo* seems to be quite unnecessary, and in fact opposed to the idea of the sanction of St Paul which follows.

The allusions to the Epistle which have been found in other parts of Tertullian's writings are very uncertain.

Dr Tregelles (*Can. Murat.* p. 95) calls attention to *De Anima* 50 (nec mors eorum reperta est) and *adv. Jud.* 2 (qui necdum mortem gustavit) as containing references to Hebr. xi. 5 (not Gen. v. 24); but no

stress can be laid even on these passages. The mention of the Epistle to the Hebrews under the title of the Epistle of Barnabas in the Claromontane Stichometry (App. D. xx.) is a remarkable trace of the opinion held by Tertullian.

¹ *De Exhort. Mart.* 11 (med.): *Apostolus Paulus qui hujus numeri legitimi et certi meminit ad septem ecclesias scribit. Et in Apocalypsi Dominus mandata sua divina et præcepta cœlestia ad septem ecclesias et eorum angelos scribit. Cf. Testim.* 1. 20: *Unde et Paulus septem ecclesiis scribit et Apocalypsis ecclesias septem ponit ut servetur septenarius numerus.*

² Cf. p. 214.

³ *Vict. ap. Routh, Rel. Sacr.* III. p. 459.

⁴ *Hieron. ad Paul.* 50 (al. 103,

Generally indeed it may be stated that no Latin Father before Hilary quotes the Epistle as St Paul's; and his judgment and that of the writers who followed him was strongly influenced by the authority of Origen¹.

With regard to the disputed Catholic Epistles the earliest Latin Fathers offer little evidence. Tertullian once expressly quotes the Epistle of St Jude as authoritative and Apostolic². But there is nothing in his writings to shew that he was acquainted with the Epistle of St James³, the second and third Epistles of St John⁴, or the second Epistle of St Peter. In Cyprian there is I believe no reference to any of the disputed Epistles. Like several earlier writers, he quotes the first Epistles of St Peter and St John so as to imply that he was not familiarly acquainted with any other⁵; but a clause from the record of the seventh Council of Carthage, at which

Chap. ii.

HILARY.
† 368.

ii. *The Epistles of St James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude.*
TERTULLIAN.

CYPRIAN.

IV. p. 574): Paulus Apostolus ad septem ecclesias scribit, octava enim ad Hebræos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur.

¹ The references in Lactantius are very uncertain, though the coincidences of argument are remarkable. *E. g.* Hebr. iii. 3—6; v. 5, 6; vii. 21, compared with Lact. *Instit.* IV. 14 *init.* (quoted by Lardner).

² *De Hab. Muliebri* 3: ...Enoch apud Judam Apostolum testimonium possidet. This is the only reference which occurs.

³ The references given by Semler, *adv. Jud.* 2 (James ii. 23); *de Orat.* 8. (James i. 13) are quite unsatisfactory. The latter passage indeed seems to prove clearly that Tertullian did not know the Epistle, for otherwise he must have quoted it. The quotation *de Exhort. Cast.* 7, *non auditores legis justificabuntur a deo sed factores*, is from Rom. ii. 13, not from James i. 22.

The well-known passage *adv. Gnost.* 12 does not in itself neces-

sarily shew more than that Tertullian did not attribute the Epistle to St James the Elder; but the omission of all reference to it there, when connected with the other facts, can leave little doubt that he was unacquainted with it.

⁴ The reference in the treatise against Marcion (IV. 16) is certainly to 1 John iv. 1, 2, and not to 2 John 7, though the Latin has not preserved the difference between *ἐληλυθότα* and *ἐρχόμενον*. Some difficulty has been felt about the phrase *Johannes in primore Epistola (de Pudic. 19)*: but Tertullian is there contrasting the teaching of 1 John iii. 8, 9 with the passage at the beginning of his Epistle: 1 John i. 8. This sense of *primoris* is fully justified by Aul. Gell. i. 18. 2: Varro in primore libro scripsit... Cf. nott. *in loc.*

⁵ *De Exhort. Marc.* c. 9: Petrus in epistola sua... c. 10: Johannes in epistola sua...

Chap. ii.

AURELIUS.

Auct. Adv.
Novat.
Hæret.iii. *The Apo-
calypse.*
TERTUL-
LIAN.

CYPRIAN.

COMMO-
DIAN.
LACTAN-
TIUS.

he was present, shews how little stress can be laid upon such language alone. For after that one bishop had referred to the first Epistle of St John as 'St John's Epistle' as though it were the only one, Aurelius bishop of Chullabi uses exactly the same words in quoting the second epistle¹. At the same time however the entire absence of quotations from these Epistles in the writings of Cyprian, and (with the exception of the short Epistle to Philemon) from these Epistles only of all the books of the New Testament, leads to the conclusion that he was either ignorant of their existence or doubtful as to their authority. One other passage alone remains to be noticed. The judgment of Tertullian on the Epistle of St Jude is confirmed by a passage in one of the contemporary treatises commonly appended to the works of Cyprian, in which it is quoted as Scripture²; and this reference completes I believe the sum of what can be gathered from early Latin writers on this class of the disputed books.

But if the evidence for these Epistles be meagre, that for the Apocalypse is most complete. Tertullian quotes it continually as the work of the Evangelist St John, and nowhere implies any doubt of its authenticity³. Cyprian again makes constant use of it as Holy Scripture, though he does not expressly assign it to the authorship of the Evangelist St John⁴. Commodian⁵ and Lactantius⁶ make several allusions to it; and, with the exception of the Gospel of St John, it is the only

¹ Cf. p. 362, n. 1.² *Adv. Novat. Hæret.* p. xvii. ed. Baluz. (quoted by Lardner): sicut scriptum est: Jude 14, 15.³ *Adv. Marc.* III. 14: Apostolus Johannes in Apocalypsi...⁴ *De Opere et Elem.* 14: Audi in Apocalypsi Domini tui vocem... So*adv. Novat. Hæret.* p. ix.⁵ *Commod. Instr.* I. 41. He interprets Antichrist of Nero, who should rise again. The conjecture II. 1. 17, *operta Johannis*, is very uncertain.⁶ *Lact. Ep.* 42 f.: ...sicut docet Johannes in Revelatione.

book of the New Testament which the latter writer quotes by name. From every quarter the testimony of the early Latin Fathers to the Apostolic authority of the Apocalypse is thus decided and unanimous¹.

It appears then that the Canon of the Latin Churches up to the beginning of the fourth century differed from our own by defect and not by addition. The Latin Fathers were in danger of bounding the limits of the Canon too straitly, as the Alexandrine Fathers were inclined to extend them too widely. But the same causes which kept them from acknowledging all the books which we receive preserved them also from the risk of confounding Apocryphal with Canonical writings. Notwithstanding the extent of Tertullian's works he refers only to two Apocryphal books; and one of these—the Shepherd of Hermas—he rejects with contempt²: the other—the Acts of Paul and Thecla—he declares to be a detected forgery³. In Cyprian, though he freely uses the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, there is no trace of any Christian Apocryphal book; and in the tracts appended to his works there is a single condemnatory reference to the *Preaching of Paul*⁴. Lactantius also once alludes to the same book, but without attributing to it any remarkable authority⁵; and elsewhere he

Chap. ii.

The Canon of the Latin Churches defective, but

free from Apocryphal additions,

¹ For the *Claromontane Stichometry*, see App. D. xx.

² Tert. *de Orat.* 12. Cf. *de Pudic.* 10: Sed cederem tibi si scriptura Pastoris quæ sola mœchos amat divino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa judicaretur, adultera et ipsa et inde patrona sociorum.

³ *De Bapt.* 17: ...sciant in Asia presbyterum qui eam scripturam [Acta Pauli et Theclæ] construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se

amore Pauli fecisse, loco decessisse.

⁴ *De Bapt.* 14: Est autem adulterini hujus immo internecini baptismatis si quis alius auctor tum etiam quidam ab eisdem ipsis hæreticis propter hunc eundem errorem confictus liber qui inscribitur Pauli prædicatio. On the name see Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* v. 325.

⁵ Lact. *Instit.* IV. 21: ...sed et futura aperuit illis omnia quæ Petrus et Paulus Romæ prædicaverunt, et ea prædicatio in memoriam scripta permansit...

Chap. ii.
and regard-
ed as a dis-
tinct whole.

quotes the words of the Heavenly Voice at our Lord's Baptism according to the reading of Justin Martyr¹. But here the list ends; and on the other hand numerous passages in Tertullian, Cyprian, and Victorinus, shew that they regarded the books of the New Testament not only as a collection but as a whole; not thrown together by caprice or accident, but united by Divine Providence, and equal in authority with the Jewish Scriptures. The language of Tertullian has been quoted already; and both Cyprian and Victorinus found a certain fitness in a *fourfold* Gospel, as well as in the *seven* Churches addressed by St Paul, so that the very proportions of the Canon seemed to them to be fixed by a definite law². Nor was this strange; for the Old and New Scriptures were in their judgment 'fountains of 'Divine fulness,' written by 'Prophets and Apostles full of 'the Holy Spirit,' before which 'all the tediousness and 'ambiguities of human discourse must be laid aside³.'

§ 3. *The Church of Rome.*

Rome the
antipole to
Alexandria
in the third
century.

In passing from Africa to Rome we come to the second meeting-point of the East and West; for it could not but happen that Rome soon became a great centre of the Christian world. A Latin Church grew up round the Greek Church, and the peculiarities of both were harmonized by that power of organization which ruled the Roman life. But the combination of the same elements at Alexandria and Rome was effected in different modes, and produced different results. The teaching of

¹ *Instit.* iv. 15: Tunc vox de cœlo *Rel. Sacr.* III. 456): ...quatuor audita est: Filius meus es tu; ego malia ante thronum Dei quatuor hodie genui te. Cf. p. 158. evangelia... It is I think unnecessary

² Cf. pp. 341 f., 368. Cypr, *Ep.* to make any apology for the use of 73. 10: Ecclesia paradisi instar... Cyprian's letters.
³ Cypr. *de Orat. Dom.* 1; *de Ex-*
est evangelis... Victorinus (Routh, *hort. Mart.* 1. 4.

the East and West was united at Alexandria by the conscious operation of a spirit of eclecticism: at Rome by the silent pressure of events. The one combination was literary: the other practical. The one resulted in a theological code: the other in an ecclesiastical system. And though it would be out of place to dwell longer on these fundamental differences of Alexandria and Rome—the poles of Christendom in the third century—it is of importance to bear them in mind even in an investigation into the history of the New Testament.

The earliest memorials of the Latin Church of Rome are extremely small, and contain very little which bears on the history of the New Testament Canon. Nothing survives of the writings of Apollonius and Victor, the first Latin authors whose names have been preserved. The *Octavius* of Minucius Felix, like former Apologies, contains no quotations from the Christian Scriptures; and the two letters of Cornelius included in the works of Cyprian are scarcely more productive¹. The treatises of Novatus, the unsuccessful rival of Cornelius, are alone of such character and extent as to call for the frequent use of the Apostolic writings; and they do in fact contain numerous quotations from most of the acknowledged books. But Novatus nowhere quotes any other Christian Scriptures; and the passing coincidences of thought and language with the Epistle to the Hebrews which occur in his essay *On the Trinity* are very uncertain²; while those with the Epistle of St James and 2 Peter are

Chap. ii.

i. *The Latin writers.*APOLLO-
NIUS.
VICTOR.MINUCIUS
FELIX.CORNELIUS.
† 252.

NOVATUS.

¹ One quotation occurs from St Matthew v. 8; *Ep. ap. Routh, Rel. Sacr.* III. 18.

² *De Trin.* 26: Cum sedere [Christum] ad dexteram Patris et a prophetis et ab apostolis approbatur (Hebr. i. 3; but cf. Eph. i. 20; 1 Pet. iii. 22); *id.* 31: ...ut quamvis

probet illum nativitas Filium, tamen morigera obedientia asserat illum Paternæ voluntatis ex quo est ministrum (Hebr. v. 8); *id. s. f.* (Hebr. v. 7); *id.* 16: sed vae est adjicientibus quomodo et detrahentibus positum (Apoc. xxii. 18, 19).

Chap. ii.

barely worthy of notice¹. It is also of importance to remark that while in the later stages of the Novatian controversy, when the Epistle to the Hebrews was generally acknowledged, it is said that the reading of that Epistle was omitted in some Churches from the danger of misunderstanding its teaching on repentance, no distinct reference to it is made by Novatus or by his immediate opponents, which could scarcely have been avoided if it had been held to be authoritative in their time.

ii. *The Greek writers.*

DIONYSIUS.
259—269
A.D.

CAIUS.
c. 213 A.D.

The preponderance of the Greek element in the Roman Church even during the third century, at least in a literary aspect, is clearly shewn by the writings of Caius, Hippolytus, and Dionysius. Of the first and last only fragments remain; and nothing more can be gathered from the slight remains of Dionysius than that he recognized a New as well as an Old Testament as a final source of truth². Of Caius it is reported by Eusebius that in arguing against the 'new scriptures' of the Montanists he enumerated only thirteen Epistles of St Paul, omitting that to the Hebrews³. Whether he received all the remaining books of the New Testament is left in uncertainty; and in the case of the Apocalypse this is the more to be regretted, because in one obscure fragment he has been supposed to attribute its authorship to Cerinthus⁴. In close connexion with Caius must be noticed a group of writings which were once attributed to him, but which are now, by almost universal consent, assigned to his contemporary Hippolytus. Of these the most important is the *Treatise against all Heresies*, to

*The Treatise
against He-
resies.*

¹ *De Trin.* 8 (2 Pet. ii. 5); *id.* 4 *τομένην ὑπὸ τῆς θέας γραφῆς σαφῶς* (James i. 17). The latter passage *ἐπίστανται, τρεῖς δὲ Θεοὺς οὕτε πα- λαιὰν οὕτε καινὴν διαθήκην κηρύτ- τουσιν*. that Novatus was not acquainted with the Epistle of St James.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 20.

² Dion. Rom. fr. (Routh, *Rel.* ⁴ ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 28. Cf. p. *Sacr.* iii. 374); *Τριῖδα μὲν κηρύτ-* 275, n. 2.

which frequent reference has been made already in examining the opinions of early heretics on the New Testament Canon. But apart from the testimony which it thus conveys I have noticed nothing in it which bears upon the history of the disputed Books. Of the *Little Labyrinth* and the *Treatise on the Universe* only fragments remain. In one passage of the former work a charge is brought against certain heretics of 'fearlessly tampering with the Divine Scriptures while they said that they had corrected them ; so that if any one were to take the Manuscripts of their several teachers and compare them together he would find them widely different....And how daring this offence is even they must know; for either they do not believe that the Divine Scriptures were uttered by the Holy Spirit, and are unbelievers, or they hold that they are themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit. And what is this but the conduct of madmen? for they cannot deny that the daring act is their own, since the corrections are written by their hand; and they did not receive the Scriptures in such a form from those by whom they were instructed; and they have it not in their power to shew the Manuscripts from which they transcribed their readings¹. This refers of course chiefly to the text of Scripture, and probably of the Old Testament, but it is no less an evidence of the vigilance with which the sacred writings were guarded, and of the divine authority which was attributed to their words. And elsewhere, in noticing the statement that a revolution in Christian doctrine had happened after the times of Victor, the same author replies that the assertion 'would perhaps have been plausible if in the first place the Divine Scriptures had not opposed it, and next also the writ-

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* II. 132 sq.

Chap. ii.

The treatise
On the Uni-
verse.

HIPPO-
LYTUS.
c. 220 A.D.

'ings of brethren before the time of Victor¹....' An appeal is thus made both to Scripture and to tradition, and the line between them is drawn distinctly. The peroration of the *Address to the Greeks on the Universe* has been well likened to the conclusion of a Christian *Gorgias*, painting in vivid and brilliant colours the scenes of Hades and the Last Judgment. Many passages from the New Testament are inwrought into the composition, but so as to lose much of their original character; and it is consequently impossible to point with confidence to the coincidences of thought which it offers with the Epistle of St Jude (or 2 Peter) and the Apocalypse². The undoubted writings of Hippolytus contain quotations from all the acknowledged books except the Epistle to Philemon and the first Epistle of St John. Of the disputed books he uses the Apocalypse as an unquestionable work of the Apostle St John, and is said to have written a Commentary upon it³. On the other hand he is reported not to have included the Epistle to the Hebrews among the Epistles of St Paul⁴. But beyond this there is nothing to shew his opinion upon the contents of the Canon⁵.

¹ Euseb. *l. c.*; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* II. 129.

² Bunsen, *Anal. Ante-Nic.* I. 393 sqq. The passages which seem most remarkable are the following: ...ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ...ἀνάγκη σκότος διηκεῖν τυγχάνειν τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ὡς φρούριον ἀπενεμήθη ψυχαῖς ἐφ' ᾧ κατεστάθησαν ἄγγελοι φρουροί... (Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4) ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χωρίῳ...λίμνη πυρὸς ἀσβεστοῦ... (Apoc. xx. 10 sqq.). It may be observed that in a passage shortly after this where the common text is ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐ τὸν τῶν πατέρων χορὸν...δρῶσι... we must read καὶ οὗτοι τὸν τῶν π. χ.; Bunsen's emendation οὐ τὸν τ. π. χ. does not suit the description.

³ *De Antichr.* 36. Cf. 29.

⁴ Phot. *Cod.* 121 (Bunsen, *Anal.* I. 411). Dr Tregelles (*Can. Mural.* p. 95) points out two possible references to the epistle (*adv. Jud.* 3 || Hebr. xiii. 2. *In Sus.* v. 23 || Hebr. x. 31). The same scholar (*id.* p. 101) considers that the words of 2 Pet. ii. 22 'are interwoven' in the *Philosoph.* ix. 7, μετ' οὐ πολλὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν βόρβορον ἀνεκλύοντο. In a proverbial phrase I should hesitate in deciding on the source from which the words might be derived.

⁵ The supposed reference to 2 Pet. i. 21 in *de Antichr.* 2 is wholly uncertain.

From this then it appears that though there is not evidence to establish a complete view of the Roman Canon in the third century, some points can be ascertained with satisfactory certainty. By the Roman, as well as by the Alexandrine and African Churches, the Apocalypse was added to the acknowledged books; but like the African Church it did not receive the Epistle to the Hebrews among the writings of St Paul. Apart however from the evidence for particular books, it is evident that as a whole the Apostolic writings occupied at Rome, no less than elsewhere, a definite and distinguished place as an ultimate standard of doctrine.

§ 4. *The Churches of Asia Minor.*

The great work of Irenæus written in the remote regions of Gaul and preserved for the most part only in a Latin translation is the sole considerable monument of the literature of the Churches of Asia Minor from the time of Polycarp to that of Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea or even of Basil. Still there is abundant proof of their zeal and activity. At Ephesus and Smyrna, in Pontus and Cappadocia, there were those who traced back a direct connexion with the Apostles, and witnessed to the continuity of the Faith.

During the Paschal controversy in the time of Victor, Polycrates bishop of Ephesus addressed a letter in the name of a 'vast multitude' of Asiatic bishops to the Roman Church, justifying their peculiar usage by the example of their predecessors¹. 'For these all,' he says, 'observed the fourteenth day of the moon according to

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24. The letter of Polycrates was written in his 65th year, and Victor died 197 A.D.; Polycrates then may have conversed with Polycarp and Justin Martyr. He appears to have been of a Christian family (ἐξ ἡκουῖα πέντε ἐτη ἔχων ἐν Κυρίῳ); and probably the episcopate had been hereditary in it (ἐπὶ τὰ μὲν ἡσαν συγγενεῖς μου ἐπί-

Chap. ii.

*Summary of
the opinion
of the
Roman
Church.*

*Scanty literature of the
Asiatic
Churches.*

*I. The
Church of
Ephesus.
POLYCRATES,
c. 196 A.D.*

Chap. ii.

APOLLO-
NIUS.
A. 210 A.D.*

'the Gospel, transgressing it in no respect, but following 'it according to the rule of faith'. Yet even this tradition was not enough: he had also 'conversed with brethren from the whole world, and gone through all Holy 'Scripture', and so at length he was not afraid to meet his opponents. Such was the relation of Scripture and tradition in the resting-place of St John within a century after his death: such the intimate union of Churches which were last blessed by the presence of an Apostle. Apollonius, who is stated on doubtful authority to have been also bishop of Ephesus³, recognizes a similar combination of arguments when he accuses Themison a follower of Montanus of 'speaking against the Lord, the 'Apostles, and the Holy Church,' while in the endeavour to recommend his doctrine 'he ventured in imitation of 'the Apostle to compose a Catholic Epistle⁴.' In addition to these natural indications of the peculiar position occupied by the Christian Scriptures generally, Eusebius mentions that Apollonius 'made use of testimonies from 'the Apocalypse;' and this indeed would necessarily be the case in a controversy with Montanist teachers, who affirmed that the site of the *heavenly Jerusalem* was no other than the little Phrygian town which was the centre of their sect⁵.

It is uncertain at what time and under what circum-

σκοποι ἐγὼ δὲ ὁγδοος). At least every detail points to the unbroken unity of the Church.

¹ Euseb. *l. c.*: οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μηδὲν παρεκβαίνοντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς πίστεως ἀκολουθοῦντες. It may be added that Polycrates speaks of St John as ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσών (John xiii. 25; xxi. 20). Compare p. 224, n. 3.

² Euseb. *l. c.*:...συμβεβληκώς τοῖς

ἀπὸ τῆς αἰκουμένης ἀδελφοῖς καὶ πᾶσαν ἁγίαν γραφὴν διελθυσίως... These last words I believe refer to the New Testament. Yet cf. Anatol. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 32.

³ Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. p. 465.

⁴ Apoll. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18: Θεμίσιον... ἐτόλμησε μιμούμενος τὸν ἀπόστολον καθολικὴν τινα συνταξάμενος ἐπιστολὴν... βλασφημῆσαι δὲ εἰς τὸν Κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν.

⁵ Euseb. *l. c.*: κέχρηται δὲ καὶ

stances Irenæus left Smyrna on his mission to Gaul. He was 'still a boy,' 'at the commencement of life,' when he listened to Polycarp 'in lower Asia;' but yet he was not too young to treasure up the words of his teacher, so that they became the comfort of his old age¹. While a presbyter at Lyons he was commended by the Church there to Eleutherus bishop of Rome as 'zealous for the covenant of Christ:' and at a later time he continued to take a watchful regard of the 'sound ordinances of the Church' throughout Christendom. Eusebius² has collected some of his testimonies to the Books of the New Testament, but they extend only to the four Gospels, the Apocalypse, 1 John, and 1 Peter; for he makes no mention of his constant use of the Acts and of twelve Epistles of St Paul. It is however of more importance to notice that he has neglected to observe the quotations which Irenæus makes from 2 John, once citing a verse from it as though it were contained in the first Epistle³. But in addition to the Apocalypse, which

Chap. ii.

2. *The Church of Smyrna.*IRENÆUS.
c. 135—200
A.D.

c. 177 A.D.

His testimony to the Apocalypse.

2 John.

μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως. The description which Apollonius gives of Montanus—οὗτός ἐστιν...ὁ Πέπουσαν καὶ Τύμον Ἱεροσολίμῃ ὀνομάσας (πόλεις δὲ εἰσιν αὗται μικραὶ τῆς Φρυγίας) τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐκεῖ συναγαγεῖν ἐθέλων—may remind us of a 'prophet' of our own times. Cf. Epiph. *Her.* XLIX. 1: Χριστός...ἀπεκάλυψε μοι (a Montanist prophetess) τουτοὺ τῶν τόπων εἶναι ἁγίων καὶ ὧδε τὴν Ἱεροσολίμῃ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατέειπαι.

On the tradition which Apollonius mentions that the Apostles were commanded by our Lord to remain twelve years at Jerusalem, compare Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI. 5. 43; Lumper, VII. 5 sqq.

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20. Cf. Iren. c. *Her.* III. 3. 4 (Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 14). The date of Irenæus is much disputed, depending on that of Poly-

carp. I have given that which appears to be the most probable. Eleutherus was still bishop of Rome when he wrote his great Treatise c. *Her.* (III. 3. 3).

² *H. E.* v. 8.

³ Iren. c. *Her.* I. 16. 3: Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῆς...2 John 11. In the same connexion it would have been natural to quote 2 Peter and Jude.

Ib. III. 16. 8: Johannes in prædicta epistola... (2 John 7, 8), after quoting 1 John ii. 18 sqq. Comp. Clem. Alex. quoted p. 353, n. 6. Is it possible that the second Epistle was looked upon as an appendix to the first? and may we thus explain the references to two Epistles of St John? The first Epistle, as is well known, was called *ad Parthos* by Augustine and some other Latin authorities; and the same title πρὸς

Chap. ii.

The Epistle
to the
Hebrews.

Irenæus uses continually as an unquestioned work of St John¹, this is the only disputed book which he certainly acknowledged as having Apostolic authority; and there are no anonymous references to the Epistle of St James², 3 John, 2 Peter, or St Jude, on which any reliance can be placed. Some coincidences of language with the Epistle to the Hebrews are more striking; and in a later chapter Eusebius states that in a book now lost Irenæus 'mentions the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Wisdom of Solomon³.' Agreeably with this, the Epistle to the Hebrews appears to be quoted in the second Pfaffian fragment as the work of St Paul⁴; but on the other hand Photius classes Irenæus with Hippolytus as denying the Pauline authorship of the Epistle. And this last statement leads the way to the most probable conclusion: Irenæus was I believe acquainted with the Epistle, but he did not attribute it to St Paul⁵.

Πάρθους is given to the second Epistle in one Greek Manuscript (62 Scholz). The Latin translation of Clement's *Outlines* (iv. 66) says: *Secunda Johannis epistola quæ ad virgines (παρθένους) scripta simplicissima est.* Jerome, it may be added, quotes names from the *third* Epistle as from the *second* (*De Nom. Hebr.*).

¹ Iren. *c. Hæc.* iv. 20. 11: *Joannes domini discipulus in Apocalypsi...* Yet he never calls him an Apostle, though he identifies him (*in loc.*) with the *disciple whom Jesus loved*, John xiii. 25.

² The supposed reference to James ii. 23 in iv. 16. 2, *credidit Deo et reputatum est illi ad justitiam, et amicus Dei vocatus est*, is one which from its form cannot be regarded as certain. It is evident that many quotations from the Old Testament were widely current in modified forms, as is the case still, so that the recurrence of a

particular type of rendering or application in two writers probably shews nothing more than their dependence on a common source. Comp. p. 168.

³ Euseb. *H. E.* v. 26. Cf. p. 352, n. 1. Iren. *c. Hæc.* ii. 30. 9: *Solus hic Deus invenitur qui omnia fecit... verbo virtutis suæ* (*Hebr.* i. 3): *ib.* iv. 11. 4; cf. *Hebr.* x. 1, &c.: *ib.* v. 5. 1; cf. *Hebr.* xi. 5.

⁴ Iren. fr. 38 (p. 854): *ὁ Παῦλος παρακαλεῖ ἡμᾶς* (*Rom.* xii. 1)...*καὶ πάλιν* (*Hebr.* xiii. 15).

⁵ Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 8) noticed that Irenæus quoted the Shepherd of Hermas (*c. Hæc.* iv. 20. 2) by the name of 'Scripture.' But several instances have been lately given which prove the lax use of the word; and a difference of private opinion, which is found also in the case of Origen, makes the general agreement of the Churches more conspicuous.

One of the most distinguished converts of Origen was Gregory surnamed Thaumaturgus (the Wonder-Worker) bishop of Neo-Cæsarea (Niksar) in Pontus. His chief remaining work is an eloquent address delivered before his master when he was about to leave him. From its character it contains very little which bears upon the Canon, and nothing in regard to the disputed books. But in a fragment quoted from Gregory in a Catena there occurs a marked coincidence with the language of St James¹; and Origen in a letter which he addressed to him uses among other texts one from the Epistle to the Hebrews². From this, as well as from the mode in which Gregory treats the writings of the New Testament generally, it may be reasonably concluded that he accepted the same books as Origen, to whom indeed he owed his knowledge of the Scriptures. But in sending forth such a scholar to the confines of Asia Minor, Origen only repaid a benefit which he had received. When he had been forced to leave Egypt he found protection and honour at the hands of Alexander, originally a Cappadocian bishop, who was advanced to the chair of Jerusalem on the death of Narcissus, whom he had previously assisted in his episcopal work. Nor can these facts be without value in our inquiry. It is surely no slight thing that casual notices shew that Christians the most widely separated were really joined together by close intercourse: that the Churches of remote provinces, whose existence and prosperity were first disclosed by the zeal of a Roman governor, are found about a century after in intimate connexion with Syria, Egypt, and

Chap. ii.

3. *The Church of Pontus, GREGORY of Neo-Cæsarea.*

The Epistle to the Hebrews.

Foreign Connexions of the North of Asia.

231 A.D.

¹ *Cat. Vat. ap. Ghisler. Comm. in Jerem.* i. p. 831: δῆλον γὰρ ὡς πᾶν ἀγαθὸν τέλειον θεόθεν ἐρχεται. James i. 17.

² *Ep. ad Greg.* 3: ἵνα λέγῃς οὐ μόνον τὸ Μέτοχοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεγόναμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ Μέτοχοι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Hebr. iii. 14.

Chap. ii.

FIRMILIAN.

256 A.D.

2 Peter ii.

METHODIUS.
† c. 311 A.D.

Greece¹. And the evidence is yet incomplete; for among others who visited Origen during his sojourn in Syria was Firmilian bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, the correspondent and advocate of Cyprian²; and thus for the moment an obscure corner of Asia becomes a meeting-point of Christians from every quarter, not only 'as if they lived in one country, but as dwelling 'in one house³.' The single letter of Firmilian, which is preserved in a Latin translation among the letters of Cyprian, contains numerous allusions to the acknowledged books, and in one place he appears to refer to the second Epistle of St Peter. 'The blessed Apostles Peter 'and Paul,' he says, 'have anathematized heretics in 'their Epistles, and warned us to avoid them⁴.'

But the influence of Origen was not dominant in all parts of Asia Minor. Methodius a bishop of Lycia⁵ and afterwards of Tyre distinguished himself for animosity to his teaching, which Eusebius so far resented, if we may believe the common explanation of his silence, as to omit all mention of him in his history, though his works were 'popularly read' in Jerome's time⁶. There is nothing however to indicate that the differences which separated Methodius from Origen extended either to the Interpretation or to the Canon of Scripture; and thus

¹ Cf. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23: ἄλλη δ' ἐπιστολή τις αὐτοῦ [Διονυσίου] πρὸς Νικομηδεᾶς φέρεται...

² Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 27.

³ Firm. *Ep.* 75 (Cyp.) § 1.

⁴ Firm. *Ep.* § 6: Adhuc etiam infamans Petrum et Paulum beatos Apostolos... qui in Epistolis suis hæreticos execrati sunt et ut eos evitemus monuerunt. In the same chapter Firmilian notices (as unimportant) ritual differences between the Roman and Eastern churches: circa celebrandos dies Paschæ et

circa multa alia divinæ rei sacramenta... secundum quod in cæteris quoque plurimis provinciis multa pro locorum et nominum (?) diversitate variantur...

⁵ Socr. *H. E.* vi. 13: ...Μεθόδιος τῆς ἐν Λυκίᾳ πόλεως λεγομένης Ὀλύμπου ἐπίσκοπος. Socrates (*l. c.*) alone mentions that Methodius recanted his censures on Origen; yet probably his words mean no more than that he expressed admiration for Origen's character, and not for his doctrine.

⁶ Hieron. *de Virr.* iii. 83.

they give fresh value to his evidence by confirming its independence. Like earlier Fathers, Methodius found a mystical significance in the number of the Gospels¹; and his writings abound with quotations from the acknowledged books. He also received the Apocalypse as a work of 'the blessed John' and as possessing undoubted authority². Besides this, numerous coincidences of language shew that he was acquainted with the Epistle to the Hebrews; and though he does not directly attribute it to St Paul, he uses it with the same familiarity and respect as he exhibits towards the Pauline Epistles³.

The heresy of Montanus, as has been seen already, occupied much of the attention of Asiatic writers at the beginning of the third century. The steady opposition which they offered to the pretensions of the new prophets is in itself a proof of the limits which they fixed to the presence of inspired teaching in the Church, and of their belief in the completeness of the Revelation made through the Apostles. In an anonymous fragment which Eusebius has preserved from one of the many treatises on the subject this opinion finds a remarkable expression. For a long time, the writer says, I was disinclined to undertake the refutation of the opinions of multitudes '... through fear and careful regard lest I 'should seem in any way to some to add any new article

Chap. ii.

*He received
the Apoca-
lypse and
the Epistle
to the
Hebrews.*

*Frag. Adv.
Cataphry-
gas.*

¹ *Sympos. de Cast.* p. 391 D.

² *De Resurr.* p. 326 B: ἐπίστησεν δὲ μήποτε καὶ ὁ μακάριος Ἰωάννης... Apoc. xx. 13. *Ib.* p. 328 D: πῶς δὴ ἐτι ὁ Χριστὸς πρωτότοκος εἶναι τῶν νεκρῶν ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἄδεται; (Apoc. i. 5; Col. i. 18). Methodius is also mentioned by Andreas of Caesarea with Papias, Irenæus, and Hippolytus, as a witness to the 'divine inspiration' of the Apocalypse (Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*

i. 15). He interpreted much of it allegorically—ἐἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς παρθενοῦσας (*Sympos.* p. 388 A).

³ *De Resurr.* p. 286 D. Hebr. xii. 5, &c. In the spurious tract on 'Symeon and Anna' it is quoted as 'the most divine Paul's' (p. 427 D). Methodius must be added to the many before him who quote Ps. ii. 7 as having been uttered at our Lord's Baptism (*Sympos.* p. 387 D). Cf. pp. 158, 372 n. 1.

Chap. ii.

Apoc. xxii.
18, 19.*The Canon
of Asia Mi-
nor defect-
ive but**free from
Apocryphal
additions.*

'or clause to the word of the New Covenant of the Gospel, which no one may add to or take from who has determined to live according to the simple Gospel'.¹ The coincidence of these words with the conclusion of the Apocalypse cannot but be apparent; and they seem to recognize a complete written standard of Christian truth.

So far then there is no trace in the Asiatic Churches of the use of the Epistle of St Jude; and the use of the Epistle of St James and of the second Epistle of St Peter is at least very uncertain. Methodius alone undoubtedly employs the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but on the other hand the Apocalypse was recognized from the first as a work of the Apostle in the districts most immediately interested in its contents. The same may be said of the second Epistle of St John, and the slight value of merely negative evidence is shewn by the fact that no quotation from his third Epistle has yet been noticed, though its authenticity is necessarily connected with that of the second. But if the evidence for the New Testament Canon in the Churches of Asia Minor be incomplete, it is pure and unmixed. The reference of Irenæus to the Shepherd of Hermas is the only passage with which I am acquainted which even appears to give authority to an uncanonical book². Holy Scripture as a whole was recognized as a sure rule of doctrine. We acknowledge, said the Presbytery to Noetus, 'one Christ the Son of God, who suffered as He suffered, who died as He died, who rose

¹ Auct. adv. Cataphr. ap. Euseb. H. E. v. 16 (Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* II. p. 183 sqq.): δεδιώς δὲ καὶ ἐξευλαβούμενος μὴ πῃ δόξω τισὶν ἐπισυνγράφειν ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεσθαι (cf. Gal. iii. 15) τῷ τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καινῆς δια-

θήκης λόγῳ, ᾧ μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτ' ἀφελεῖν δυνατόν τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτὸ πολιτεύεσθαι προηρημένῳ.

² The references to the Epistles of Clement (III. 2, § 3) and Polycarp (*id.* § 4) are different in character.

‘again, who ascended into heaven, who is on the right hand of the Father, who is coming to judge quick and dead. This we say, having learnt it from the divine Scriptures, and this also we know¹.’

§ 5. *The Churches of Syria.*

Nothing more than the names of the successors of Ignatius in the see of Antioch has been preserved till the time of Theophilus the sixth in descent from the Apostles. Of the works which he wrote, three books to Autolycus—*Elementary Evidences of Christianity*²—have been preserved entire; but the commentaries which bear his name are universally rejected as spurious. Eusebius has noticed that Theophilus quoted the Apocalypse in a treatise against Hermogenes³; and one passage in his extant writings has been supposed to refer to it⁴. The reference however is very uncertain; nor can much greater stress be laid on a passing coincidence with the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews⁵. The use which Theophilus makes of a metaphor which occurs in 2 Peter is much more worthy of notice⁶; and it is remarkable that he distinctly quotes the Gospel of St John as written by one of those ‘who were moved by the Spirit⁷.’

Serapion who was second in descent from Theophilus has left a very remarkable judgment on the *Gos-*

Chap. ii.

i. *The Church of Antioch.*

THEOPHILUS.
c. 168—180 A.D.

The Apocalypse.

Peter.

SERAPION.
c. 190 A.D.

¹ Epiph. *Har.* lvi. 1; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iv. p. 243. MILTIADES again, with whose country I am unacquainted, is said to have shewn ‘great zeal about the Divine Oracles’ (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 17). Anatolius of Laodicea has been mentioned already, p. 364, n. 4.

² Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 24: τρία τὰ πρὸς Αὐτόλκων στοιχειώδη φέρεται συγγράμματα.

³ Euseb. *l. c.*

⁴ Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. p. 104. Apoc. xii. 3 sqq.

⁵ *Ad Autol.* ii. p. 102. Hebr. xii. 9. Cf. Lardner, ii. 20, 25 sqq.

⁶ *Ad Autol.* ii. c. 13 (p. 92): ἡ διδραξις οὖν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ φαίνων ὥσπερ λύχνος ἐν οἰκῇματι συνεχομένῳ ἐφώτισε τὴν ὑπ’ οὐρανόν... Cf. 2 Pet. i. 19.

⁷ *Ad Autol.* ii. 22.

Chap. ii.

pel according to Peter, which he found in use at Rhossus, a small town of Cilicia. 'We receive,' he says, when writing to the Church there', 'both Peter and the other 'Apostles as Christ; but as experienced men we reject 'the writings falsely inscribed with their names, since we 'know that we did not receive such from [our fathers. 'Still I allowed the book to be used,] for when I visited 'you I supposed that all were attached to the right 'faith; and as I had not thoroughly examined the 'Gospel which they brought forward under the name of 'Peter I said: If this is the only thing which seems to 'create petty jealousies (*μικροψυχίαν*) among you, let it 'be read. But now since I have learnt from what has 'been told me that their mind was covertly attached to 'some heresy (*αἰρέσει τινὶ ἐνεφώλευεν*) I shall be anxious 'to come to you again; so, brethren, expect me quickly. 'But we, brethren, having comprehended the nature of 'the heresy which Marcianus held—how he contradicted 'himself from failing to understand what he said you 'will learn from what has been written to you—were 'able to examine [the book] thoroughly having borrowed it from others who commonly use (*ἀσκησάντων*) 'this very Gospel, that is from the successors of those 'who first sanctioned it, whom we call Docetæ (for 'most of [Marcianus'] opinions belong to their teaching); and to find that the greater part of its contents 'agrees with the right doctrine of the Saviour, though 'some new injunctions are added in it which we have 'subjoined for your benefit².' Something then may be

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 12. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. 452 sqq.

² Euseb. *l. c.*; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. 452 sqq. The text of the fragment is corrupt, and I have ventured to introduce some slight cor-

rections by which the whole connexion appears to be improved. The middle sentence should I believe be read thus: ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀδελφοὶ καταλαβόμενοι ὅποιας ἦν αἰρέσεως ὁ Μαρκανός (καὶ [ὥς] ἐαυτῷ ἡναντιοῦτο μὴ

learnt from this as to the authority and standard of the New Testament Scriptures at the close of the second century: the writings of the Apostles were to be received as the words of Christ: and those only were to be acknowledged as such which were supported by a certain tradition. Nor can the conduct of Serapion in allowing the public use of other writings be justly blamed. It does not appear that the *Gospel of Peter* superseded the Canonical Gospels; and it is well known that even the *Gospel of Nicodemus* maintained a place at Canterbury—‘fixed to a pillar’—up to the time of Erasmus.

The seventh in succession from Serapion was Paul of Samosata, who was convicted of heresy on the accusation of his own clergy, and finally deposed by the civil authority of the heathen Emperor Aurelian. Nothing remains of his writings, but it is recorded that he endeavoured to maintain his opinions by the testimony of the Old and New Testaments, and his adversaries relied on the same books to refute him. A Synodical Epistle ‘addressed to Paul by the orthodox bishops before his ‘deposition’ has been preserved¹, in which, in addition to many other quotations from the New Testament, the Epistle to the Hebrews is cited as the work of St Paul².

Chap. ii.

PAUL of
Samosata.

269—272
A. D.

The Epistle
to the He-
brews.

νοῶν α̃ ἐλάλει [om. α̃] μαθήσεσθε ἐξ
ὧν ὑμῖν ἐγράφη) ἐδυνήθημεν [om. γὰρ]
παρ' ἄλλων τῶν ἀσκησάντων, κ.τ.λ.
Many Manuscripts omit α̃ before
μαθ., and the confusion of ΠΑΡ with
ΓΑΡ is of constant occurrence. The
changes of number—ἡμεῖς, ἐγώ, ἡμεῖς
—seem to prove that the sentences
(βραχέας λέξεις Eusebius calls them)
are not continuous. As far as I am
aware, all follow Valesius in trans-
lating καταρξαμένων αὐτοῦ qui Mar-
ciano praeiverunt; but analogy sup-
ports the rendering which I have

given.

¹ Doubts were raised as to the genuineness of this Epistle by Basnage, and repeated by Lardner and Lumper; but Routh considers them of no weight (Lumper, XIII. 711 sqq.; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* III. 321 sqq.). The question appears to depend altogether on the good faith of Turrianus, who first published the Epistle. The Epistle itself is almost made up of a collection of passages of Scripture.

² *Ep. ap. Routh, Rel. Sacr.* III.

Chap. ii.
MALCHION.

St Jude.

The School
of Antioch.

DOROTHEUS
c. 290 A.D.

LUCIAN.

And in another letter addressed to the bishops of Alexandria and Rome by Malchion a presbyter of Antioch in the name of the 'bishops, priests, and deacons, of the 'neighbouring cities and nations, and of the Churches 'of God,' Paul is described, with a clear allusion to the Epistle of St Jude, as one who 'denied his God and 'Lord, and kept not the faith which he himself had 'formerly held¹.'

The first traces of the theological school of Antioch, which became in the fourth and fifth centuries a formidable rival to that of Alexandria, appear during the period of the controversy with Paul. Dorotheus a presbyter of the Church is described by Eusebius² as a man remarkably distinguished for secular learning, who 'in 'his zeal to understand the full beauty of the divine '[writings] studied the Hebrew language, so as to read 'and understand the original Hebrew Scriptures.' Lucian another presbyter of Antioch 'well trained in sacred 'studies³' devoted himself to a critical revision of the Greek text of the Bible. In carrying out this work it is said that he introduced useless corrections into the Gospels; and the copies which he had 'falsified' were pronounced Apocryphal in later times⁴. In the absence

299: ... κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον ... καὶ πάλιν...καὶ περὶ Μωυσέως· Μείζονα πλοῦτον ἡγησάμενος τῶν Ἀλγύπτου θησαυρῶν τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Heb. xi. 26). So again just before, Heb. iv. 15 is incorporated in the text of the Epistle.

¹ *Ep. ap. Euseb. H. E. VII. 30*: ... τοῦ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Κύριον ἀρνούμενον, καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς πρότερον εἶχε μὴ φυλάξαντος. Cf. Jude 3, 4 (reading Θεόν).

² Euseb. *H. E. VII. 32*.

³ Euseb. *H. E. IX. 6*: τοῖς ἱεροῖς μαθήμασι συγκεκροτημένος.

⁴ *Decret. Gelas. VI. § 14*: Evan-

gelia quæ falsavit Lucianus Apocrypha. Credner (*Zur Gesch. d. K. s. 216*) regards this as one of the additions to the original Decree of Gelasius (c. 500 A.D.) made at the time when it was republished in Spain under the name of Hormisdas (c. 700—800 A.D.).

The next clause in the decree is: Evangelia quæ falsavit Isicius Apocrypha, § 15. This certainly refers to the recension of the New Testament published in Egypt by Hesychius at the close of the third century, which is classed by Jerome with that of Lucian; but nothing

of all evidence on the question it is impossible to determine in what respect his text differed from that commonly received; but it may be noticed that there is nothing to shew that he held any peculiar views on the Canon itself. Lucian died a martyr in the persecution of Maximinus; and Rufinus has preserved in a Latin translation a part of the defence which he addressed to the Emperor on his trial¹. The fragment is of singular beauty, and contains several allusions to the Gospels and Acts; but it is more remarkable as containing an appeal to the physical phenomena connected with the Passion—to the darkness, said by Lucian to be recorded in heathen histories, to the rent rocks, and to the Holy Sepulchre, still to be seen in his time at Jerusalem².

Antioch was not the only place in Syria where the Christian Scriptures were made the subject of learned and laborious study. Pamphilus a Presbyter of Cæsarea, the friend of Eusebius and the apologist of Origen, was 'inflamed with so great a love of sacred literature that he 'copied with his own hand the chief part of the works of 'Origen,' which in the time of Jerome were still preserved in the library which he founded³. This library at Cæsarea is frequently mentioned by ancient writers, and

is known of its character. The speculations of Hug are quite unsatisfactory.

¹ The defence occurs in Rufinus' version of Eusebius (*H. E.* ix. 6). It is printed by Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iv. 5 sqq.; and I see no reason to doubt its authenticity.

² Luc. ap. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iv. p. 6: Si minus adhuc creditur, adhibebo vobis etiam loci ipsius in quo res gesta est testimonium. Adstipulatur his [quæ dico] ipse in Hierosolymis locus, et Golgothana rupes sub patibuli onere disrupta; antrum quoque illud quod avulsis inferni janulis

corpus denuo reddidit animatum, quo purius inde ferretur ad cœlum... Requirite in annalibus vestris: invenietis temporibus Pilati, Christo patiente, fugato sole interruptum tenebris diem. The rhetorical colouring of the passage cannot affect the facts affirmed.

³ Hieron. *de Virr.* iii. 75: Tanto bibliothecæ divinæ amore flagravimus... The phrase 'bibliotheca divina' means I believe the collection of sacred Scriptures. Cf. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iii. 488. As to Pamphilus' labours on the LXX. cf. Lardner, ii. 59. 5.

Chap. ii.

†211 A.D.

2. *The Church of Cæsarea.*

PAMPHILUS.
†309 A.D.

Chap. ii.

The Epistle
to the He-
brews.

The Catholic
Epistles.

when it fell into decay towards the close of the fourth century, it was restored by the care of two bishops of the city. Its extent is shewn by the fact that Jerome found there a copy of the famous *Hebrew Gospel of St Matthew*; and memorials of it have been preserved to the present time. The Coislinian fragment of the Pauline Epistles (H), in which the Epistle to the Hebrews is placed before the Pastoral Epistles, contains a note stating that it was 'compared with the copy in the library of 'St Pamphilus at Cæsarea, written by his own hand¹.' Nor is this all. At the end of the edition of the Acts and of the [seven] Catholic Epistles published by Euthalius it is said that the book was 'compared with the 'accurate copies contained in the library of Eusebius 'Pamphilus² at Cæsarea;' and though it is not expressly stated that these copies were written by Pamphilus himself, yet it is probable that they were, from the fact that the summary of the contents of the Acts published under the name of Euthalius is a mere transcript of a work of Pamphilus³. If then this conjecture be right, it may be inferred that the seven Catholic Epistles were formed into a collection at the close of the third century,

¹ For the order of the Epistles in this Manuscript see Montfaucon, *Bibl. Coislin.* p. 253. Tischendorf, *N. T.* ed. 7, p. CLXXXIX.

² Zacagni, *Collec.* p. 513: ἀντεβλήθη δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὸ βιβλίον πρὸς τὰ ἀκριβῆ ἀντίγραφα τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκης Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου. The last genitives are ambiguous, and may refer either to ἀντίγραφα or βιβλιοθήκης.

The summary of verses given at the end (p. 513) does not agree with numbers previously given; nor can I explain the phrase τὸ πρὸς ἑμᾶντων στίχοι κς'. But these difficulties seem to shew that Euthalius did not

compose the whole work, but in part transcribed it.

³ Montf. *Bibl. Coislin.* p. 78. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* III. 510 sq. The recurrence in the preface to this summary of a very remarkable phrase found in the subscription of the Manuscript of the Pauline Epistles copied from that of Pamphilus seems to be conclusive on the point: εὐχῇ τῇ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὴν συνπεριφορὰν κομισόμενος. The summary as it occurs in Zacagni (pp. 428 sqq.) is introduced quite abruptly; and Zacagni's explanation of the allusion to the youth of the writer (Pref. p. 63) is unsatisfactory.

and appended, as in later times, to the Acts of the Apostles. So much at least is certain, that Pamphilus, a man of wide learning and research, reckoned the Epistle to the Hebrews among the writings of St Paul, whether he regarded it as actually penned by the Apostle, or, like Origen, as the expression of his thoughts by another writer.

Though Pamphilus devoted his life to the study of the Holy Scriptures, he never assumed the office of a commentator; but Jerome's statement that 'he wrote 'nothing except short letters to his friends' must be received with some reserve¹. In addition to the Summary of the Acts already noticed, there can be no doubt that the commencement of an apology for Origen occupied his attention during his last confinement in prison. The first book, which bears his name, and was probably his work, has been preserved; and the quotations from Origen which it contains embrace distinct references to the Apocalypse as the work of St John², proving, if proof were necessary, that on this point Pamphilus followed his master's judgment.

Thus then in the Syrian Church³ there are traces of a complete Canon of the New Testament at the beginning of the fourth century, and that free from all admixture of Apocryphal writings. The same district which first recognized a collection of Apostolic writings in the Peshito was among the first to complete that original Canon by the addition of the other works which we now

Chap. ii.

*Pamphilus'
Apology for
Origen*

*recognizes
the Apoc-
lypse.*

*The Syrian
Canon com-
plete.*

¹ Hieron. *adv. Ruf.* iv. p. 419. Cf. iv. p. 347: *Date quodlibet aliud opus Pamphili; nusquam reperietis. Hoc unum est.* Jerome is speaking of the Apology for Origen, but he was misled by the fact that Eusebius completed it.

² Pamph. *Apol.* vii.: Apoc. xx.

13, 6. I have not noticed any other references to the disputed books in the Apology.

³ The Greek Syrian Church is of course not to be confounded with the native Syrian Church, which retained the Canon of the Peshito; cf. p. 240, and Part III. ch. II.

Chap. ii.

General
summary.

receive¹. And briefly it may be said that wherever the East and the West entered into a true union there the Canon is found perfect ; while the absence or incompleteness of this union is the measure of the corresponding defects in the Canon.

This clearly appears on a summary of the results obtained in this chapter. At Alexandria and Cæsarea, where there was the closest intercourse between the Eastern and Western Churches, the Canon of the New Testament was fixed, even if with some reserve, as it stands at present. In the Latin Churches on the contrary no trace has yet been found of the use of the Epistle of St James, or of the second Epistle of St Peter ; and the Epistle to the Hebrews was not accepted by them as the work of St Paul. But one of the disputed books was still received generally without distinction of East and West. With the single exception of Dionysius all direct testimony from Alexandria, Africa, Rome, and Carthage, witnesses to the Apostolic authority of the Apocalypse.

¹ One testimony from an Eastern Church has not yet been noticed. In the Acts of a Disputation between Archelaus Bishop of Caschar (or, as some conjecture, of Carrhæ) in Mesopotamia (? cf. Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.* i. p. 143) and Manes there are several clear allusions to the Epistle to the Hebrews, though it is not quoted by name. *Disp. Arch. et Man.* ap. Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* v. p. 45, Hebr. vi. 8 : p. 75, Hebr. viii. 13 : p. 127, Hebr. i. 3 : p. 149, Hebr. iii. 5, 6. The reference to 2 Pet. iii. 9 in p. 107, *non enim moratus est in promissionibus suis*, is very uncertain. We have these Acts however at present in a very unsatisfactory form, as they exist for the most part only in a Latin translation from the Greek, which was itself probably a translation from the Syriac.

CHAPTER III.

THE TESTIMONY OF HERETICAL AND APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS TO THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

*Quodcunque adversus veritatem sapit hoc erit hæresis, etiam vetus
consuetudo.*

TERTULLIANUS.

THE controversies which agitated the Christian Church from the close of the second century to the commencement of the third shew practically, like those of the first age, what theological position was then occupied by the New Testament. The form of the old errors was changed, but their spirit gave life to new systems. Ebionism had sunk down into a mere tradition¹, but its principles were embodied in the Christian legalism of the Montanists. The same rationalistic tendencies which moved Marcion afterwards appeared in the questions raised on the Person of Christ from the time of Praxeas to that of Arius. And the Simonian counterfeit of Christianity found a partial parallel in the scheme of Mani, less wild, it is true, and more successful. But each great school of heresy did good service in the cause of the Christian Scriptures. The discussions on

Chap. iii.

*The testimony of
heretical
writers.
The forms
of heresy
though
changed
still witness
to the New
Testament.*

¹ Haxthausen (*Transcaucasia*, p. 140) mentions the existence of a sect of Judaizing Christians (Uriani) at present in Derbend on the Caspian. They have, as he heard, no knowledge of the Apostolic writings, but possess a Gospel written by Longinus the first teacher of their Church. It is to be hoped that some light may be thrown on this strange statement.

Chap. iii.

the Holy Trinity turned upon their right interpretation, so that their authority was a necessary postulate to the argument. The Montanists, while they appealed to the fresh outpouring of the Spirit, did not profess to supersede or dispense with the books which were commonly received. Even the Manichæans found the belief in their divine claims so strong that they could not set them aside as a whole, but were contented with questioning their integrity.

1. *Controversies on the Person of Christ.*

(a) *Patripassian: Praxeas.*
c. 170 A.D.

The controversies on the person of Christ first arose from a necessary reaction within the Church against the speculations of the Gnostics on the succession and orders of divine powers. The simple baptismal confession which became the popular rule of faith¹ contained no reference to the doctrine of the Word, and the unlearned stumbled at the 'mysterious dispensation' of the Holy Trinity. 'We are Monarchians,' they said, 'we acknowledge only 'one God².' This Monarchianism naturally assumed a double form, according as the unity of God was supposed to be rightly asserted by identifying the Son with the Father, or by denying his proper divinity. Praxeas and Theodotus stood forth at the same time at Rome as the champions of these antagonistic opinions. Praxeas seems to have retained his connection with the Catholic Church; Theodotus was excommunicated. But though they differed thus widely in doctrine and fortune, both held alike the general opinion of Christians on the authority of the Apostolic writings. Tertullian who attacked Praxeas, with greater zeal perhaps because he had proved himself a formidable opponent of Montanism, urged against him various passages of the New

¹ Tert. *de Virg. Vel.* 1: Regula scilicet in unicum Deum... quidem fidei una omnino est, sola
² Tert. *adv. Prax.* 3.
immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi

Testament without hesitation or reserve, and answers an argument which he drew from the Apocalypse¹. And though the followers of Theodotus were accused of 'tampering fearlessly with the Holy Scriptures,' it is evident that their corrections extended only to the text, and not to the Canon itself². So likewise in the later stages of the Trinitarian controversy, with Hermogenes, Noetus, Vero, Beryllus, and Sabellius³, on one side, and with Artemon and Paul of Samosata on the other, the Scriptures were always regarded as the common ground on which the questions at issue were to be settled.

In the midst of the discussions which were thus extending rapidly in the Church towards the close of the second century, it was natural that Christians should look around for some sure sign of God's presence among them, and for some abiding criterion of truth. The urgency of this want gave power and success to the teaching of Montanus. A strict discipline promised to serve as a mark of the elect; and prophecy was offered to solve the doubts of believers. But the relation of the new prophecies to the Apostolic teaching proves how completely the New Testament Scriptures were identified with the sources of Christian doctrine. Tertullian after he became a Montanist, no less than before, appeals to them as decisive. The outpouring of the Spirit, he says, was made in order to remove the ambiguities and parables by which the truth was obscured⁴; to illustrate

Chap. iii.
(β) *Unta-*
rian:
Theodotus.

2. *Montan-*
ism.

C. 170 A.D.

¹ *Adv. Prax.* 17: Interim hic mihi promotum sit responsum adversus id quod et de Apocalypsi Joannis proferunt. Apoc. i. 8.

² Cf. p. 371.

³ Epiphanius (*Her.* LXII. 2) says that Sabellius borrowed many points in his system from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. There is how-

ever nothing to shew that Sabellius placed it in rivalry with the Canonical Gospels. The opinions of the Alogi on the writings of St John have been noticed already, p. 276; and note 1.

⁴ *De Resurr. Carn. s. f.*: ...Jam omnes retro ambiguitates et quas volunt parabolas aperta atque per-

Chap. iii.

and not to set aside the written Word¹; to confirm and define what had been already given, and not to introduce anything strange or novel². The ancient Scriptures still remained a treasure common to Montanist and Catholic alike³. Some there certainly were among the Montanists who were not content with this view of the position occupied by their prophets, but the exceptions are not sufficient to lessen the importance of the testimony which they bear generally to the Christian Scriptures⁴.

3. Manichæism.

c. 277 A.D.

The Montanists proposed to restore Christianity: the Manichæans ventured to reconstruct it. Montanus proclaimed the presence of the Paraclete: Mani himself claimed to personify Him, and to lay open that perfect knowledge of which St Paul had spoken. While assuming such a character it is more surprising that Mani received the Christian Scriptures in any sense than that he brought them to the test of a merely subjective standard. And it is an important symptom of the popular feeling of the time, that the Manichæans called in question the integrity and sometimes the authenticity of the Christian records, but not the authority of their writers. The grounds on which they did so are purely arbitrary, and their objections are simple assertions without any ex-

spicua totius sacramenti prædicatione [Spiritus Sanctus] discussit, per novam prophetiam de Paraclete inundantem; cujus si hauseris fontes nullam poteris sitire doctrinam: nullus te ardor exuret quæstionum... *De Virg. Vel. 1*: Quæ est ergo Paracleti administratio nisi hæc, quod disciplina dirigitur, quod scripturæ revelantur, quod intellectus reformatur, quod ad meliora proficitur?

¹ *Adv. Prax. 13*: Nos enim qui et tempora et causas scripturarum per Dei gratiam inspicimus maxime

Paracleti non hominum discipuli...

² *De Monog. 3*: Nihil novi Paracletus inducit. Quod præmonuit, definit: quod sustinuit, exposcit.

³ *De Monog. 4*: Evolvamus communia instrumenta scripturarum pristinorum.

⁴ Cf. Euseb. *H. E. VI. 20*. It is probable that Caius excluded the Epistle to the Hebrews from the number of St Paul's Epistles in opposition to some Montanists (*ἐπιστολὴν*). Cf. Schwegler, *Montan.* 287 f.

ternal proof¹. Probably they differed considerably among themselves in their estimation of the Canonical books². Thus Augustine states that they rejected the Acts of the Apostles as inconsistent with their belief in the character assumed by Mani³; but this explanation is evidently insufficient, because the Montanists received the book in spite of a similar difficulty, and several writers use it without hesitation in their controversies with Manichæans⁴. Generally however he speaks of the Manichæans as admitting 'the New Testament,' 'the four Gospels, and the Epistles of Paul,' in which must be included that to the Hebrews⁵; but without insisting on this evidence, it is an important fact that they did not attempt to assail the Scriptures historically. On the contrary Augustine argues against them (and his reasoning gains force from his own conversion) that no writings can be proved genuine if the books received as Apostolic be not so: that every kind of evidence combines to establish their claims, the rejection of which must be followed by universal historical scepticism⁶: that they had been circulated in the lifetime of their professed authors: that they had been

¹ Cf. Beausobre, *Hist. de Manich.* I. pp. 297 sqq.

² Beausobre is probably right in supposing that they generally accepted the Canon of the Peshito (I. pp. 294 sq.); but I do not think that he is right in limiting (p. 292) the *Epistola Canonica* (Aug. c. *Faust.* XXII. 15) to the *Catholic* Epistles, though that is the later meaning of the phrase.

³ *De Util. Cred.* 7 [III.]. The Acts was generally much less known in the East than the other books of the New Testament. Cf. Beausobre, *l.c.* p. 293.

⁴ Cf. Lardner, II. 63. 4.

⁵ Aug. c. *Faust.* II. 1; V. 1: *de Util. Cred.* 7 [III.]. For the Epistle to the Hebrews, cf. Epiph. *Her.* LXVI. 74; supr. p. 392, n. 1; and, on the other hand, Beausobre, I. p. 292.

⁶ Aug. *de Mor. Eccl. Cath.* 60 [XXIX.]: Consequetur omnium litterarum summa perversio, et omnium qui memorie mandati sunt librorum abolitio; si quod tanta populorum religione roboratum est, tanta hominum et temporum consensione firmatum, in hanc dubitationem inducitur, ut ne historie quidem vulgaris fidem possit gravitatemque obtinere.

Chap. iii.

*The use of
Apocryphal
books by the
Manichees.*

*How these
attest the
Canon gene-
rally.*

*Other Apo-
cryphal
writings.*

received throughout the Church: that they were in the hands of all Christians: that they had been scrupulously guarded and attested from the age of the Apostles by an unbroken line of witnesses¹. And thus the first critical assault on the authority of the New Testament called forth a noble assertion of its historic claims.

But while the Manichæans admitted the original authority of the Scriptures of the New Testament, they appealed to other books for the confirmation of their doctrines. When received into the Catholic Church they were required to abjure the use of numerous Apocryphal writings²; and a bishop of the fifth century did not scruple to assert that they had either 'invented or 'corrupted every Apocryphal book³. Without entering in detail into the parallels which the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses, offer to the Canonical Scriptures, it is evident that as a whole, like false miracles and false prophecies, they presuppose some authentic collection which determined the shape and furthered the circulation of the copy. And that they are copies is evident from their internal character; so that in one respect at least they are instructive, as shewing what might have been expected from writings founded on tradition, even when shaped after an Apostolic pattern⁴.

Besides the direct imitations of the Apostolic books there are two other Apocryphal writings which deserve

¹ Aug. c. *Faust.* XXXII. 19; XXXIII. 6.

² The whole formula (ap. Cotel. *Patr. Apost.* I. 537 sqq., referred to by Beausobre) is extremely interesting. The passage more directly bearing on our subject is: ἀναθεματίζω πάντα τὰ δόγματα καὶ συγγράμματα τοῦ Μάνεντος...καὶ πάσας τὰς Μανιχαϊκὰς βίβλους, οἷον τὸ νεκροποιῶν αὐτῶν εὐαγγέλιον, ὅπερ ζῶν κα-

λοῦσι, καὶ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ θανάτου, ὃν λέγουσι θησαυρὸν ζωῆς, καὶ τὴν καλουμένην μυστηρίων βίβλον...καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀποκρύφων, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων...

³ Turibius, quoted by Beausobre, I. p. 348.

⁴ Beausobre (I. pp. 348 sqq.) has given a general review of their contents; and I have noticed them elsewhere.

notice because they represent no Canonical type, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and parts of the *Sibylline Oracles*. The Apostles were contented to recommend the Gospel to the Jews by the evidence of the Old Testament, to the heathen by the testimony of their own consciences, to both on the broad grounds of its own divine character. But it was natural that a succeeding generation should look for more distinct intimations of the Hope of the world than are to be found in the symbolism of a nation's history, or the indistinct confessions of hearts ill at rest. By what combination of fraud and enthusiasm the desire was gratified cannot be told, but the works which have been named represent the result¹. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and in some of the *Sibylline Oracles* the history of the Gospel is thrown into a prophetic form; and the general use made of the latter writings from the time of Justin Martyr downwards shews how little any other age than that of the Apostles was able to originate or even to reproduce the simple grandeur of the New Testament. Besides numerous allusions to the facts of the Gospels, and to very little else connected with the life of Christ², these Apocryphal books contain several references to the Gospel and first Epistle of St John, to the Acts, to the Epistles of St Paul and to the Apocalypse³. And

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.
The Sibylline Oracles.

¹ The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are quoted by Origen (*Hom. in Jos.* xv. 6). Friedlieb has given a summary of the probable dates of the Sibylline Oracles (*Orac. Sibyll. Einl.* § 32).

² The fire in the Jordan at the Baptism of our Lord (cf. p. 159, n. 1) is the only fact which occurs to me. *Orac. Sibyll.* vi. 6. Cf. vii. 84.

³ *Test. Levi.* § 14; John i. 9, viii. 12. *Benj.* § 3; John i. 29. *Jud.*

§ 20; John xv. 26. *Iss.* § 7; 1 John v. 16, 17. *Benj.* § 9; Acts ii. 3. *Reuben.* § 5; 1 Cor. vi. 18. *Levi.* § 3; Rom. xii. 1. § 6; 1 Thess. ii. 16. § 18; Hebr. vii. 22—24. *Dan.* § 5; Apoc. xxi. Eph. iv. 25. *Nephtalim.* § 4; Eph. ii. 17.

Mr Sinker, in his edition of the *Testaments* (1869), has given a very full table of the coincidences between the Testaments and the Apostolic books, but I do not think

Chap. iii.

*Testimony
to St Paul.*

one passage from the Testament of Benjamin expresses such a remarkable judgment on the mission and authority of St Paul as to deserve especial notice, particularly as the work itself comes from the hand of a Jewish Christian¹.

‘I shall no longer,’ the Patriarch says to his sons², ‘be called a ravening wolf on account of your ravages, ‘but a worker of the Lord, distributing goods to those ‘who work that which is good. And there shall arise ‘from my seed in after times one beloved of the Lord, ‘hearing His voice, enlightening with new knowledge all ‘the Gentiles,...and till the consummation of the ages ‘shall he be in the congregations of the Gentiles, and ‘among their princes, as a strain of music in the mouth ‘of them all. And he shall be inscribed in the Holy ‘Books, both his work and his word, and he shall be ‘chosen of God for ever³...’

*The evidence
of the hea-
then oppo-
nents of
Christian-
ity.*

In addition to other evidence that of the heathen opponents of Christianity must not be neglected. Celsus, the earliest and most formidable among them, lived towards the close of the second century, and he had sought his knowledge of the Christian system in Christian books. He quotes the ‘writings of the disciples of Jesus’ con-

CELSUS.

that the references to James, 2 Peter, Jude are established.

Orac. Sibyll. 1. 125 sqq.; 2 Pet. ii. 5. *Lib.* II. 167 sqq.; 2 Thess. ii. 8—10. *Lib.* VIII. 190 sqq.; Apoc. ix. &c.

¹ Dr Lightfoot (*on Galatians*, pp. 299 ff.) has called attention to the remarkable combination in this book of Levitical views with a thankful acknowledgment of the admission of the Gentiles into the divine Covenant.

² *Test. Benj.* § 11.

³ It is perhaps impossible to fix with precision the date of the *Pistis*

Sophia (ed. Schwartz et Petermann, Berlin, 1851). Petermann describes it simply as ab Ophitâ quodam superiori scriptum (Pref. p. vii.). It contains numerous references to the Gospels of St Matthew, St Luke, and St John; and once quotes St Paul (Rom. xiii. 7, p. 294). The only Apocryphal saying which I noticed in it is the well-known phrase attributed to our Lord, ‘Be ‘ye wise money-changers’ (p. 353); but of Philip it is said: iste est qui scribit res omnes quas Jesus dixit et quas fecit omnes (p. 69).

cerning His life as possessing unquestioned authority¹; and that these were the four Canonical Gospels is proved both by the absence of all evidence to the contrary, and by the special facts which he brings forward². And not only this, but both Celsus and Porphyry appear to have been acquainted with the Pauline Epistles³. In Porphyry at least the influence of the Apostolic teaching can be distinctly traced, for Christianity even in his time had done much to leaven the world which rejected it⁴.

TO pass once again from these details to a wider view, it is evident that the results of the last three chapters confirm what was stated at the outset, that this

Chap. iii.

PORPHYRY,
† 304 A.D.

Conclusion.

The sum-
mary of the
Second
Period.

¹ Orig. *c. Cels.* II. 13, 74. In the latter passage the Jewish antagonist in Celsus' work says: Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων συγγραμμάτων ἐφ' οἷς οὐδενὸς ἄλλου μάρτυρος χρῆζομεν, αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς περιπίπτετε. Nothing could shew more clearly the authority of the Gospels. Exactly the same title (τὰ ἡμέτερα συγγραμματα) occurs in Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I. 28.

² The title of Celsus' book was Λόγος ἀληθής, and Origen has answered it at length. The following references will be sufficient: Matt. ii., Orig. *c. Cels.* I. 34; Mark vi. 3, *ib.* VI. 36 (where Origen had a false reading); Luke iii., *ib.* II. 32; John xix. 34, *ib.* II. 36. Celsus evidently considered that the different Gospels were incorrect revisions of one original; *ib.* II. 27: μετὰ ταῦτά τινες τῶν πιστευόντων φησὶν... μεταχαράττειν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γραφῆς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τριχῇ καὶ τετραχῇ καὶ πολλαχῇ καὶ μεταπλάττειν ἵν' ἔχοιεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀρνεῖσθαι. To which Origen replies: μεταχαράττοντας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἄλλους οὐκ οἶδα ἢ τοὺς ὁπὸ Μαρκίου καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου, οἵμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Λουκάνου. All

the facts which Origen quotes from Celsus are I believe contained in our Canonical Gospels; yet cf. Orig. *c. Cels.* II. 74.

³ Orig. *c. Cels.* I. 9; cf. I Cor. iii. 19, I Pet. iii. 15. *ib.* v. 64; cf. Gal. vi. 14. Porphyr. ap. Hieron. *Comm. in Galat.* i. 15, 16 (T. IV. p. 233); ii. 11 (*ib.* p. 244).

⁴ Cf. Ullmann, *Stud. u. Krit.* v. 376 sqq. His beautiful *Letter to Marcella* (ed. Mai, *Mediol.* 1816), the climax of philosophic morality, offers nevertheless a complete contrast to the Christian doctrine of the dignity of man's body.

In other heathen writers there is little which bears on the Christian Scriptures. LUCIAN in his *True History* (II. 11 sqq.) gives a poor imitation of Apoc. xxi. But the striking description which ARISTIDES (*ad Plat.* II. T. II. pp. 398 sqq. (Df.)) draws of the Christians is well worthy of notice, especially when compared with Lucian's (*de Peregr.* II. 13). LONGINUS' testimony to the eloquence of 'Paul of Tarsus' (fr. 1, ed. Weiske) is generally considered spurious.

Conclusion.

*Its work to
construct,
not to de-
fine; though*

second period in the History of the Canon offers a marked contrast to the first. It is characterized not so much by the antagonism of great principles as by the influence of great men. But their work was to construct and not to define. And thus the age was an age of research and thought, but at the same time it was an age of freedom. The fabric of Christian doctrine was not yet consolidated, though the elements which had existed at first separately were already combined. An era of speculation preceded an era of councils; for it was necessary that all the treasures of the Church should be regarded in their various aspects before they could be rightly arranged,

*it was
fertile in
controversy*

There was however among Christians a keen and active perception of that 'one unchangeable rule of faith,' which was embodied in the practice of the Church and attested by the words of Scripture. Apologists for Christianity were followed by advocates of its ancient purity even in the most remote districts of the Roman world. In addition to the writers who have been mentioned already, Eusebius has preserved the names of many others 'from an innumerable crowd,' which in themselves form a striking monument of the energy of the Church. Philip in Crete, Bacchylus at Corinth, and Palmas in Pontus, defended the primitive Creed against the innovations of heresy¹. And the list might be easily increased; but it is enough to shew that the energy of Christian life was not confined to the great centres of its action, or to the men who gave their character to its development. The whole body was instinct with a sense of truth and ready to maintain it.

*which how-
ever did not*

Yet even controversy failed to create a spirit of

¹ Euseb. *H. E.* IV. 23, 25, 28; V. 22, 23.

historical inquiry. Tertullian once alludes to synodal discussions on the Canon¹, but as a general rule it was assumed by Christian writers that the contents of the New Testament were known and acknowledged. Where differences existed on this point, as in the case of the Marcionites, no attempt was made to compose them by a critical investigation into the history of the sacred records. And in the Church itself no voice of authority interfered to remove the doubts which formerly existed, however much they were modified by usage and by the judgment of particular writers. The age was not only constructive but conservative; and thus the evidence for the New Testament Canon, which has been gathered from writers of the third century, differs from that of earlier date in fulness rather than in kind.

But the fulness of evidence for the acknowledged books, coming from every quarter of the Church and given with unhesitating simplicity, can surely be explained on no other ground than that it represented an original tradition or an instinctive judgment of Apostolic times. While on the other hand the books which were not universally received seem to have been in most cases rather unknown than rejected. The Apocalypse alone was made the subject of a controversy, and that purely on internal testimony². For it is well worthy of notice that the disputed books (with the exception of the second Epistle of St Peter, the history of which is most obscure) are exactly those which make no direct claims to Apostolic authorship, so that they might have been excluded from the Canon even by some who did not

Conclusion.

create historic criticism.

Hence we gain no new results, but

the old are strongly confirmed, as regards the Acknowledged Books,

the Disputed Books, and

¹ Tert. *de Pudic.* 10. See *supr.* p. 371, n. 2.

² It is a satisfaction to find that the opinion which I have given on the testimonies of Caius and Diony-

sus (pp. 275, n. 2, 362) is confirmed by that of Münster in a special tract on the subject: *de Dionys. Alex. Judic. c. Apocal.* Hafnæ, 1826, pp. 35 sqq., 67 sqq.

Conclusion.
Apocryphal
writings.

doubt their genuineness. In the meantime Apocryphal writings had passed almost out of notice, and no one can suppose that they were any longer confounded with the Apostolic books. Nothing more indeed was needed than that some practical crisis should give clear effect to the implicit opinion which was everywhere held; and this, as we shall see in the next chapter, was soon furnished by the interrogations of the last persecutor.

THIRD PERIOD.

HISTORY OF THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
FROM THE PERSECUTION OF DIOCLETIAN TO
THE THIRD COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE.

A.D. 303—397.

Solis eis Scripturarum libris qui jam Canonici appellantur
didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre ut nullum eorum auctorem
scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam.

AUGUSTINUS.

CHAPTER I.

THE AGE OF DIOCLETIAN.

Ἐπληρώθη τὸ Πῶρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἀφανιστικὸν ἀλλὰ
καθαρικόν.

ATHANASIUS.

THOUGH we do not possess any public Acts of the Ante-Nicene Church relative to the Canon, yet the zeal of its enemies has in some degree supplied the deficiency. During the long period of repose which the Christians enjoyed after the edict of Gallienus, the character and claims of their sacred writings became more generally known¹, and offered a definite mark to their adversaries. Diocletian skilfully availed himself of this new point of attack. The earlier persecutors had sought to deprive the Church of its teachers: he endeavoured to destroy the writings which were the unfailing source of its faith. Hierocles proconsul of Bithynia is said to have originated and directed the persecution²; and his efforts were the more formidable because he was well acquainted with the history and doctrines of Christianity.

The first result of this persecution was to create dissensions within the Church itself. A large section of

Chap. i.

The persecution of Diocletian directed in part against the Christian Scriptures, and so
261 A.D.

303—311 A.D.

¹ Cf. Lact. *Instit.* v. 2: Alius eadem disciplina fuisse videatur... [Hierocles]...quædam capita [Scripturæ Sacræ] quæ repugnare sibi videbantur exposuit, adeo multa, adeo præcipue tamen Paulum Petrumque laceravit...

² Lact. *Instit.* l. c. de Mort. Perintima enumerans, ut aliquando ex sec. 16.

Chap. i.

productive
of dissensions among
Christians
which led
necessarily

to a clearer
determination of the
Canonical
Books.

But at least
the outlines
of a Canon
must have
existed
before.

Christians availed themselves of the means of escape offered by lenient magistrates, and surrendered 'useless writings' which satisfied the demands of their inquisitors. Others however viewed this conduct with reasonable jealousy, and branded as 'traitors' (*traditores*) those who submitted to the semblance of guilt to avoid the trials of persecution. And the differences which arose on the question became deep and permanent. For more than three hundred years the schism of the Donatists remained to witness to the intensity and bitterness of the controversy. But schism as well as persecution furthered the work of God. Henceforth the *Canonical* Scriptures were generally known by that distinctive title, even if it was not then first applied to them². Both parties in the Church naturally combined to distinguish the sacred writings from all others. The stricter Christians required clear grounds for visiting the *traditores* with Ecclesiastical censure³; and the more pliant were anxious not to compromise their faith, while they were willing to purchase peace by obedience in that which seemed to be indifferent.

But though it is evident that an ecclesiastical Canon must have been formed before the close of the persecution of Diocletian, it is not to be concluded that no such Rule existed before. The original edict which enjoined that 'the Churches should be razed, and the Scriptures 'consumed by fire...'⁴ is unhappily lost; and Christian writers describe its provisions in words intelligible and definite to themselves, but little likely to have been used

¹ Cf. Neander, *Ch. Hist.* i. p. 205.

August. *Brev. Coll. Donat.* III. 25;

c. *Cresc.* III. 30. Credner (*Zur Gesch.*

d. K. s. 66) gives another interpretation to *scripturæ supervacuae* in the

Acts of Felix.

² Cf. App. A. Credner, *a. a. O.*

³ *Concil. Arelat.* XIII.: De his qui scripturas sanctas tradidisse dicuntur...ut quicumque eorum *ex actis publicis* fuerit detectus...

⁴ Euseb. *H. E.* VIII. 2.

by a heathen Emperor. There can however be no doubt that it contained an accurate description of the books to be surrendered, and the official records of two trials consequent upon it seem to have preserved the exact phrase which was employed. 'Bring forward,' the Roman commissioner said to the bishop Paul, 'the Scriptures of the Law.' And Cæcilian writing to another bishop Felix says, 'Ingentius inquired whether any Scriptures of your Law were burnt according to the sacred law¹.' Now whether this title was of Christian or heathen origin it evidently had a meaning sufficiently strict and clear for the purposes of a Roman court: in other words the books which the Christians called 'divine' and 'spiritualizing' (*deificæ*), which were publicly read in their assemblies and guarded with their most devoted care, were formed into a collection so well known that they could be described by a title scarcely more explicit than that by which it was afterwards called 'the Bible' (*τὰ βιβλία*).

And what then were the contents of that collection? The answer to this question must be sought for in the results of the persecution. No district suffered more severely than North Africa, where schism continued the ravages which persecution began. Donatus placed himself at the head of a party who opposed the appointment

And what this Canon was may be seen from the Canon left after the persecution in

i. Africa—The Donatists.

¹ Acta ap. Mansi, *Concil.* II. 501 (Florent. 1759); August. T. IX. App. p. 29 (ed. Bened.): Felix Flamen perpetuus curator Paulo episcopo dixit: Proferte *scripturas legis*, et si quid aliud hic habetis, ut præceptum est, ut præcepto et jussioni parere possitis. Paulus episcopus dixit: *Scripturas* lectores habent, sed nos quod hic habemus damus. Afterwards the command is simply Proferte *scripturas*. *ib.* p. 509 (T. IX. App. p. 18); Cæcilianus parenti Fe-

lici salutem: Cum Ingentius collegam meum Augustinum amicum suum conveniret et inquisisset anno duoviratus mei, an aliquæ *scripturæ legis vestræ* secundum sacram legem adustæ sint... (These passages are quoted by Credner, *a. a. O.*). A similar phrase occurs also in Augustine, *Ps. c. Donat.* T. IX. p. 3 B: Erant quidam traditores *librorum de sacra lege*. Cf. Commod. *Inst.* I. Pref. 6. On the relation of the words *lex, regula*, and *κανών*, see Credner, *l. c.*

Chap. i.

of Cæcilian to the see of Carthage on the ground that he had been ordained by Felix a traditor; and, in spite of the judgment of a Synod, confirmed by Constantine, the rupture became complete. The ground of the Donatist schism was thus the betrayal of the Canonical Scriptures, and the Canon of the Donatists will necessarily represent the strict judgment of the African Churches. Now Augustine allows that both Donatist and Catholic were alike 'bound by the authority of 'both Testaments', and that they admitted alike the 'Canonical Scriptures'. 'And what are these,' he asks, 'but the Canonical Scriptures of the Law and the 'Prophets? To which are added the Gospels, the Apostolic Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse of John'. The only doubt which can be thrown on the completeness and purity of the Donatist Canon arises from the uncertain language of Augustine about the Epistle to the Hebrews, and no Donatist writing throws any light upon the point. But with this uncertain exception the ordeal of persecution left the African Churches in possession of a perfect New Testament.

From Africa we pass to Palestine. Among the witnesses of the persecution there was Eusebius the friend of Pamphilus, afterwards bishop of Cæsarea, and the historian of the early Church. 'I saw,' he says, 'with 'mine own eyes the houses of prayer thrown down and 'razed to their foundations, and the inspired and sacred

ii. Syria—
EUSEBIUS.
c. 270—340
A.D.

¹ August. *Ep.* CXXIX. 3.

² Aug. *c. Cresc.* I. 37: Proferte certe...de Scripturis Canonicis [quarum nobis est communis auctoritas] ...The last clause, if it be of doubtful authority in this place, occurs without any variation at the end of the chapter.

³ *De Unit. Eccles.* 51 [XIX.].

⁴ The only disputed books which Tichonius (Aug. *c. Ep. Parm.* T. IX. p. 11) quotes are, so far as I have noticed, the second Epistle of St John (Gallandi, *Bibl. Pp.* VIII. p. 124), and the Apocalypse (*ib.* pp. 107, 122, 125, 128).

‘Scriptures consigned to the fire in the open market-place¹.’ Among such scenes he could not fail to learn what books men held to be more precious than their lives, and it is reasonable to look for the influence of this early trial on his later opinions. But the great fault of Eusebius is a want of independent judgment. He writes under the influence of his last informant, and consequently his narrative is often confused and inconsistent. This is the case in some degree with his statements on the Canon, though it is possible I believe to ascertain his real judgment on the question, and to remove some of the discrepancies by which it is obscured.

The manner in which he approaches the subject illustrates very well the desultory character of his work. He records the succession of Linus to the see of Rome ‘after the martyrdom of Peter and Paul,’ and without any further preface proceeds²: ‘Of Peter then one Epistle, which is called his former Epistle, is generally acknowledged; of this also the ancient presbyters have made frequent use (κατακέχρηνται) in their writings as indisputably genuine (ἀναμφιλέκτω). But that which is circulated as his second Epistle we have received to be not Canonical (ἐνδιάθηκον); still as it appeared useful to many it has been diligently read (ἐσπουδάσθη) with the other scriptures. The Book of the Acts of Peter and the Gospel which bears his name, and the book entitled his Preaching, and his so-called Apocalypse, we know to have been in no wise included in the Catholic³ scriptures by antiquity (οὐδ’ ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδιδόμενα), because no ecclesiastical writer in

Chap. i.

His character.

His first account of the Apostolic Canon.

Writings of St PETER and

¹ H. E. VIII. 2.

² H. E. III. 3. The title of the Chapter is: Περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων, yet he makes no allusion to the Epistles of St John, and di-

gresses to other writings.

³ i. e. *Canonical*. This use of the word καθολικός is illustrated by *Concil. Carthag.* XXIV. Int. Gr. (given in App. D).

Chap. i.

‘ancient times or in our own has made general use of
 ‘(συνεχρήσατο) the testimonies to be drawn from them...
 ‘So many are the works which bear the name of Peter,
 ‘of which I recognize (ἔγνων) one Epistle only as genuine
 ‘(γνησίαν) and acknowledged by the ancient presbyters.’

of St PAUL.

‘Of Paul the fourteen epistles commonly received (αἱ
 ‘δεκατέσσαρες) are at once manifest (προδήλοι) and clear.
 ‘It is not however right to ignore the fact that some
 ‘have rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews, asserting that
 ‘it is gainsayed by the Church of Rome as not being
 ‘Paul’s...The Acts that bear his name I have not re-
 ‘ceived as indisputably genuine.’

The Shep-
 herd of
 Hermas.

‘Since the same Apostle in the salutations at the
 ‘end of the Epistle to the Romans has made mention
 ‘among others of Hermas, whose the Shepherd is said
 ‘to be, it must be known that this book has been gain-
 ‘said by some, and therefore could not be considered
 ‘an acknowledged book, though it has been judged by
 ‘others most necessary for those who particularly need
 ‘elementary instruction in the faith (στοιχειώσεως εἰσα-
 ‘γωγικῆς). In consequence of this we know that it
 ‘has been formerly publicly read (δεδημοσιευμένον) in
 ‘churches, and I have found that some of the most
 ‘ancient writers have made use of it.’

‘These remarks will help to point out (εἰς παράστα-
 ‘σιν) the divine writings which are uncontrovertible
 ‘(ἀναντιρρήτων) and those which are not acknowledged
 ‘by all.’

How he con-
 tinues his
 narrative
 till he
 speaks of

After this Eusebius continues the thread of his his-
 tory, relating at length the siege of Jerusalem, and the
 succession of bishops in the Apostolic sees, till he comes
 to speak of the reign of Trajan and of the last labours of
 the Apostle St John. While doing this he quotes from
 Clement the beautiful story of the young robber, and

then goes on abruptly to enumerate 'the uncontroverted writings of the Apostle.' His Gospel is placed first as being fully recognized 'in all the churches under heaven;' and so Eusebius proceeds to speak of the other Gospels, prefacing his criticism with some remarks on Apostolic gifts which illustrate his view of Inspiration¹. 'Those inspired and truly divine men (θεσπέσιοι καὶ ἀληθῶς θεοπρεπεῖς), I mean the Apostles of Christ, having been completely purified in their life, and adorned with every virtue in their souls, though still simple and illiterate in their speech (τὴν γλῶσσαν ἰδιωτεύοντες), yet trusting boldly to the divine and marvellous power given them by the Saviour, had not indeed either the knowledge or the design to commend the teaching of their Master by subtilty and rhetorical art, but using only the demonstration of the divine Spirit, who wrought with them, and the wonder-working power of Christ realized through them, proclaimed the knowledge of the kingdom of heaven over all the world (οἰκουμένην), giving little heed to the labour of written composition (σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ λογογραφεῖν). And this they did as being wholly engaged (ἐξυπηρετούμενοι) in a greater and superhuman ministry. For example Paul who shewed himself the most powerful of all in the means of eloquence and the most able in thought has not committed to writing more than his very short letters, although he had countless mysteries to tell, as one who attained to a vision of things in the third heaven, and was caught up to the divine paradise itself, and was counted worthy to hear unspeakable words from those who had been transported thither. The rest of the immediate followers (φοιτηταί) of the Saviour, twelve Apostles and seventy disciples and innumerable others

Chap. ii.
the writings
of St JOHN,

and after
general re-
marks on
the Gospels,

¹ H. E. III. 24.

Chap. i.

'besides, were in some degree blessed with the same 'privileges...still Matthew and John alone of all have left 'us an account [of their intercourse with the Lord]...' After this Eusebius discusses the mutual relations of the Gospels, promising a more special investigation in some other place, a promise which, like many others, he left unfulfilled. He then continues: 'Now of the writings of 'John, in addition to the Gospel, the former of his 'Epistles also has been acknowledged as undoubtedly 'genuine both by the writers of our own time and by 'those of antiquity; but the two remaining Epistles are 'disputed. Concerning the Apocalypse men's opinions 'even now are generally divided. This question how- 'ever shall be decided at a proper time by the testimony 'of antiquity¹.' There is nothing to shew that Eusebius carried his intention into effect, and without further break he proceeds²: 'But now we have arrived at this 'point, it is natural that we should give a summary cata- 'logue of the writings of the New Testament to which 'we have already alluded³. First then we must place the 'holy quaternion of the Gospels, which are followed by 'the account of the Acts of the Apostles. After this we 'must reckon the Epistles of Paul; and next to them 'we must maintain as genuine (κυρωτέον) the Epistle cir- 'culated (φερομένη) as the former⁴ of John, and in like 'manner that of Peter. In addition to these books, if

*sums up his
opinions on
the books of
the New
Testament.*

(α) *The Ac-
knowledged
Books.*

¹ The scattered testimonies which he quotes from Justin (iv. 18), Theophilus (iv. 24), Irenæus (v. 8), Origen (vi. 25), and Dionysius (vii. 25), can scarcely be considered to satisfy this promise.

² *H. E.* III. 25.

³ Ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰς δηλωθεῖσας τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης γραφάς. It seems incredible that there should have been any difference of opinion

as to the meaning of the phrase. Eusebius had mentioned before all the books of the New Testament which he here accepts: Four Gospels, III. 24; Acts, II. 22; fourteen Epistles of St Paul, III. 3; seven Catholic Epistles, II. 23 *ad fin.*; Apocalypse, III. 24.

⁴ Προτέρα not πρώτη. Cf. pp. 76, n. 2; 379, n. 3.

'possibly such a view seem correct¹, we must place the 'Revelation of John, the judgments on which we shall 'set forth in due course. And these are regarded as 'generally received (ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις).

'Among the controverted books, which are nevertheless well known and recognized by most², we class the 'Epistle circulated under the name of James, and that of 'Jude, as well as the second of Peter, and the so-called 'second and third of John, whether they really belong to 'the Evangelist, or possibly to another of the same name.

'We must rank as spurious (νόθοι) the account of the 'Acts of Paul, the book called the Shepherd, and the 'Revelation of Peter. And besides these the epistle circulated under the name of Barnabas, and the Teaching 'of the Apostles; and moreover, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if such an opinion seem correct (εἰ 'φανείη), which some, as I said, reject (ἀθετοῦσι), while 'others reckon it among the books generally received. 'We may add that some have reckoned in this division 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews, to which those 'Hebrews who have received [Jesus as] the Christ are 'especially attached³. All these then will belong to the 'class of controverted books⁴.

Chap. i.

(β) *The Disputed Books:*
1. *Generally known.*

2. *Spurious.*

¹ Εἰ γε φανεῖη. The difference between this and εἰ φανεῖη below must not be left unnoticed.

² Γνωρίμων τοῖς πολλοῖς. Cf. *H. E.* III. 38. The word γνώριμος implies a familiar knowledge. It is a singular coincidence that Alex. Aphrod. (*de An.* 2, quoted by Stephens) uses it in connexion with another Eusebian word. Speaking of Time and Place he says: τὸ μὲν εἶναι γνώριμον καὶ ἀναμφίλεκτον.

³ There is no question of this being placed in the first class, as is stated *Supern. Rel.* ii. 167.

⁴ The complete omission of the first Epistle of Clement in this detailed enumeration is very instructive as marking the principles on which Eusebius made it. The genuineness of the Epistle was acknowledged, but it was not *Apostolic*. Thus it could not make any substantial claim to be included among the books of the Canon if Apostolicity was the final test of the authority of a book. On the other hand it may be noticed that Eusebius himself using popular language calls the Epistle a 'disputed book' elsewhere. See p. 417, n. 2.

Chap. i.

(γ) Heretical
Books.

‘It has been necessary for us to extend our catalogue to these, in spite of their ambiguous character (τούτων ὅμως τὸν κατάλογον πεποιήμεθα), having distinguished the writings which according to the ecclesiastical tradition are true and genuine (ἀπλάστους), and generally acknowledged¹, and the others besides these, which, though they are not Canonical (ἐνδιαθίκους) but controverted, are nevertheless constantly recognized (γινωσκομένας) by most of our ecclesiastical authorities (ἐκκλησιαστικῶν), that we might be acquainted with these scriptures, and with those which are brought forward by heretics in the name of Apostles, whether it be as containing the Gospels of Peter and Thomas and Matthias, or also of others besides these, or as the Acts of Andrew and John and the other Apostles, which no one of the succession of ecclesiastical writers has anywhere deigned to quote. And further also the character of their language (φράσεως) which varies from the Apostolic spirit (παρὰ τὸ ἦθος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐν ἀλλάττει), and the sentiment and purpose of their contents, which is utterly discordant with true orthodoxy, clearly prove that they are forgeries of heretics; whence we must not even class them among the spurious (νόθοις) books, but set them aside (παριτήτέον) as every way monstrous and impious.’

This last passage must interpret the others.

This last passage in which Eusebius professes to sum up what he had previously said upon the subject, however imperfect and vague it may appear in some respects, forms the centre to which all his other statements on the books of the New Testament must be referred. Here, instead of quoting the authority of others, he

¹ Ἀνωμολογημένους. Ἀνομολογεῖν, inquiry, and judgment. Cf. *σθαι* differs from *ὁμολογεῖσθαι* in *H. E.* III. 3, 24, 38; IV. 7. bringing out the notion of examina-

writes in his own person, and implies I believe his own judgment on the disputed books¹. In order to determine what this was, it will be necessary to analyse briefly the classification which he proposes. And at the outset it is evident, I think, that he divides all the writings which laid claim to Apostolic authority into three principal divisions—the Acknowledged, the Disputed, and the Heretical. But these words, it must be remembered, are used with reference to a particular object, and consequently in a modified sense². That a book should be *Acknowledged* as Canonical, it was requisite that its authenticity should be undisputed, and that its author should have been possessed of Apostolic power; if it were supposed to fail in satisfying either of these conditions, then it was *Disputed*, however well it satisfied the other.

With regard to the first and last classes there can be little ambiguity as to the limits which Eusebius would set to them generally; the position of the Apocalypse (for a reason which will be shortly seen) being left in some uncertainty. But considerable doubt has been felt as to the exact extent and definition of the second class, though the words at the beginning and end of the paragraph in which the disputed books are enumerated,

Chap. i.

Three classes of books distinguished in it, of which the

second class is again subdivided into two others.

¹ In treating of the Eusebian Canon, I can only give the conclusions at which I have arrived. The best separate essay on it which I know is that of Lücke (Berlin, 1816), which is not however by any means free from faults.

² Thus under different aspects the same book may be differently described. The first Epistle of Clement for instance is called *acknowledged*, when the question of genuineness only is at issue (Euseb. *H. E.* III. 16, 38); but *disputed*, with regard to

Canonicity (*H. E.* VI. 13). See p. 415, n. 4.

Origen once adopts a triple division of books claiming Apostolic authority somewhat different (*Comm. in Joan.* XIII. 17: ἐξετάζοντες περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου [τοῦ κηρύγματος Πέτρου] πότερόν ποτε γνήσιόν ἐστιν ἢ νόθον ἢ μικτόν—a genuine work, a spurious work falsely inscribed with St Peter's name, or a work containing partly true records of St Peter's teaching, partly spurious additions to it.

Chap. i.

clearly state that they were all included under one comprehensive title. Yet it does not therefore follow that all the books included in the second class were on the same footing; for on the contrary this class itself is subdivided into two other classes, containing respectively such books as were generally though not universally recognized, and such as Eusebius pronounced to be *Spurious*, that is deficient in one or other of the marks of an acknowledged book. There are traces even of a further subdivision; for this latter class again is made up of subordinate groups, determined, as it appears, by the common character which fixed their position: the first group, containing the Acts of Paul, the Shepherd, and the Apocalypse of Peter, was not genuine; the second, containing the Epistle of Barnabas¹ and the Doctrines of the Apostles, was not Apostolic. And if this view be correct the ambiguous statement as to the Apocalypse becomes intelligible, because it was undoubtedly a genuine work of John; and if that John were identical with the Apostle, then it satisfied both the conditions requisite to make it an *acknowledged* book: otherwise, like the letter of Barnabas, it was *spurious*².

¹ In speaking of Barnabas the companion of St Paul Eusebius takes no notice of the Epistle, and he nowhere attributes it to him (*H. E.* I. 12; II. 1; VI. 13). Cf. p. 40 f.

² Though Eusebius does not here use the word *ἀπόκρυφος*, yet as he elsewhere applies it (*H. E.* IV. 22 *ad fin.*) to the books fabricated by heretics, it will be well to trace its meaning briefly:

i. The original sense is clearly *set apart from sight* as distinguished from the simple *hidden* (*κρυπτός*), the notion of separation or removal being brought prominently forward. Cf. Sirac. xlii. 12 (9): *θυγάτηρ πατρὶ ἀπόκρυφος ἀγρυπνία*. Gen. xxiv. 43

(Aq.); Dan. xi. 43 (Theod.); Col. ii. 3; Mark iv. 22; Luke viii. 17: comp. Matt. xi. 25; xxv. 18; Luke x. 21; 1 Cor. ii. 7; Eph. iii. 9; Col. i. 26 (*ἀποκρύπτειν* opposed to *φανεροῦν*).

ii. From this sense various others branch out corresponding to the several motives which may occasion the concealment. As applied to books, concealment might be caused by their

(a) Esoteric value, as containing the secrets of a religion or an art. Cf. Ex. vii. 11, 22 (Symm.); Suid. in Pherecyde (quoted by Stephens): *ἤσκησε δὲ ἐαυτὸν κτησάμενος τὰ Φοινίκων ἀπόκρυφα βιβλία*. As such

According to this view of the passage then it appears that Eusebius received as 'Divine Scriptures' the Acknowledged books, adding to them the other books in our present Canon, and no others, on the authority of most writers, with this single exception, that he was undecided as to the authorship of the Apocalypse. It remains for us to inquire how far this general judgment is supported by the isolated notices of the different books scattered throughout his writings.

It will be noticed that in the general summary no special mention is made of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but in the first quotation it is expressly attributed to St Paul; and though Eusebius elsewhere speaks of it as among the Disputed books¹, numerous quotations prove that he regarded it as substantially St Paul's, even if it had been translated by St Luke, or (as he was more inclined to believe) by Clement of Rome². With regard

heretics brought forward writings under the names of Prophets and Apostles; cf. Orig. *Comm. Ser. in Matt.* § 28.

(β) Mysterious or ambiguous character, as containing that which specially needs interpretation or correction from its difficulty or imperfection. Cf. Sirac. xxxix. 3, 7 (Xen. *Memor.* III. 5. 14; *Conv.* VIII. 11). In the first sense the word is applied to the Revelation by Gregory of Nyssa (*Orat. in Ordin. suam*, T. I. p. 876, ed. Par. 1615): ἤκουσα τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν ἀποκρίφοις δι' ἀνλήγματος λέγοντος... and in the other commonly to the so-called *Apocrypha* of the Old Testament. Cf. Orig. *Prol. in Cant. s. f.*

(γ) In the last sense the word offered a contrast to δεδημοσιευμένος, and so came to be applied to books wholly set aside from the use of the Church. Thus it is first used by Irenæus, *c. Hær.* I. 20 (with some allusion probably to the claims made

by the writers of the books; cf. Clem. *Strom.* I. 15. 69): ἀμύθητον πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόθων γραφῶν ἃς αὐτοὶ ἐπλασαν παρεισέφερονσιν. Athanas.

Ep. Fest. (κανονιζόμενα, ἀπόκρυφα); Cyril. *Catech.* IV. 36. Cf. Schleusner, *Lex. Vet. Test.* and Suicer s. v.; and Reuss, *Gesch. der Heil. Schrift.* § 318.

¹ *H. E.* VI. 13: Κέχρηται δ' [ὁ Κλήμης]...ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων γραφῶν μαρτυρίαις...καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς, τῆς τε Βαρνάβα καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ Ἰούδα.

² *H. E.* III. 38. For his use of the Epistle, see *Eclog. Proph.* I. 20 (ed. Gaisf. Oxf. 1842): ὁ ἀπόστολος...ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους συντάξει...φησὶν. Hebr. I. 5. So *ib.* III. 23: ὁ θαυμάσιος ἀπόστολος. Hebr. IV. 14. *c. Marc. de Eccl. Theol.* I. 20: καὶ ἀρχιερέα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος [Παῦλος] ἀποκαλεῖ λέγων. Hebr. IV. 14; *c. Marc.* II. 1. *Comm. in Ps.* (ed. Montfaucon, Par. 1706) I. 175 sq., 248, &c.

Chap. I.

General view of his Canon of the New Testament, supported by isolated testimonies to

the Epistle to the Hebrews,

Chap. i.

the Catholic
Epistles of
St James
and St Jude,

and gene-
rally seven
Catholic
Epistles,

and to the
Apocalypse.

to the Catholic Epistles, after speaking of the martyrdom of James the Just he says¹: 'The first of the Epistles styled Catholic is said to be his. But I must remark that it is held to be spurious (*νοθεύεται*). Certainly not many old writers have mentioned it, nor yet the Epistle of Jude, which is also one of the seven Epistles called Catholic. But nevertheless we know that these have been publicly used with the rest in most Churches.' This again is thoroughly consistent with his summary; for the allusion to the order of the Catholic Epistles, and to their definite number (seven), shews that even such as were disputed were distinguished from those which he likewise calls *disputed* when mentioning the opinions of others, but *spurious* when expressing his own. It is more important to insist on this testimony, because though Eusebius has made use of the Epistle of St James in many places², yet I am not aware that he ever quotes the Epistle of St Jude, the second Epistle of St Peter, or the two shorter Epistles of St John³.

The Apocalypse alone remains; and with regard to this book, the same uncertainty as marks Eusebius' judgment on its Apostolicity characterizes his use of it, though he shews a certain inclination to abide by the testimony of antiquity. 'It is likely,' he says in one place, 'that the [vision of the] Apocalypse circulated under the name of John was seen by the second John [the presbyter], unless any one be willing to believe that it was seen by the first [the Apostle]⁴;' and he

¹ *H. E.* II. 23.

p. 446; *c. Marc. de Eccl. Theol.* II. 26; James iii. 2.

² *Comm. in Ps.* I. p. 247: λέγει γοῦν ὁ ἱερὸς Ἀπόστολος James v. 13.

ib. p. 648: τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης Prov. xx. 13; James iv. 11. Cf. *ib.*

³ On the contrary cf. *Theophania*, v. 39 (p. 323, Lee).

⁴ *H. E.* III. 39.

quotes it (though rarely in respect of its importance) simply as the 'Apocalypse of John¹.'

From all this it is evident that the testimony of Eusebius marks a definite step in the history of the Canon, and exactly that which it was reasonable to expect from his position. The books of the New Testament were formed into distinct collections—'a quaternion of Gospels,' 'fourteen Epistles of St Paul,' 'seven Catholic Epistles.' Both in the West and in the East the persecutor had wrought his work, and a New Testament rose complete from the fires which were kindled to consume it. That it rested on no authoritative decision is simply a proof that none was needed; and in the next chapter it will be seen that the Conciliar Canons introduced no innovations, but merely proposed to preserve the tradition which had been handed down.

Chap. i.

Result of the chapter.

¹ Cf. *H. E.* III. 18, 29. *Eclog.* ψν Ἰωάννου. *Apoc.* v. 5. No reference to it occurs however in his *Proph.* IV. 30: κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην. *Apoc.* xiv. 6. Cf. *ib.* IV. 8; *Demonstr. Ev.* VIII. 2: κατὰ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν. Commentaries on the Psalms and on Isaiah published by Montfaucon.

CHAPTER II.

THE AGE OF COUNCILS.

Non doctrina et sapientia, sed Domini auxilio pax Ecclesiæ reddita.
HIERONYMUS.

Chap. ii.

*Constantine's zeal
for the
Holy Scriptures.*

NO sooner was Constantine's imagination moved by the sign of the heavenly cross (if we may receive the account of Eusebius), than he 'devoted himself to 'the reading of the divine Scriptures,' seeking in them the interpretation of his vision¹. And in after times he continued, at least with outward zeal, the study which he had thus begun. If his predecessors 'had commanded 'the Inspired Oracles to be consumed in the flames, he 'gave orders that they should be multiplied, and embellished magnificently at the expense of the royal treasury². One of his first cares after the foundation of Constantinople, when a 'great multitude of men devoted 'themselves to the most holy Church,' was to charge Eusebius with 'preparing fifty copies of the divine 'Scriptures, of which he judged the preparation and the 'use to be most necessary for the purpose of the Church, 'written on prepared skins, by the help of skilful artists 'accurately acquainted with their craft³. 'For this ob-

¹ Euseb. *V. C.* I. 32.

² Euseb. *V. C.* III. I.

³ Euseb. *V. C.* IV. 36. In doing this Eusebius must naturally have fol-

lowed the conclusions as to the Canon of the N. T. to which he has given expression in his History (see pp. 410 ff.), but no direct evidence on the

'ject,' he adds, 'orders have been issued to the Governor of the Province to furnish everything required for the work;' and authority was given to Eusebius to employ 'two public carriages for the speedy conveyal of the books when finished to the Emperor.' Everything was designed to give importance to the commission. And as the Emperor himself set an example to his subjects, 'studying the Bible in his palace' and 'giving himself up to the contemplation of the Inspired Oracles¹,' he was better able to persuade 'weak women and countless multitudes of men to receive rational support for rational souls by divine readings, in exchange for the mere support of the body².'

The public and private zeal of the Emperor necessarily exercised a powerful influence upon the Greek Church. The copies of the Greek Bible which he had caused to be prepared were for the use of the Churches of his new capital, and thus they formed a standard for ecclesiastical use. The effects of this were soon seen. The difference between the *Controverted* and *Acknowledged* Epistles was done away except as a matter of history. On the Apocalypse alone some doubts still remained. Some received and some rejected it. But on this a judgment clear and weighty was soon given by Athanasius³ supported by the prescription of primitive tradition. In other respects the New Testament Canons of Eusebius and Athanasius coincide, and thenceforth the question was practically decided.

His influence.

point has been preserved. It is therefore uncertain whether the Apocalypse was contained in Constantine's Bible or not. The later evidence from the Greek churches of the East points with fair distinctness to its omission (see below), though it may have been

added as an Appendix like the Alexandrine Apocrypha of the Old Testament.

¹ Euseb. *V. C.* iv. 17.

² Euseb. *De Laud. Const.* xvii.

³ See p. 444.

Chap. ii.

The Scripture the rule of controversy.

During the great controversies which agitated the Church throughout his reign Constantine—‘appointed ‘by God as bishop in outward matters’¹—remained faithful to the same great principle of the paramount authority of Scripture. A historian of the Council of Nicæa represents him as closing his address to the fathers assembled there in memorable words. ‘Let us cherish ‘peace and forbearance,’ he says, ‘for it would be truly ‘disastrous that we should assail one another, particularly when we are discussing divine matters, and possess the teaching of the most Holy Spirit committed ‘to writing; for the books of the Evangelists and Apostles and the utterances of the ancient Prophets clearly ‘instruct us what we ought to think of the Divine Nature. Let us then banish strife which genders contention, and take the solution of our questions from the ‘inspired words’².’ Though we may admit that this speech is due to the pen of the historian³, it is thoroughly consistent with phrases in Constantine’s letters which are of unquestioned authenticity. Thus he charges Arius with teaching ‘things contrary to the inspired Scriptures ‘and the holy faith,’ which faith was ‘in truth the exact ‘expression of the Divine Law’⁴.

Holy Scriptures appealed to as authoritative by both sides during the Arian controversy, on other occasions, and

The criterion laid down by Constantine was also acknowledged by the leaders of the conflicting parties in the Church. Alexander was bishop of Alexandria at the time when the opinions of Arius, ‘a presbyter in ‘the city entrusted with the interpretation of the divine

¹ Euseb. *V. C.* IV. 24. Cf. Heinen, *Exc. in loc.*

² Gelas. *Hist. Conc. Nic.* II. 7. Theodor. *H. E.* I. 7.

³ Gelasius states (Pref.) that his work was composed during the persecutions of Basiliscus (475 A.D.).

Photius has criticized the book, cc. 15, 88. Gelasius quotes 1 Tim. iii. 16 as *ὁ ἐφανερώθη*, which is very remarkable in an Eastern writer (*Hist.* II. 22).

⁴ *Ep. Const. ap. Gelas. Hist. Conc. Nic.* II. 27. *Socr. H. E.* I. 6.

'Scriptures', first gained notoriety. He convened a Synod of many bishops of his province, by whom Arius was condemned from the 'testimony of the divine Scriptures;' and among other passages which Alexander quoted, there occur several from the Epistle to the Hebrews (as the work of the Apostle Paul) and one from the second Epistle of the 'blessed John'.² Arius on the other hand, when sending a copy of his Creed to the Emperor, adds: 'this is the faith which we have received from the holy Gospels, according to the Lord's words, as the Catholic Church and the Scriptures teach, which we believe in all things: God is our Judge both now and in the judgment to come'.³ The followers of Arius repeated the assertion of their master; and though some of them held the Epistle to the Hebrews to be uncanonical, that opinion was neither universal among them, nor peculiar to their sect.⁴

The discussions which took place at Nicæa were in accordance with the principle thus laid down, if the history of Gelasius be trustworthy.⁵ Scripture was the

Chap. ii.

Matt. xxviii.
19.

at the general Council
of Nicæa.
325 A. D.

¹ Theodor. *H. E.* I. 2.

² *Ep. Alex. ap. Gelas. Hist. Conc. Nic.* II. 3 (*Socr. H. E.* I. 3). Hebr. i. 3; xiii. 8; ii. 10. ² John II. So also *Ep. Alex. ap. Theodor. H. E.* I. 4 (*Mansi, Concil.* II. p. 14): σύμφωνα γοῦν τοῖς τοῖς βοῶν καὶ ὁ μεγαλοφρονότατος Παῦλος φάσκων περὶ αὐτοῦ. Hebr. i. 2.

³ *Ep. Arii ad Const. Imp.* (ap. *Mansi, Concil.* II. p. 464. Ed. Par. 1671).

⁴ Theodor. *Pref. Ep. ad Hebr. Epiph. Hæc.* LXIX. 37.

The famous Gothic Version of UPHILAS, who is generally reputed to have been an Arian, contained 'all the Scriptures, except the books of the Kings,' which were omitted because they contained a history of

was likely to inflame the spirit of the Goths (*Philostorg. II. p. 5*). Sixtus Senensis however says: omnes divinas Scripturas in Gothicam linguam a se conversas tradidit et catholice explicavit (*Massmann, p. 98*). The version as it stands at present is clear and accurate, and shows no trace of Arianism (*Massmann, a. a. O.*). A great part of the Gospels and Pauline Epistles has been published: the former chiefly from the Codex Argenteus at Upsal; the latter from Italian Manuscripts. At present no traces of the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, or the Apocalypse, have been discovered. A supposed reference to the Epistle to the Hebrews is of doubtful cogency.

⁵ *Hist. Conc. Nic.* II. 13—23.

source from which the champions and assailants of the orthodox faith derived their premises; and among other books, the Epistle to the Hebrews was quoted as written by St Paul, and the Catholic Epistles were recognized as a definite collection¹. But neither in this nor in the following Councils were the Scriptures themselves ever the subjects of discussion. They underlie all controversy, as a sure foundation, known and immoveable².

Mansi, *Concil.* II. 175—223. Phæbadius (c. 359 A.D.) asserts the same fact.

¹ Gelas. *Hist. Conc. Nic.* II. 19: καθὼς φησι καὶ ὁ Παῦλος τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ἐκλογῆς τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γράφων *Hebr.* iv. 12. *ib.* ἐν καθολικαῖς Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς βοᾷ. I *John* iii. 6. Cf. II. 22. For the Epistle to the Hebrews see also Sozom. *H. E.* I. 23.

² Jerome (*Pref. in Judith*, I. p. 1169) says: Quia hunc librum synodus Nicæna in numero sanctarum scripturarum legitur computasse, acquievi postulationi tuæ (to translate it). No reference to the book of Judith occurs in the records of the Council, as far as I am aware, and it can be only to some casual reference that Jerome alludes.

The holy Gospels were placed in the midst of the assembled fathers at Chalcedon, but though it is commonly stated that it was so at Nicæa also, I know of no proof of the circumstance.

The contents of the three great MSS. of the Greek Bible,—the Alexandrine (A), the Vatican (B), the Sinaitic (Σ)—which belong to this period may be noticed here, so far as the books of the New Testament are concerned.

1. The Alexandrine MS. has a table of contents, of which the portion with which we are concerned is as follows:

The New Testament:

Gospels, 4 (according to Matthew ... Mark ... Luke ... John);

Acts of Apostles;

Catholic Epistles, 7 (*James*, 1, 2 *Peter*, 1, 2, 3 *John*, *Jude*);

Epistles of Paul, 14 (*Romans*... 2 *Thess.*, *Hebrews*, 1 *Tim.*... *Philem.*);

Apocalypse of John;

Clement's Epistle, 1;

Clement's Epistle, 2.

Together...? Books.

Psalms of Solomon, xviii.

From the arrangement of the books in the Old Testament, the insertion of the Epistles of Clement, and the omission of the *Shepherd*, it seems likely that this MS. represents a Syrian judgment.

2. The Vatican MS. ends *Hebrews* ix. 14. Up to that point it contains the same books of the New Testament as are enumerated in the Catalogue of the Alexandrine MS. and in the same order (but compare p. 366 n. 7); and it is impossible to say what other books were originally included in it.

3. The order in the Sinaitic MS. is different. This contains:

Four Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John);

Fourteen Epistles of St Paul (*Romans*... 2 *Thess.*, *Hebrews*, 1 *Tim.*... *Philem.*);

Acts;

Seven Catholic Epistles (*James*, 1, 2 *Peter*, 1, 2, 3 *John*, *Jude*);

The Canons set forth by the Synods which followed the General Council at Nicæa, at Gangra in Paphlagonia, at Antioch in Syria, at Sardica in Thrace, and at Carthage, were chiefly directed to points of ritual and discipline, yet so that in the last Canon of the Synod at Gangra it is said: 'To speak briefly, we desire that what 'has been handed down to us by the divine Scriptures 'and the Apostolic traditions should be done in the 'Church¹.'

The first Synod at which the books of the Bible were made the subject of a special ordinance was that of Laodicea in Phrygia Pacatiana; but the date at which the Synod was held, no less than the integrity of the Canon in question, has been warmly debated. In the collections of Canons the Council of Laodicea stands next to that of Antioch, and this order is probably correct. The arguments which have been urged to show that it was prior to the Council of Nicæa are on the whole of little moment, and the mention of the Photinians in the seventh Canon, no less than the whole character of the questions discussed, is decisive for a later date². A natural confusion of names offers a ready excuse for the contrary opinion. Gratian³ states that the Laodicean Canons were mainly drawn up by Theodosius;

Chap. ii.

The Synods which immediately followed this Council disciplinary and not doctrinal.

i. *The Synod of LAODICEA.*

Its date.

*Apocalypse of John ;
Epistle of Barnabas ;
The Shepherd (a fragment).*

Mr Bradshaw has called my attention to the fact that the arrangement of the quires shows that the *Shepherd*, like 4 *Maccabees* in the Old Testament, was treated as a separate section of the volume, and therefore perhaps as an Appendix to the more generally received books.

See also App. D. xx.

¹ *Conc. Gangr.* Can. xxi. f.

² The name is omitted in the Latin

Version of Isidore, but it is contained in the Greek Text and in the Version of Dionysius Exiguus. Phrygia was not divided into different provinces till after the Council of Sardis, hence the title—Phrygia Pacatiana—points to a date later than 344 A.D. Cf. Spittler, *Werke*, VIII. 68 (ed. 1835).

³ Grat. *Decr.* Dist. xvi. c. ii: [Synodus] sexta Laodicensis, in qua patres xxxii. statuerunt Canones LXI. (sic ed. 1648; LXIII. ed. Antv. 1573) quorum auctor maxime Theodosius episcopus exstitit.

Chap. ii.

c. 363 A.D.

*The last
Laodicene
Canon in
the printed
editions.*

and Theodosius (Theodotus or Theodorus, for the name is variously written) was bishop of Laodicea in Syria at the time of the Council of Nicæa. But the statement of Gratian really points to a very different conclusion; for Epiphanius mentions another Theodosius bishop of Philadelphia¹, who is said to have convened a Synod in the time of Jovian for the purpose of condemning certain irregular ordinations², and his position coincides admirably with that of the author of our Canons. Internal evidence also supports their identification; nor is it any objection that this Theodosius was an Arian, for the Canons are chiefly disciplinary, and such as could be ratified by orthodox councils; and at the same time that fact explains the omission of all reference to the Nicene Canons, which would otherwise be strange³.

The date of the Synod of Laodicea (which was in fact only a small gathering of clergy from parts of Lydia and Phrygia⁴) being thus approximately affixed, the question of the integrity of the last Canon, which contains the catalogue of the books of Holy Scripture, remains to be considered. In the printed editions of the Councils the Catalogue stands as an undisputed part of the Greek text, and the whole Canon reads as follows:

¹ Epiph. *Hær.* LXXIII. 26.

² Philostorg. VIII. 3, 4.

³ Cf. Pagi, *Crit. ad Baron. Ann.* 314, XXV.; Baron. *Opp.* Tom. VI. (ed. 1738). On the omission of the book of Judith from the Old Testament Canon, said to have been recognized by the Nicene Council, cf. previous page, note 2.

Beveridge fixes the date of the Synod about the same time (365 A.D.), and supposes that it was summoned in consequence of letters from Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian (Theodor. *H. E.* IV. 6), to the bishops διωκήσεως Ἀσιανῆς, Φρυγίας, Καρχη-

γίας, Πακτανίης, urging them to hold a Synod on some who had been reviving the Homoousian controversy, and also on the choice of men of approved faith for the episcopate (*Pand. Can.* II. 3, p. 193).

⁴ Gratian (*l. c.*) says it consisted of 'xxxii. fathers.' Harduin quotes a different version of Gratian's statement from a Parisian Manuscript of Isidore: Laodicensis synodus, in qua Patres viginti quatuor statuerunt Canones LIX., quorum auctor maxime Theodosius episcopus exstitit, subscribentibus Niceta, Macedonio, Anatolio, et cæteris.

'Psalms composed by private men (ἰδιωτικούς) must 'not be read (λέγεσθαι) in the Church, nor uncanonical ('ἀκανόνιστα) books, but only the Canonical [books] of 'the New and Old Testaments.

'How many books must be read (ἀναγινώσκεσθαι);

'Of the Old Testament: 1. The Genesis of the World. '2. The Exodus from Egypt. 3. Leviticus. 4. Numbers. '5. Deuteronomy. 6. Jesus the Son of Nun. 7. Judges. 'Ruth. 8. Esther. 9. Kings i. ii. 10. Kings iii. iv. '11. Chronicles i. ii. 12. Esdras i. ii. 13. The Book of 'Psalms cl. 14. The Proverbs of Solomon. 15. Eccle- 'siastes. 16. The Song of Songs. 17. Job. 18. xii. 'Prophets. 19. Esaias. 20. Jeremiah. Baruch. La- 'mentations, and Letter. 21. Ezechiel. 22. Daniel. 'Together xxii. books.'

'Of the New Testament: Four Gospels, according 'to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. The Acts of the 'Apostles. Seven Catholic Epistles thus: James i. 'Peter i. ii. John i. ii. iii. Jude i. Fourteen Epistles 'of Paul thus: to the Romans i. To the Corinthians 'i. ii. To the Galatians i. To the Ephesians i. To 'the Philippians i. To the Colossians i. To the Thes- 'salonians i. ii. To the Hebrews i. To Timothy i. ii. 'To Titus i. To Philemon i.¹

Of this Canon the first paragraph is recognized as genuine with unimportant variations by every authority; the second, the Catalogue of the Books itself, is omitted in various Manuscripts and versions; and in order to arrive at a fair estimate of its claims to authenticity, it will be necessary to notice briefly the different forms

*How far its
claims to
authenticity
are support-
ed by*

¹ Cf. App. D. The Canons are both these paragraphs combine them variously numbered, but the oldest together as the LIXth Canon. Cf. and best authorities which contain Spittler, *a. a. O.* 72.

Chap. ii.

in which the Canons of the ancient Church have been preserved¹.

1. Greek
Manuscripts

with
Scholia,

without
Scholia.

The Greek Manuscripts of the Canons may be divided into two classes, those which contain the simple text, and those which contain in addition the scholia of the great commentators. Manuscripts of the second class in no case date from an earlier period than the end of the twelfth century, the era of Balsamon and Zonaras, the most famous Greek canonists. Yet it is on this class of Manuscripts, which contain the Catalogue in question, that the printed editions are based. The earliest Manuscript of the first class with which I am acquainted is of the eleventh century, and one is as late as the fifteenth. The evidence on the disputed paragraph which these Manuscripts afford is extremely interesting. Two omit the Catalogue entirely. In another it is inserted after a vacant space. A fourth contains it on a new page with red dots above and below. In a fifth it appears wholly written in red letters. Three others give it as a part of the last Canon, though headed with a new rubric. In one it appears as a part of the 59th Canon without interruption or break; and in two (of the latest date) numbered as a new Canon². It is

¹ The authenticity of the Catalogue has been discussed at considerable length by Spittler (*Sämmtl. Werke*, viii. 66 ff. ed. 1835), whose essay was published in 1776, and again by Bickell (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1830, pp. 591 ff.). The essay of Spittler seems to me to be much superior to that of his successor in clearness and wideness of view. Spittler regards the Catalogue as entirely spurious; Bickell only allows that it was wanting in some very early copies of the Canons, and supposes that it may have been displaced by the general reception of the Apostolic Canons

and Catalogue of Scripture.

² The Manuscripts with which I am acquainted are the following:

- (α) Cod. Barocc. (Bibl. Bodl.) 26
(7), sæc. xi. ineuntis.
Cod. Misc. (Bibl. Bodl.) 170
(12), sæc. xiv. xv.

These omit the Canon altogether.

- (β) Cod. Barocc. (Bibl. Bodl.) 185
(18), sæc. xi. exeuntis.
Gives the Canon after a vacant space.

Cod. Vindob. 56, sæc. xi. On a new page with red dots above and below (Bickell, p. 595).

impossible not to feel that these several Manuscripts mark the steps by which the Catalogue gained its place in the present Greek text; but it may still be questioned whether it may not have thus regained a place which it had lost before. And thus we are led to notice some versions of the Canons which date from a period anterior to the oldest Greek Manuscripts.

The Latin Version exists in a threefold form. The earliest (*Versio Prisca*) is fragmentary, and does not contain the Laodicean Canons. But two other versions by Dionysius and Isidore are complete¹. In the first of these, which dates from the middle of the sixth century, though it exists in two distinct recensions, there is no trace of the Catalogue. In the second, on the contrary, with only two exceptions, as far as I am aware, the Catalogue constantly appears. And though the Isidorian version in its general form only dates from the ninth century, two Manuscripts remain which are probably as old as the ninth century, and both of these contain it². So far then it appears that the evidence of the Latin versions for and against the authenticity of the Cata-

Chap. ii.

2. *The Versions:*
Latin and

Cod. Seld. (Bibl. Bodl.) 48
(10), sæc. xiii. All in red letters.

(γ) *Cod. Barocc.* (Bibl. Bodl.) 196
(16), anno MXLIII exaratus.

Cod. Misc. (Bibl. Bodl. 206,
sæc. xi. exeuntis.

Cod. Cant. (Bibl. Univ. Ee. 4.
29. 22), sæc. xii.

These three give the Catalogue under a rubric *ῥσα—διαθήκης*, but not as a new Canon.

(δ) *Cod. Laud.* (Bibl. Bodl.) 39
(21), sæc. xi. ineuntis. As part of Canon 59.

Cod. Barocc. (Bibl. Bodl.) 205
(18), sæc. xiv. As a new Canon.

Cod. Barocc. (Bibl. Bodl.)

158 (23), sæc. xv. As a new Canon.

Cod. Arund. (Brit. Mus.) 533,
sæc. xiv. As a new Canon, but all rubricated.

Bandini (*Bibl. Laur.* i. pp. 72, 397, 477) notices several other Manuscripts which contain the Catalogue.

The Manuscripts marked by italics are now I believe quoted on this question for the first time; and for the account of all the Bodleian Manuscripts I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. H. O. Coxe.

¹ In the account of the Latin versions I have chiefly followed Spittler, *a. a. O.* 98 ff. Cf. Bickell, 601 ff.

² Spittler, p. 115. Cf. Bickell, p. 606.

Chap. ii.

logue is nearly balanced, the testimony of Italy confronting that of Spain.

Syriac.

The Syriac Manuscripts of the British Museum are however more than sufficient to turn the scale. Three Manuscripts of the Laodicean Canons are found in that collection, which are as old as the sixth or seventh century. All of these contain the fifty-ninth Canon, but without any Catalogue. And this testimony is of two-fold value from the fact that one of them gives a different translation from that of the other two¹.

3. *Systematic arrangement of the Canons.*

c. 580 A.D.

Nor is this all: in addition to the direct versions of the Canons, systematic collections and synopses of them were made at various times, which have an important bearing upon the question. One of the earliest of these was drawn up by Martin bishop of Braga in Portugal at the middle of the sixth century. This collection contains the first paragraph of the Laodicean Canon, without any trace of the second; and the testimony which it offers is of more importance, because it was based on an examination of Greek authorities, and those of a very early date, since they did not notice the councils of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, which were included in the collections of the fifth century². Johannes Scholasticus, a presbyter of Antioch, formed a digest of Canons under different heads about the same time, and this contains no reference to the Laodicean Catalogue, but on the contrary the list of Holy Scriptures is taken

† 578 A.D.

¹ The Manuscripts are numbered 14,526; 14,528; 14,529. All of them contain 59 Canons. For the examination of these Manuscripts I am indebted to the kindness of Mr T. Ellis of the British Museum.

The Arabic Manuscript in Rich's collection (7207) is only a fragment. Bickell consulted an Arabic transla-

tion at Paris which contained the Laodicean Canons twice, once with and once without the Catalogue (p. 592).

² Mart. Brac. *Pref.*: Incipiunt Canones ex orientalibus antiquorum patrum Synodis a venerabili Martino ipso vel ab omni Bracarenensi Consilio excerpti vel emendati.

from the last of the Apostolic Canons. The *Nomocanon* is a later revision of the work of Johannes, and contains only the undisputed paragraph; but in a third and later recension the Laodicene and Apostolic Catalogues are both inserted.

On the whole then it cannot be doubted that external evidence is decidedly against the authenticity of the Catalogue as an integral part of the text of the Canons of Laodicea, nor can any internal evidence be brought forward sufficient to explain its omission in Syria, Italy, and Portugal, in the sixth century, if it had been so. Yet even thus it is necessary to account for its insertion in the version of Isidore. So much is evident at once, that the Catalogue is of Eastern and not of Western origin; and, except in details of order, it agrees exactly with that given by Cyril of Jerusalem. Is it then an unreasonable supposition that some early copyist endeavoured to supply, either from the writings of Cyril, or more probably from the usage of the Church which Cyril represented, the list of books which seemed to be required by the language of the last genuine Canon? In this way it is easy to understand how some Manuscripts should have incorporated the addition, while others preserved the original text; and the known tendency of copyists to make their works full rather than pure, will account for its general reception at last.

The later history of the Laodicene Canons does not throw any considerable light on the question of the authenticity of the Catalogue¹. Though they were originally drawn up by a provincial (and perhaps unorthodox)

The Catalogue not an authentic part of the text of the Laodicene Canons, but

an early addition to it.

The later history of the Laodicene Canons.

¹ It is commonly supposed that the Laodicene Canons were ratified at the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.): *Conc. Chalc. Can. i.* But the wording of the Canon is very vague. Justinian by a special ordinance ratified not only the Canons of the four general Councils, of which that of Chalcedon was the last, but also those which they confirmed.

Chap. ii.

632 A.D.

Synod, they were afterwards ratified by the Eastern Church at the Quinisextine Council of Constantinople. But nothing can be concluded from this as to the absence of the list of the Holy Scriptures from the copy of the Canons which was then confirmed. The Canons of the Apostles were sanctioned at the same Council; and though a special reservation was made in approving them, to the effect that the Clementine Constitutions, which they recognized as authoritative, were no longer to be received as Canonical, on account of the interpolations of heretics, no notice was taken of the two Clementine epistles which were also pronounced Canonical at the same time¹. It is then impossible to press the variations between the Apostolic and Laodicean Catalogues as a conclusive proof that they could not have been admitted simultaneously². The decision of the Council contained a general sanction rather than a detailed judgment. And this is further evident from the differences between the Apostolic and Carthaginian Catalogues which were certainly ratified together³. So again at a

¹ *Concil. Quinisext.* Can. XXI. The Catalogue of the books of Scripture in the last Apostolic Canon is curious; but as a piece of evidence it is of no value. It was drawn, I believe, from Syrian sources, and probably dates from the sixth century. Cf. App. D.

² Though the Catalogues differed in other respects, they coincided in omitting the Apocalypse. Cf. App. D.

³ The later history of the Canon in the Greek Church, which accepts the decrees of the Quinisextine Council, shews that the ratification of these earlier Councils was not supposed to fix definitely (which indeed it could not do) the contents of Holy Scripture. Cyril Lucar (*Confess.* 3) proposed to admit 'such books as 'were recognized by the Synod at

'Laodicea, and by the Catholic and 'orthodox Church,' but he adds to the New Testament 'the Apocalypse 'of the beloved.' There is no Catalogue of the books of Scripture in the *Orthodox Confession*, but the Apocalypse is quoted in it (*Quæst.* 14), and as 'Holy Scripture' (*Quæst.* 73). At the Synod of Jerusalem (A.D. 1672) Cyril was condemned for 'rejecting 'some of the books which the holy 'and œcumenical Synods had received as Canonical,' but no charge is brought against him for adding to them, so that in this case the Carthaginian and not the Laodicean Catalogue was the standard of reference for the New Testament (*Act. Synod. Hieros.* XVIII. p. 417, Kimmel). In the confession of Dositheus the Greek Church is said to receive 'all the

later time the Laodicene Catalogue was confirmed by a Synod at Aix-la-Chapelle in the time of Charlemagne, and gained a wide currency in the Isidorian version of the Canons. There is however no evidence to shew that there was on this account any doubt in the Western Churches as to the authority or public use of the Apocalypse. But though no argument can be drawn against the authenticity of the Catalogue from the ratification of the Laodicene Canons at Constantinople, that fact leaves the preponderance of evidence against it wholly unaffected. The Catalogue may have been a contemporary appendix to the Canons, but it was not I believe an integral part of the original conciliar text.

It is then necessary to look to the West for the first synodical decision on the Canon of Scripture. Between the years 390 and 419 A.D. no less than six councils were held in Africa, and four of these at Carthage. For a time, under the inspiration of Aurelius and Augustine, the Church of Tertullian and Cyprian was filled with a new life before its fatal desolation. Among the Canons of the third Council of Carthage, at which Augustine was present, is one which contains a list of the books of

Chap. ii.

ii. *The third
Council of
CARTHAGE.*

'books which Cyril borrowed from the Laodicene Council, with the addition of those which he called... 'Apocryphal' (Kimmel, p. 467. Cf. *Proleg.* § 11 on the Latin influence supposed to have been exercised on these documents). In the Confession of Metrophanes Critopulus the Canon of the Old Testament is identical with the Hebrew, that of the New Testament with our own, so that there are 'thirty-three books in all, equal in number to the years of the Saviour's life.' The Apocrypha is there regarded as useful for its moral precepts, but its canonicity is denied on the authority of Gregory

of Nazianzus, Amphilochius, and Johannes Damascenus, but no reference is made to the Laodicene Canon (Kimmel, II. 105 f.). At the Synod of Constantinople a general reference is made to the different Catalogues in the Apostolic Canons and in the Synods of Laodicea and Carthage (Kimmel, II. 225). In the Catechism of Plato and in the authorized Russian Catechism the Old Testament is given according to the Hebrew Canon. On the other hand, the authorized Moscow edition of the Bible contains the Old Testament Apocrypha arranged with the other books (Reuss, § 338).

Chap. ii.

*The Canon
of Scripture
which was
received
there.*

Holy Scripture. 'It was also determined,' the Canon reads, 'that besides the Canonical Scriptures nothing be read in the Church under the title of divine Scriptures. 'The Canonical Scriptures are these: Genesis, Exodus, 'Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua the son of 'Nun, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two books 'of Paraleipomena, Job, the Psalter, five books of Solomon, the books of the twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobit, Judith, Esther, two books 'of Esdras, two books of the Maccabees. Of the New 'Testament: four books of the Gospels, one book of the 'Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of the Apostle 'Paul, one Epistle of the same [writer] to the Hebrews, 'two Epistles of the Apostle Peter, three of John, one of 'James, one of Jude, one book of the Apocalypse of 'John.' Then follows this remarkable clause: 'Let this 'be made known also to our brother and fellow-priest 'Boniface, or to other bishops of those parts, for the purpose of confirming that Canon, because we have received 'from our fathers that those books must be read in the 'Church.' And afterwards the Canon is thus continued: 'Let it also be allowed that the Passions of Martyrs be 'read when their festivals are kept¹.'

*An explanation
of the
form of this
Canon.*

Even this Canon therefore is not altogether free from difficulties. The third Council of Carthage was held in the year 397 A.D. in the pontificate of Siricus; and Boniface did not succeed to the Roman chair till the year 418 A.D.; so that the allusion to him is at first sight perplexing. Yet this anachronism admits of a reasonable solution. In the year 419 A.D., after the confirmation of Boniface in the Roman episcopate, the Canons of the African Church were collected and formed into

¹ Cf. App. D.

one code. In the process of such a revision it was perfectly natural that some reference should be made to foreign churches on such a subject as the contents of Scripture, which were fixed by usage rather than by law. The marginal note which directed the inquiry was suffered to remain, probably because the plan was never carried out; and that which stood in the text of the general code was afterwards transferred to the text of the original Synod¹.

At this point then the voice of a whole province pronounces a judgment on the contents of the Bible; and the books of the New Testament are exactly those which are generally received at present. But in making this decision the African bishops put aside all notions of novelty. Their decision had been handed down to them by their fathers; and to revert once again from Churches to men, our work would be unfinished without a general review of the principal evidence on the Canon furnished by individual writers from the beginning of the fourth century. Nothing indeed is gained by this for a critical investigation of the subject; for the original materials have been all gathered already. But it is not therefore the less interesting to trace the local prevalence of ancient doubts, and the gradual extension of the Western Canon throughout Christendom.

Turning towards the Eastern limit of Christian literature we find the ancient Canon of the Peshito still dominant at Antioch, at Nisibis, and probably at Edessa².

The voluminous writings of Chrysostom, who was at first a presbyter of Antioch and afterwards patriarch of

Chap. ii.

*The evidence
of Fathers
on the
Canon from
the fourth
century in*

i. *The
Churches of
Syria,*

i. Antioch.
CHRYSO-
STOM.
† 407 A.D.

¹ The Carthaginian Catalogue of the Books of Scripture is found in the Canons of the Council of Hippo (419 A.D.). But mention is made in that of 'fourteen Epistles of Paul' instead of the strange circumlocution given above (*Conc. Hipp.* 36).
² Cf. *supr.* p. 241.

Chap. ii.

Synopsis S.
Script.THEODORE
of Mopsues-
tia.

† 429 A.D.

Constantinople, abound in references to Holy Scripture ; he is indeed said to have been the first writer who gave the Bible its present name τὰ βιβλία, *The Books*¹; but with the exception of one very doubtful quotation from the second Epistle of St Peter², I believe that he has nowhere noticed the four Catholic Epistles which are not contained in the Peshito, nor the Apocalypse³. It is also in accordance with the same Version that he attributed fourteen Epistles to St Paul, and received the Epistle of St James 'the Lord's brother' with the first Epistles of St Peter and St John⁴. A Synopsis of Scripture which was published by Montfaucon under the name of Chrysostom exactly agrees with this Canon, enumerating 'as the books of the New Testament, fourteen Epistles of St Paul, four Gospels, the book of 'the Acts, and three of the Catholic Epistles⁵.' Theodore, a friend of Chrysostom and bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, wrote commentaries on fourteen Epistles of St Paul ; and his remaining fragments contain several quotations from the Epistle to the Hebrews as St Paul's⁶. But Leontius of Byzantium writing at the close of the sixth century states that he rejected 'the Epistle of

¹ Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s.v.² *Hom. in Joan.* 34 (al. 33) VIII. p. 230, ed. Par. nova; 2 Pet. ii. 22 (Prov. xxvi. 11).³ Though Chrysostom nowhere quotes the Apocalypse as Scripture, he must have been acquainted with it. Suidas (s. v. Ἰωάννης) says: δέχεται δὲ ὁ Χρυσόστομος καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς τρεῖς καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν. If this be true, it is a singular proof of the inconclusiveness of the casual evidence of quotations. Reuss (p. 188) quotes as from Chrysostom τῶν ἐκκλησιαζομένων οὐ τῶν ἀποκρύφων μὲν ἢ πρώτη ἐπιστολῇ τὴν γὰρ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην οἱ πατέρες ἀποκανόνιστοι (Opp. VI. 430); but the words

are not his though contemporary with him.

⁴ It is however very well worth notice that PALLADIUS, a friend of Chrysostom, in a dialogue which he composed at Rome on his life, has expressly quoted the Epistle of St Jude and the third Epistle of St John, and makes an evident allusion to the second Epistle of St Peter. Dial. cc. 18, 20 (ap. Chrysost. Opp. T. XIII. pp. 68 c; 79 d; 68 c).⁵ Cf. App. D.⁶ *Comm. in Zachar.* p. 542 (ed. Wegnern, Berl. 1834), οὓς ἐχρῆν αἰσχυνοῦσθαι γοῦν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τὴν φωνήν...Hebr. i. 7, 8. Cf. Ebed Jesu, ap. Assem. Bibl. Or. III. 32. 3.

'James and other of the Catholic Epistles,' by which we must probably understand that he received only the acknowledged first Epistles of St Peter and St John¹. And though nothing is directly known of his judgment on the Apocalypse, it is at least probable that in respect to this he followed the common opinion of the school to which he belonged. Once again: Theodoret, a native of Antioch and bishop of Cyrus in Syria, used the same books as Chrysostom, and has nowhere quoted the four disputed Epistles or the Apocalypse².

Junilius, an African bishop of the sixth century, has given a very full and accurate account of the doctrine on Holy Scripture taught in the schools of Nisibis in Syria, where 'the Divine Law was regularly explained by 'public masters, like Grammar and Rhetoric.' He enumerates all the acknowledged books of the New Testament as of 'perfect authority;' and adds to these the Epistle to the Hebrews as St Paul's, though he places it after the Pastoral Epistles. 'Very many (*quamplurimi*),' he says, 'add to the first Epistles of St Peter and St John five others, which are called the Canonical 'letters of the Apostles, that is: James, 2 Peter, Jude, 2 and 3 John...' 'As to the Apocalypse of John, there 'is considerable doubt among Eastern Christians³...' At a very much later period Ebed Jesu, a Nestorian

Chap. ii.

THEODORET.

2. Nisibis.
JUNILIUS.

EBED JESU.

¹ See also what Cosmas Indicopleustes says of Severian of Gabala (Montf. *Anal. Pp.* p. 135, Venet. 1781). The words of Leontius are: Ob quam causam (because he rejected the book of Job) ut arbitror ipsam Jacobi epistolam et alias deinceps aliorum Catholicas abrogat et antiquat. Non enim satis fuit illi bellum contra veterem Scripturam suscipere ad imitationem impietatis Marcionis, sed oportuit etiam contra scripturam novam pugnare, ut pugna

ejus contra Spiritum Sanctum clarior et illustrior esset (*c. Nest. et Eutych.* III. ap. Canis. *Varr. Lect.* IV. 73. Ed. 1603).

² Cf. Lücke, *Comm. iib. Joh. I.* 348. A Commentary on the Gospels attributed to Victor of Antioch contains references to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and to the Epistles of St James and the first of St Peter. Cf. Lardner, II. c. 122.

³ The passages are given at length in App. D.

Chap. ii.

bishop of Nisibis in the thirteenth century, has left a catalogue of the writings of the New Testament at the commencement of his summary of ecclesiastical literature. This catalogue exactly agrees with that of the Peshito, including fourteen Epistles of St Paul, and 'three Catholic Epistles ascribed to the Apostles in 'every Manuscript and language;' and it contains no allusion to the other disputed books¹.

3. Edessa.
EPHREM
SYRUS.

† 378 A.D.

The testimony of Ephrem Syrus is unfortunately uncertain. For while he appears to use all the books of our New Testament in his works, which are preserved only in Greek, I am not aware that there is in the original Syriac text more than one quotation of the Apocalypse, and perhaps an anonymous reference to the second Epistle of St Peter².

JOHANNES
DAMASCENUS.

† c. 750 A.D.

Johannes Damascenus, the last writer of the Syrian Church whom I shall notice, lived at a time when the Greek element had gained a preponderating influence in the East, and his writings in turn are commonly accepted as an authoritative exposition of the Greek faith. The Canon of the New Testament which he gives³ contains all the books which we receive now, with the addition of the Canons of the Apostles. This singular insertion admits of a satisfactory explanation from the fact that the Apostolic Canons were sanctioned by the Quinisextine Council, and their Canonicity might well seem a true corollary from the acknowledgment of their ecclesiastical authority⁴.

¹ Cf. App. D. It is very remarkable that Ebed Jesu takes no notice of the Apocalypse, since he mentions after a short interval among the works of Hippolytus 'an Apology for the Gospel and Apocalypse of 'John, Apostle and Evangelist' (Assem. Bibl. Orient. III. 15).

² Ephr. Syr. *Opp. Syrr.* II. p.

332 c: Vidit in Apocalypsi sua Johannes librum magnum et admirabilem et septem sigillis munitum...ib. II. p. 342: Dies Domini fur est (cf. 2 Pet. iii. 10). Cf. Lardner, Pt. II. c. 102.

³ Cf. App. D.

⁴ The Canons of Carthage were ratified by the Quinisextine Council

The Churches of Asia Minor, which are now even more desolate than the Churches of Syria, had lost little of their former lustre in the fourth and fifth centuries. In doctrinal tendency they still mediated between the East and the West. And this characteristic appears in one of two catalogues of the books of the New Testament which have been preserved among the works of Gregory of Nazianzus¹. After enumerating the four Gospels, the Acts, fourteen Epistles of St Paul, and seven Catholic Epistles, Gregory adds: 'In these you have all the inspired books; if there be any book besides these, it is not among the genuine [Scriptures];' and thus he excludes the Apocalypse with the Eastern Church, and admits all the Catholic Epistles with the Western². The second Catalogue which bears the name of Gregory is commonly (and I believe rightly) attributed to his contemporary Amphilochius bishop of Iconium. This extends to a greater length than the former. Beginning with the mention of the four Gospels, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of fourteen Epistles of St Paul, it then continues: 'but some maintain that the Epistle to the Hebrews is spurious, not speaking well; for the grace [it shews] is genuine. To proceed: what remains? Of the Catholic Epistles some maintain that we ought to receive seven, and others three only, one of James, and one of Peter, and one of John....The Apocalypse of John again some reckon among [the Scriptures]; but still the majority say that it is spuri-

Chap. ii.

ii. *The Churches of Asia Minor.*

The catalogues given by GREGORY of Nazianzus and by
† c. 389 A. D.

AMPHILO-
CHIUS.

as well as those of the Apostles and of Laodicea. But the reservation in the Carthaginian decree on the Canonical Books makes the discrepancy between that and the Apostolic Catalogue less remarkable than that between the Laodicene and Apo-

stolic Catalogues. Cf. p. 434.

¹ Both these Catalogues are given in App. D.

² COSMAS of Jerusalem, a friend of Johannes Damascenus, gives the same Catalogue (Credner, *Geschichte d. N. T. Kanon*, p. 227).

Chap. ii.

*Incidental
evidence
from GRE-
GORY of
Nazianzus,*

*GREGORY of
Nyssa, and
BASIL.*

'ous. This will be the most truthful Canon of the inspired Scriptures.'

The extant writings of Gregory do not throw much additional light on his views of the Canon. Though he admitted the Canonicity of the seven Catholic Epistles, he does not appear to have ever quoted them by name, and I have only found one or two anonymous references to the Epistle of St James¹. But on the contrary he once makes an obvious allusion to the Apocalypse, and in another place refers to it expressly with marked respect². This silence of Gregory with regard to the disputed books, though he held them all to be Canonical, at least with the exception of the Apocalypse which he does quote, explains the like silence of Gregory of Nyssa, and of his brother Basil of Cæsarea. Basil refers only once to the Epistle of St James, and once to the Apocalypse as the work of the Evangelist St John³. And Gregory twice refers to the Apocalypse as a writing of St John, and a part of Scripture; but makes no allusion to the disputed Catholic Epistles⁴. All these fathers however agree in using the Epistle to the Hebrews as an authoritative writing of St Paul⁵.

But whatever may have been the doubts as to the

¹ Greg. Naz. *Or.* XXVI. 5 (p. 475); lypse).

James ii. 20. Cf. *Or.* XL. 45.

² Greg. Naz. *Or.* XXIX. p. 536; Apoc. i. 8. Cf. *Or.* XL. 45; Apoc. i. 7. *Ib.* Tom. I. p. 516 c (ed. Par. 1609): πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας ἀγγέλους, πείθεσθαι γὰρ ἄλλους ἄλλης προστατεῖν ἐκκλησίας ὡς Ἰωάννης διδάσκει με διὰ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως... The Apocalypse was probably in Gregory's opinion excluded from public use in the Church. This is also the interpretation which Reuss places on his evidence (*Hist. du Canon*, 177).

³ Basil. *Const. Monast.* 26 (Ep. St James); *adv. Eunom.* II. 14 (Apoca-

⁴ Greg. Nyss. *Or. in Ordin. suam*, I. p. 876 (ed. Par. 1615): ἤκουσα τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν ἀποκρύφους (in mysterious words) πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους δι' ἀνίγματος λέγοντος... Apoc. iii. 15. *adv. Apoll.* 37 (Gallandi, VI. 570 D): τῆς γραφῆς ὁ λόγος (Apoc.).

⁵ The works attributed to Cæsarius (Gallandi, VI.) are not the works of the brother of Basil, but evidently belong to a later age. They contain references to St James (p. 5 D; p. 100 E), to 2 Peter (Πέτρος ὁ κλειδοῦχος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, p. 36 A), and to the Apocalypse (p. 19 E).

Canonicity of the Apocalypse which were felt in Asia Minor at the close of the fourth century, they wholly disappeared afterwards. Andrew bishop of Cæsarea at the close of the fifth century wrote a Commentary on it, prefacing his work with the statement that he need not attempt to prove the Inspiration of the book, which was attested by the authority of Papias, Irenæus, Methodius, Hippolytus, and *Gregory the Divine* (of Nazianzus¹). Arethas, who is supposed to have been a successor of Andrew in the see of Cæsarea, composed another Commentary on the Apocalypse, and adds the name of Basil to the list of the witnesses to its Canonicity given by Andrew².

In speaking of the Churches of Syria I omitted to notice that of Jerusalem because it was essentially Greek. Cyril, who presided over it during the middle of the fourth century, has left a catalogue of the books of the New Testament in his Catechetical Lectures which he composed at an early age³. In this he includes all the books which we receive, with the exception of the Apocalypse; and at the close of his list he says: 'But let all the rest be excluded [from the Canon, and be accounted] in the second rank. And all the books which are not read in the Churches, neither do thou [my scholar] read by thyself, as thou hast heard.' Epiphanius bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus was a contemporary and countryman of Cyril. In his larger work against heresies he has given casually a Canon of the New Testament, exactly coinciding with our own⁴; and though he elsewhere mentions the doubts entertained about the Apo-

Chap. ii.

The Apocalypse received by ANDREW of Cæsarea, and by

ARETHAS.

iii. The Church of Jerusalem.

CYRIL.

315—386 A.D.

EPIPHANIUS.

† 403 A.D.

¹ *Proleg. ad Comm. in Apoc.* Routh, are wanting in one Manuscript. *Rel. Sac.* I. p. 15.

² Cramer, *Æcum. et Arethæ Comm.*

in *Apoc.* p. 174, ap. Routh, *l. c.* p. 41. Yet the words *ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις Βασίλειος*

³ *Cyr. Catech.* IV. 33 (al. 22); cf. App. D.

⁴ *Epiph. Hær.* LXXVI. 5. App. D.

Chap. ii.

iv. *The Church of Alexandria.*

ATHANASIUS.

† 373 A.D.

CYRIL.

† 444 A.D.

ISIDORE.

† c. 440 A.D.

DIDYMUS.

† c. 395 A.D.

calypse, he uses it himself without hesitation as part of 'the spiritual gift of the holy Apostle'.

The Church of Alexandria remained true to the judgment of its greatest teacher. Athanasius in one of his Festal Epistles has given a list of the books of the New Testament,—'the fountains of salvation,'—exactly agreeing with our own Canon. In addition to these he notices other books, and among them the Teaching of the Apostles and the Shepherd, as useful for young converts, though they were not included in the Canon. The Apocryphal books—the forgeries of heretics—form a third class. But Athanasius takes no notice of any difference of opinion as to the *acknowledged* and *disputed* books: in his judgment both alike were Canonical². Cyril of Alexandria and Isidore of Pelusium at the beginning of the fifth century made use of the same books without any addition or reserve. Somewhat earlier Didymus published a commentary on the seven Catholic Epistles, though he states that the second Epistle of St Peter 'was accounted spurious, and not in the Canon, though it was publicly read'.³ And in the middle of the fifth century, as has been already seen⁴,

¹ Epiph. *Hær.* LI. 35: ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χαρίσματος τοῦ ἁγίου μεταδέδωκε. Cf. *ib.* 3.

² Athanas. *Ep. Fest.* Tom. I. 767, ed. Bened. 1777. Cf. App. D. There is not the least reason to believe that this Canon was designed as a protest against the Canon of Eusebius. It was indeed nothing more than the old Alexandrine Canon. The Catalogue of the Books of Scripture contained in the *Synopsis Sacra Scriptura* appended to the works of Athanasius is probably of much later date. It contains all the books in our New

Testament. Credner (*Zur Geschichte d. K.* 129 ff.) supposes that it was written not earlier than the 10th century, and based upon the Stichometry of Nicephorus. Cf. p. 446, n. 2.

³ Did. Alex. p. 1774 ed. Migne (cf. Lücke ad loc.): Non est igitur ignorandum præsentem epistolam esse falsatam (ὡς νοθεύεται, Euseb. *H. E.* II. 23, of the Epistle of St James), quæ licet publicetur (δημοσιεύεται, Euseb. *l. c.*) non tamen in Canone est (οὐκ ἐνδιδθηκός ἐστι, Euseb. *H. E.* III. 3).

⁴ Cf. pp. 390 sqq. There is no evidence to shew what the judgment of Euthalius was on the Apocalypse.

Euthalius published an edition of the fourteen Epistles of St Paul and of the seven Catholic Epistles, with the help of the Manuscripts which he found in the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea¹.

After the foundation of Constantinople the new capital assumed in some degree the central position of 'old' Rome; and Rome became more clearly and decidedly the representative of the Western Churches. The Church of Constantinople, like that of Rome in early times, was not fertile in great men. Strangers were attracted to the imperial court, but I do not remember any ecclesiastical writer of Constantinople earlier than Nicephorus and Photius in the ninth century. Chrysostom was trained at Antioch. Cassian had lived in Palestine, Egypt, and Gaul, as well as at Constantinople. Leontius, even if he were a Byzantine by birth, was trained in Palestine, and probably was a bishop of Cyprus. Cassian's works contain quotations from all the Canonical books of the New Testament, except the two shorter Epistles of St John; and there is no reason to suppose that he rejected these. Leontius has left a catalogue of the Apostolic writings, 'received in the

Chap. ii.
EUTHALIUS.

v. *The Church of Constantinople.*

CASSIAN.
† c. 450 A. D.

LEONTIUS.
† c. 620 A. D.

¹ COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, an Alexandrian of the sixth century, first a merchant and afterwards a monk, has left a curious work *On the World*, in which among other digressions he gives some account of the Holy Scriptures (see App. D). He enumerates the four Gospels, the Acts, fourteen Epistles of St Paul, affirming that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Hebrew and translated into Greek by St Luke or Clement. His account of the Catholic Epistles is obscure and inaccurate. After answering an objection to one of his theories which might be drawn from 2 Peter iii. 12, he proceeds to say that the Church has looked upon them as of doubtful authority, that the Syrians only received three, that no commentator had written upon them. He says particularly that Irenæus only mentioned two, evidently mistaking Euseb. *H. E.* v. 8. *Cosm. Indic. de Mundo*, vii. p. 135, ap. *Anal. Pp. Venet.* 1781. In the works of DIONYSIUS, falsely called the *Areopagite*, which probably belong to the beginning of the sixth century, there is a mystical enumeration of the books of Holy Scripture which includes the Apocalypse.

Chap. ii.

NICEPHO-
RUS.

† 828 A.D.

PHOTIUS.

† 891 A.D.

ŒCUME-
NIUS.

c. 950 A.D.

THEOPHY-
LACT.

† c. 1077 A.D.

vi. *The
Churches of
the West.*

'Church as Canonical,' identical with our own¹. A catalogue of the books of Scripture, with the addition of the number of verses in each book (Stichometria), is appended to the Chronographia of Nicephorus². This contains all the books of the New Testament, with the exception of the Apocalypse, as 'received by the Church 'and accounted Canonical;' but the Apocalypse is placed among the disputed writings, together with the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Gospel according to the Hebrews³. So far then the Canon of Nicephorus coincides with that of Gregory, of Cyril, and of Laodicea, and it is probable that he borrowed it as it stands from some earlier writer. Photius again, who lived a little later than Nicephorus, takes no notice of the Apocalypse, though he certainly received all the other writings of the New Testament. And at a still later time it cannot be shewn that either Œcumenius in Thessaly or Theophylact in Bulgaria looked upon the Apocalypse as Apostolic; but with this partial exception the Canon of Constantinople was complete and pure⁴.

In the Western Churches the doubts as to the Epistle

¹ Cf. App. D.

² Credner has examined the Stichometry of Nicephorus (cf. App. D) in connexion with the Festal Letter of Athanasius and the *Synopsis Sacre Scripturæ* (Zur Gesch. d. K. § 3).

³ I have followed the text of Credner, *a. a. O.* p. 121.

⁴ Two later writers of the Greek Church deserve mention as witnessing to the current belief of their times. NICEPHORUS CALLISTI a monk of Constantinople, who wrote an Ecclesiastical History about 1325 A.D., enumerates all the books of the New Testament as we receive them. 'Seven Catholic Epistles,' he says,

'the Church has received of old time' (*ἀνωθεν*), and reckons them most 'certainly (*ὡς μάλιστα*) among the 'books of the New Testament...The 'Apocalypse we know to have been 'handed down to the Church. The 'books besides these are spurious 'and falsely named' (*H. E.* II. 45). LEO ALLATIUS († 1669), keeper of the Vatican Library in the time of Alexander VII., says that 'in his 'time the Catholic Epistles and Apo- 'calypse were received as true and 'genuine Scripture, and publicly 'read throughout all Greece like the 'other Scriptures.' *Fabr. Bibl. Gr.* v. App. p. 38.

to the Hebrews continued to reappear for some time. Isidore of Seville in reviewing the books of the New Testament says that the authorship of the Epistle was considered 'doubtful by very many (*plerisque*) Latin 'Christians on account of the difference of style'.¹ But this doubt was rather felt than declared; and its existence is shewn by the absence of quotations from the Epistle, rather than by any open attacks upon its authority. It is not quoted I believe by Optatus of Milevis (Mileum) in Africa, by Phœbadius or Vincent of Lerins in Gaul, nor by Zeno of Verona². Hilary of Rome and Pelagius wrote Commentaries on thirteen Epistles of St Paul; but though they did not comment on the Epistle to the Hebrews, both speak of it as a work of the Apostle³. But the doubt as to the Epistle to the Hebrews was the only one which remained⁴, and the influence of Jerome and Augustine did much to remove it.

It was indeed impossible that the revised Latin Version of Jerome should fail to mould insensibly the judgment of the Western Churches. Jerome, who was well read in earlier fathers, was familiar with the doubts

Chap. ii.

Doubts as to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

† 636 A.D.

c. 370 A.D.

† c. 390 A.D.
c. 425 A.D.

The testimony of JEROME,

¹ Isid. *Proem.* §§ 85—109 (v. 155 sqq. ed. Migne). Cf. App. D.

² Pacian has been quoted as omitting all mention of the Epistle, but in fact he quotes it as St Paul's. Pac. *Ep.* III. 13: Apostolus dicit... et iterum... Hebr. x. 1.

³ Pelag. *Comm. in Rom.* i. 17 (Hieron. *Opp.* XI. 649, ed. Migne): Sicut et ipse ad Hebræos perhibens dicit... Hilar. *Comm. in 2 Tim.* i.: Nam simili modo et in epistola ad Hebræos scriptum est. Ambr. *Opp.* v. p. 411 (ed. 1567).

⁴ At the Synod at Toledo (671 A. D.) a special decree was made affirming the authority of the Apo-

calypse: Apocalypsin librum multorum conciliorum auctoritas et synodica sanctorum præsulum Romanorum decreta Johannis evangelistæ esse scribunt, et inter divinos libros recipiendum constituerunt: et quia plurimi sunt qui ejus auctoritatem non recipiant, eumque in ecclesia Dei prædicare contemnant; si quis eum deinceps aut non receperit, aut a Pascha usque ad Pentecosten missarum tempore in ecclesia non prædicaverit, excommunicationis sententiam habebit (*Concil. Tol.* IV. 17). These doubts are not I believe expressed by any Latin father.

which had been raised as to some of the books of the New Testament, but in his letter to Paulinus, as well as in many other places, he clearly expresses his own conviction of the Canonicity of them all¹. With regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse, he professed 'to be influenced not so much by the custom of 'his own time, as by the authority of the ancients, and 'so he received them both².' The Epistles of James and Jude, he says, gained authority in the course of time, having been at first disputed³; and he explains the different styles of the first and second Epistles of

¹ Cf. App. D. In his treatise *On Hebrew Names* Jerome enumerates all the books of the New Testament in order, except the second Epistle of St John, which contains no name. The editions mark the names from the *third* Epistle (Diotrephes, Demetrius, Gaius) as belonging to the *second*. Cf. p. 379. n. 3. At the end, after noticing the Apocalypse, Jerome explains some names in the *Epistle to Barnabas*. This book was written about 390 A.D. The treatise *On Illustrious Men* was written in 392 A.D.

² Hieron. *Ep. ad Dard.* CXXIX. 3 (414 A.D.): Illud nostris dicendum est hanc epistolam quæ inscribitur *ad Hebræos* non solum ab ecclesiis orientis sed ab omnibus retro ecclesiasticis Græci sermonis scriptoribus quasi Pauli Apostoli suscipi, licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ vel Clementis arbitrentur; et nihil interesse cujus sit, cum ecclesiastici viri sit et quotidie ecclesiarum lectione celebretur. Quod si eam Latinorum consuetudo non recepit inter scripturas Canonicas, nec Græcorum quidem ecclesiæ Apocalypsin Joannis eadem libertate suscipiunt; et tamen nos utramque suscipimus, nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem sed veterum scriptorum auctoritatem se-

quentes, qui plerumque utriusque abutuntur testimoniis, non ut interdum de apocryphis facere solent quippe qui et gentilium litterarum raro utantur exemplis, sed quasi Canonicis et ecclesiasticis. This very clear and important passage shews that when Jerome speaks of the 'Epistle to the Hebrews as not reckoned among St Paul's' in his letter to Paulinus (394 A.D.), we must suppose that the doubt applies to the authorship and not to the Canonicity of the writing. The distinct and decisive reference to ancient and constant (*abutuntur*) testimony for the two disputed books deserves careful attention. Cf. *Comm. in Eph. ad init.*

³ *De Virr. Ill.* 2: Jacobus qui appellatur frater Domini... unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem Catholicis est, quæ et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur, licet paulatim tempore procedente obtinuerit auctoritatem.

De Virr. Ill. 4: Judas frater Jacobi parvam quæ de septem Catholicis est epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Enoch qui Apocryphus est in ea assumit testimonium, a plerisque rejicitur, tamen auctoritatem vetustate jam et usu meruit et inter sanctas scripturas computatur.

St Peter by the supposition that the Apostle was forced to employ different 'interpreters' in writing them¹. The first Epistle of St John was universally received; but the two others, he adds, evidently quoting some earlier writer, are claimed for John the presbyter². Besides the Canonical writings of the New Testament Jerome notices many other ecclesiastical and Apocryphal books, but he never attributes to them Canonical authority³.

The testimony of Jerome may be considered as the testimony of the Roman Church; for not only was he educated at Rome, but his labours on the text of Scripture were undertaken at the request of Damasus bishop of Rome; and later popes republished the Canon which he recognized. Both Innocent⁴ and Gelasius⁵ pronounced all the books of the New Testament which we now receive, and these only, to be Canonical. And the judg-

Chap. ii.

and of the
Roman
Church.

405 A.D.
492-496 A.D.

¹ Hieron. *Quæst. ad Hedib.* II. (I. p. 1002, ed. Migne): Habebat ergo [Paulus] Titum interpretem (2 Cor. ii. 12, 13); sicut et beatus Petrus Marcum, cujus evangelium Petro narrante et illo scribente compositum est. Denique et duæ epistolæ quæ feruntur Petri stylo inter se et characterē discrepant structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus diversum eum usum interpretibus. Cf. *de Virr.* III. 1: Scripsit [Petrus] duas Epistolas quæ Catholicæ nominantur; quarum secunda a plerisque ejus esse negatur propter styli cum priore dissonantiam. Sed et evangelium juxta Marcum, qui auditor ejus et interpret fuit, hujus dicitur. Libri autem e quibus unus Actorum ejus inscribitur, alius Evangelii, tertius Prædicationis, quartus Apocalypseos, quintus Judicii [i.e. the *Shepherd* of Hermas], inter apocryphas scripturas repudiatur.

² Scripsit [Johannes] unam epistolam...quæ ab universis ecclesiasticis

et eruditis viris probatur. Reliquæ autem duæ...Johannis presbyteri asseruntur. It will be observed that Jerome appeals simply to usage and to the opinion of competent scholars, and not to any formal decision upon the Canon.

³ Cf. App. B.

⁴ Innoc. *ad Exsuperium Tolos.* Cf. App. D. The authenticity of this decretal however is very questionable.

⁵ Credner (*Zur Gesch. de K.* § iv.) has examined at great length the triple recension of the famous decretal *On Ecclesiastical Books*. His conclusion briefly is that (1) In its original form it was drawn up in the time of Gelasius, c. 500 A.D. (2) It was then enlarged in Spain, c. 500-700 A.D. (3) Next published as a decretal of Hormisdas (Pope 514-523 A.D.) in Spain, with additions, (4) And lastly variously altered in later times. Credner, *a. a. O.* s. 153. Cf. App. D.

Chap. ii.

c. 340—397
A.D.

† 410 A.D.

† c. 387 A.D.

*The Canon
of AUGUS-
TINE.*

ment which was accepted at Rome was current throughout Italy. Ambrose at Milan, Rufinus at Aquileia¹, and Philastrius at Brescia², completely confirm the same Canon³.

The influence of Augustine upon the Western Church was hardly inferior to that of Jerome; and both combined to support the received Canon of the New Testament⁴. Yet even in respect to this their characteristic differences appear. Jerome accepted the tacit judgment of the Church as a whole, and before that laid aside his doubts. Augustine, while receiving as Scripture the same Apostolic writings as Jerome, admitted that the partial rejection of a book detracts from its authority⁵. He thus extended to others a certain freedom of judgment, and even exercised it himself. It is very probable that he did not regard the Epistle to the Hebrews as St Paul's; and at least in his later works he sedu-

¹ Ruf. *de Symb. Apost.* § 36. Cf. App. D.

² Philastr. *Hær.* LX. LXI. 32. Cf. App. D.

³ LUCIFER of Cagliari († 370 A.D.) in Sardinia quotes most of the books of the New Testament, including the Epistle to the Hebrews: Paulus dicit ad Hebræos...Hebr. iii. 5 sqq. (Lucif. *de non Conv. c. Hær.* p. 782 B, ed. Migne). To the testimony of Lucifer may be added that of FAUSTINUS one of his followers, who frequently quotes the Epistle to the Hebrews as St Paul's: Paulus Apostolus...ait in Epistola sua...Hebr. i. 13 (*de Trin.* II. 13. Cf. *ib.* IV. 2; *Lit. Prec. ad Impp.* 27).

CASSIODORUS (or Cassiodorius, b. 468—† c. 560 A.D.), chief minister of Theodoric, in his treatise *De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum* gives three Catalogues of the Holy Scriptures: (1) according to Jerome, (2)

according to Augustine, (3) according to the 'ancient translation.' In the two former the Canon of the New Testament of course agrees with our own. In the last he omits the two shorter Epistles of St John, but the evidence of Cod. D has been brought forward to shew that they were included in the *Vetus Latina*. Cf. p. 255, and App. D.

⁴ Augustine has given a list of the books of the New Testament exactly agreeing with our present Canon: *de Doctr. Christ.* II. 12, 13. Cf. App. D.

⁵ Aug. *l. c.*: Tenebit igitur hunc modum in Scripturis Canonicis, ut eas quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur Ecclesiis Catholicis præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt: in eis vero quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus præponat eas quas plures graviore que accipiunt eis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent.

lously avoided calling it by the Apostle's name¹. But while he hesitated as to the authorship of the Epistle, he had no scruples about its Canonicity. And he uses all the other books of the New Testament without reserve, alluding only once, as far as I know, to the doubts about the Apocalypse².

The Canon of the New Testament which was supported by the learning of Jerome and the independent judgment of Augustine soon gained universal acceptance wherever Latin was spoken. It was received in Gaul and Spain, and even in Britain and Ireland. Eucherius of Lyons in the fifth century, Isidore of Seville at the close of the sixth century³, Bede at Wearmouth in the seventh century, and Sedulius in Ireland in the eighth or ninth century, witness to its reception throughout the West. And with the exceptions already noticed, all the evidence which can be gathered from other writers, —from Prudentius in Spain, and from Hilary, Sulpicius, Prosper, Salvian, and Gennadius in Gaul,—confirms their testimony.

From this time the Canon of the New Testament in the West was no longer a problem, but a tradition. If old doubts were mentioned, it was rather as a display of erudition than as an effort of criticism⁴.

Three typical examples of the mediæval treatment of the New Testament Canon will suffice to shew what

¹ This is well shewn by Lardner, iv. 76); cum legas ad Hebræos (III. ch. CXVII. 17. 4. The quotations in 151); illius sacræ auctor Epistolæ the *Opus imperfectum c. Julianum* (VI. 22).

² *Serm.* CCXCIX.: Et si forte tu qui ista [Pelagii] sapis hanc Scripturam (Apoc. xi. 3—12) non accipisti; aut si accipis contemnisti...

³ Cf. App. D.

⁴ References are given by Hody, Credner, and Reuss, *Gesch. d. Heil. Schr.* §§ 328 ff. See also *Bible in the Church*, chapters VIII. IX.

This Canon most widely spread throughout the West.

and undisputed to the era of the Reformation.

Chap. ii.

The judgment of
ALFRIC.
† 1006 A.D.

was the amount of interest which was felt in it and how the interest was satisfied. The first example is taken from a short Anglo-Saxon treatise on the New Testament written by Alfric, Abbot of Cerne (989 A. D.), and afterwards, as it is supposed, Archbishop of Canterbury¹. 'There are,' he says², '4. books written concerning Christ himselfe, one of them wrote *Mathew*, that followed our 'Sauiour, and was one of his disciples, while heere hee, 'liued, and saw his miracles, and after his passion wrote 'thē, such as came to his mind in this book, and in y^e 'Hebrew tongue, for their sakes who beleueed on God, 'among y^e Iewes. And he is the first Euangelist in this 'volume. *Marke* the Gospeller, who followed *Peter* for 'instruction, and was his own son begotten in the Lord 'by his word, he wrote the second booke from the mouth 'of *Peter*, concerning such things as he learned of his 'doctrine in y^e city of *Rome*: as he was entreated by the 'faithfull there beleeuing in God through *Peters* preach- 'ing. *Luke* the Euangelist wrote the third booke; who 'from his childhood followed the Apostles and after 'accompanied *Paul* in his travell and learned of him 'the doctrine of the Gospell in sincerity of life: and this 'booke of Christ compiled in *Achæa* and in the Greeke 'tongue, according as he had learned by y^e instruction 'of *Paul* and the other Apostles. *Iohn* the Apostle 'began in *Asia*, entreated by the Bishops there, to write 'and y^t in Greeke the fourth book, concerning Christ's 'diuinity: and of the deepe mysteries that were reuealed 'vnto him, when he leaned on his louely brest wherin 'was hid the treasure of heauen. These be the 4 waters

¹ Wright's *Biographia Britannica* written about the time of King *Edgar*... London, 1623—republished in *Literaria*, I. pp. 480 ff.

² The translation is that given by W. L'Isle, *A Saxon Treatise concerning the Old and New Testament*, 1638 under the title *Divers Ancient Monuments in the Saxon Tongue*... pp. 24 ff.

‘ of one welspring, which run from paradise far and wide
‘ ouer y^e people of God. And these 4. Euangelists were
‘ foresignified by the vision of *Ezechiel*. *Mathew* in mans
‘ shape, *Marke* in a lions, *Luke* in a calfs, and *Iohn* in an
‘ eagles, for y^e mysteries by them signified...

‘ *Peter* the Apostle wrote two Epistles, but larger
‘ than are read at Masse, which auaille much to the esta-
‘ blishing of Faith, and are reckoned in Canon of the
‘ Bible. So *Iames* the Iust wrote one Epistle of great
‘ instruction for all men, who obserue any Christianity in
‘ their life. And *Iohn* y^e Euangelist to the honor of God
‘ compiled three Epistles, which are three bookes full of
‘ loue in teaching the people. *Iudas* the Apostle wrote
‘ also an Epistle, not the reprobate *Iudas*, who betrayed
‘ Iesus; but holy *Iudas* that euer followed him. And
‘ heere are now 7. bookes of this ranke.

‘ The Apostle *Paul* wrote many Epistles: for Christ
‘ set him to be a teacher of all nations, and in true since-
‘ rity he set downe the course of life, which the faithfull
‘ ought to hold, who betake themselves and their life
‘ vnto God: fifteene Epistles wrote this one Apostle,
‘ to the nations by him conuerted vnto the faith: which
‘ are large books in the Bible, and make much for our
‘ amendment, if we follow his doctrine, that was teacher
‘ of the Gentiles. He wrote to the Romans one, to the
‘ Corinthians two, and one to the Galathians, and one to
‘ the Ephesians, and one to the Philippians; two to the
‘ Thessalonians, and one to the Colossians, and one to
‘ the Hebreues: two to his owne disciple *Timotheus*, and
‘ one to *Titus*, and one to *Philemon*, and one to the
‘ *Laodiceans*: fifteene in all, [sounding] as loud as thun-
‘ der to [the eares of] faithfull people...

‘ *Luke* y^e Euangelist, who was a Physitian while he
‘ liued compiled two books for the health of our soules.

Chap. ii.

‘One of them is the Gospell of Christ, the other is called ‘*Actus Apostolorum*; that is in English: the *Acts of Apostles*, [shewing] what they did while they were together, and how afterward they trauelled into farre countries as Iesus had commanded them in his holy Gospell, that they by their preaching should teach and conuert all nations to the faith.....

‘*John* liued here longest of them (the Apostles) all, and he wrote in his banishment the booke called ‘*Apocalypse*, that is, the *Reuelatiō*, which Christ manifested vnto him by vision in spirit, cōcerning ovr Sauour himselfe and his Church: as also of doomesday and the deuillish Antichrist; and of the resurrection to euerlasting life: And this is the last booke of the Bible...

‘All teachers who take not their doctrine and examples out of these holy bookes are like those of whom Christ himselfe thus said: *Cæcus si cæso ducatum præstet, ambo in foueam cadent* :...but such teachers, as take their examples and doctrine from hence, whether it be out of the old Testament or the new, are such as Christ himselfe againe spake of in these words: *Omnis scriba doctus in regno cælorum similis est homini patrifamilias, qui profert de thesauro suo nova et vetera*.....’

The Apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans.

The history of the Epistle to the Laodiceans¹ which is reckoned by Alfric without hesitation among the Epistles of St Paul forms one of the most interesting episodes in the literary history of the Bible. The earliest traces of the existence of the present Epistle are found in the sixth century, for there is not the slightest reason to connect the existing Latin compilation which from that date bears the name with the Greek Epistle to the

¹ The text of the Epistle is given from English Manuscripts in App. E.

Laodicones which was current in the second century¹. In the sixth century the compilation had a wide currency. It is found in the *Speculum* published by Mai, and likewise in the Manuscript of the Vulgate at La Cava, which contain also the interpolated testimony in the Epistle of St John. Towards the middle of the same century it was introduced into a Manuscript of the Latin New Testament which was corrected by the hand of Victor of Capua and is still preserved at Fulda. From this time it occurs very frequently in Western Manuscripts of the Bible, as in the great Gothic Bible of Toledo (8th cent.), in the Book of Armagh² (written A.D. 807), in the so-called Charlemagne's Bible of the British Museum (9th cent.), and in many other magnificent copies, as for example the great Bible of the King's Library³, which seem to have been designed for church use.

One important testimony contributed in all probability very greatly to the popular estimation of the book. Gregory the Great at the close of the sixth century distinctly assigned the Epistle to the Apostle Paul, though he admitted its uncanonicity. 'Though he (St Paul) 'wrote,' he says, 'fifteen Epistles, yet the holy Church

¹ *Canon Murat.* App. C. It may however be the one which Jerome speaks of in *Catal.* 5: *Legunt quidam et ad Laodicensis sed ab omnibus exploditur.* The only Greek reference which can be fairly applied to this Latin Epistle is in the Acts of the second Council of Nicæa (787 A.D.), when the circulation of the Epistle of the Western Churches was too general to escape observation even among the Greeks. *Concil. ii. Nic. Act. vi. Tom. v.; Mansi, xiii. 293* (Labbe, vii. 475): *πρέπον οὖν ἐστὶ παντὶ χριστιανῷ παρεγγράπτων βιβλίων ἀ-*

κράσιν ποιουμένην ταύτης διαπτύειν καὶ μὴ δ' ὅλως προσδέχεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποστόλου πρὸς Λαοδικεὶς φέρεται πλαστὴ ἐπιστολὴ ἐν τισὶ βιβλοῖς τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐγκειμένη, ἣν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀπεδοκίμασαν ὡς αὐτοῦ ἀλλοτρίαν· καὶ τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν Μανιχαῖοι παρεισήγαγον εὐαγγέλιον ὑπὲρ ἡ καθολικῆ ἐκκλησίας ὡς ἀλλότριον εὐσεβῶς ἀποστρέφεται.

² But with the note *Sed Hirumimus eam negat esse Pauli.* Betham, *Irish Antiq. Researches*, II. 263.

³ Brit. Mus. King's I E vii. viii.

Chap. ii.

'does not hold more than fourteen¹.' As an almost necessary consequence the positive part of his statement was more effectual than the negative limitation of it. If St Paul wrote the letter, it could not fail to be prized by faithful Christians. Another circumstance which favoured the reception of the letter was the supposed reference to it in the Epistle to the Colossians.

Col. iv. 16.

† 853 A.D.

To an uncritical age the mere existence of a letter which bore the name of one known to have been sanctioned by Apostolic authority was held to be an adequate proof of its own claims to respect. Haymo bishop of Halberstadt² gives expression to this simplicity of faith in a very modest form: 'The Apostle enjoins that 'the Epistle to the Laodiceans (*i.e.* the Latin cento) 'be read to the Colossians, because, though it is very 'short and not reckoned in the Canon, it still has some 'use.' A few generations afterwards John of Salisbury puts forward the argument based upon the assumed reference in the most distinct shape. 'Although the 'Epistle is rejected by all, as Jerome says, yet it was 'written by the Apostle. Nor is this opinion based on 'the conjecture of others, but confirmed by the testimony of the Apostle himself, for he mentions it in his 'Epistle to the Colossians...³'

Thus it was that the Apocryphal Epistle passed into

¹ Gregor. Magn. *Moral.* xxxv. stolus quamvis epistolas quindecim 20, 48 (al. 15, 25), in *Job*, XLII. 16. scripserit sancta tamen Ecclesia non The reason which Gregory gives for amplius quam quatuordecim tenet ut the rejection of the Epistle from the ex ipso Epistolarum numero ostenderet quod doctor egregius legis et Canon is most instructive and characteristic. Et recte vita sanctæ Ecclesiæ multiplicata per decem et evangelii secreta rimatus esset. Why this special Epistle was rejected to render the mystical lesson complete quatuor computatur, quia utrumque Testamentum custodiens et tam secundum legis decalogum quam secundum quatuor Evangelii libros vivens usque ad perfectionis culmen extenditur. Unde et Paulus Apo-

² *Comm. in Coloss.* iv.

³ Johan. Sarisb. *Ep.* 143 (ed. Migne).

the early vernacular translations of the New Testament. It is said that fourteen editions of one or more German versions were printed before Luther's time; and it occurs in the first Bohemian Bible (1488)¹. It is found also in an Albigenian Version at Lyons, where it occupies its usual place after the Epistle to the Colossians². It was not included by Wycliffe in his Bible, but it is found added to it in some Manuscripts and in two different renderings³. One of these may be given, for though the Epistle contains nothing in itself remarkable, the position which it occupies in the history of the Mediæval Canon invests it with a peculiar interest⁴.

'Here bigynneth the epistle to the Laodicensis, which is not in the Canon.

*The Epistle
to the Laodi-
cenes.*

'Poul apostle, not of men, ne by man, but bi Ihesu 'Crist, to the britheren that ben at Laodice, grace to '3ou, and pees of God the fadir, and of the Lord Ihesu 'Crist. I do thankyngis to my God bi al my preier, 'that 3e be dwelling and lastyng in him, abiding the 'biheest in the day of doom. For neithir the veyn spek- 'yng of summe vnwise men hath lettide 3ou, the whiche 'wolden turne 3ou fro the treuthe of the gospel, that is 'prechid of me. And now hem that ben of me to the 'profijt of truthe of the gospel, God schal make dis- 'seruyng, and doyng benygnyte of werkis, and helthe 'of euerlasting lijf. And now my boondis ben open, 'which Y suffre in Crist Ihesu, in which Y glade and 'ioie. And that is to me euerlastyng helthe, that this 'same thing be doon by 3oure preirs, and mynstryng

¹ Anger, *Der Laodicinerbrief*, 152. It is not however found in an earlier edition of the New Testament (1475).

² *Revue de Théologie*, Strasb. v.

³ See p. 458, note.

⁴ The text given is from Forshall

and Madden, who likewise print the second version, which is also given by Lewis, and after him by Anger *l.c.* This text is found substantially in eight other copies collated by Forshall and Madden and in the imperfect copy taken by Anger from a Dresden Manuscript.

Chap. ii.

‘of the Holi Goost, either by lijf, either bi deeth. For-
 ‘sothe to me it is lijf to lyue in Crist, and to die ioie.
 ‘And his mercy schal do in 3ou the same thing, that
 ‘3e mown haue the same loue, and that 3e be of oo will.
 ‘Therefore, 3e weel biloued britheren, holde 3e, and do 3e
 ‘in the dreede of God, as 3e han herde the presence of
 ‘me; and lijf schal be to 3ou withouten eende. Sotheli
 ‘it is God that worchith in 3ou. And, my weel biloued
 ‘britheren, do 3e without eny withdrawyng what euer
 ‘things 3e don. Ioie 3e in Crist, and eschewe 3e men
 ‘defoulid in lucre, either foul wynnyng. Be alle 3oure
 ‘askyngis open anentis God, and be ye stidefast in the
 ‘witt of Crist. And do 3e tho thingis that ben hool, and
 ‘trewe, and chaast, and iust, and able to be loued; and
 ‘kepe 3e in herte tho thingis that 3e haue herd and take;
 ‘and pees shall be to 3ou. Alle holi men greten 3ou weel.
 ‘The grace of oure Lord Ihesu Crist be with 3our spirit.
 ‘And do 3e that pistil of Colocensis to be red to 3ou.

‘*Here cendith the pistil to Laodicensis*¹’

HUGO of St
 Victor.

The progress of thought which brought forth so many noble results in the twelfth century added nothing to the historic appreciation of the Canon of the Bible. Nay rather the love of symmetry and completeness which prevailed threatened to decide its contents by general principles of arrangement, yet in such a manner as to leave the line of separation between the Holy Scriptures and other books wavering and undefined. Hugo of St Victor may be taken as one of the greatest representatives of his age, and in him this tendency

* 1097—1141
 A.D.

¹ Forshall and Madden, IV. pp. 438, 439. ‘The Epistle to the Laodiceans was excluded as spurious both by Wycliffe and Purvey. Subsequently however it was translated together with its argument and is found in several Manuscripts

‘of the later version, none of which appears to have been written early in the fifteenth century. Another but nearly coeval version of the same Epistle occurs in a single ‘copy’ (*Id.* I. p. xxxii.).

finds a clear expression. 'All divine Scripture,' he says, 'is contained in the two Testaments, that is to say the Old and the New. Both Testaments are divided into three separate classes [of books]. The Old Testament contains the Law, the Prophets, the Hagiographa. The New Testament the Gospel, the Apostles, the Fathers...In the New Testament there are in the First Class the Four Gospels. In the Second Class there are also four Books, the Acts, the fourteen Epistles of Paul combined in one volume, the Canonical [*i.e.* Catholic] Epistles, the Apocalypse. In the Third Class the Decretals hold the first place;...then the writings of the holy Fathers...which are numberless. These writings of the Fathers are not however reckoned in the text of the Divine Scriptures, since in the Old Testament, as we have said, there are some books which are not included in the Canon and yet are read, as the Wisdom of Solomon and the like...In these classes however the harmony of both Testaments is most clearly seen. Because as the Law is followed by the Prophets and the Prophets by the Hagiographa, so the Gospel is followed by the Apostles and the Apostles by the Doctors. And it is a result of the marvellous method of the divine dispensation, that while the full and perfect truth is found in the several Scriptures separately, no one of them is superfluous¹.'

One more testimony will bring our notice of the Mediæval period to a close. This is taken from a letter of John of Salisbury, the secretary and partisan of Becket, whose devotion to his master in later times when he was raised to the see of Chartres led him to describe himself as bishop 'by the divine favour and the merits

JOHN of Salisbury.
c. 1120—1180
A.D.

¹ Hugo de S. Vict. *de Scriptura*, 6. The original text is given in App. D.

Chap. ii.

1165—6 A.D.

‘of St Thomas¹.’ The letter was written during his exile in France for Becket’s cause, and is addressed to Henry I. Count of Champagne. Henry, who himself took a very active part in the politics of his time, had sent a series of questions to John of Salisbury which throw a strange light upon the studies of the royal statesman. He wished to know what Jerome meant by the ‘table of the Sun which was said to have been seen ‘by Apollonius,’ and what were ‘centos from Virgil and ‘Homer,’ and in the first place of all what John believed to be the number of the books of the Old and New Testaments, and whom he held to be their authors. In reply to this John first refers to the treatise of Cassiodorus upon the subject and then continues in most remarkable words: ‘But because my own belief on this ‘subject is questioned, I consider that it is not of much ‘importance either to me or to others what opinion be ‘held. For whether we hold this opinion or that, it ‘brings no damage to our salvation. But to indulge in ‘a fierce controversy on a subject which is either indif- ‘ferent in its result or of little moment is as bad as a ‘sharp discussion about *goats’ wool* between friends. ‘Moreover I consider that he rather assails the faith who ‘affirms too confidently that which is not certain, than ‘one who abstains from a rash decision and leaves in ‘uncertainty a subject on which he observes the Fathers ‘disagree and which he is wholly unable to investigate. ‘Nevertheless our opinion can and ought to be more ‘inclined to the side which is supported by all or by the ‘greater number or the most famous and distinguished ‘men...Therefore I follow Jerome...who reckons twenty- ‘two books of the Old Testament divided into three

¹ Wright, *Biographia Britannica*, II. 235.

‘classes....As for the *Shepherd* [which he mentions] I do not know whether it still exists anywhere ; but there can be no doubt about the reference because Jerome and Beda say that they saw and read it. To these are added eight volumes of the New Testament, the four Gospels, *fifteen* Epistles of Paul embraced in one volume, though it is a common and almost universal opinion that there are only fourteen, ten to churches and four to persons, if we must reckon the Epistle to the Hebrews among the Epistles of Paul, as Jerome appears to do...The fifteenth is that which is written to the Church of the Laodiceans, and though, as Jerome says, it is rejected by all, yet it was written by the Apostle....The seven Canonical Epistles in one volume come next ; then the Acts in another, and last the Apocalypse. And that this is the number of the books which are admitted into the Canon of the Holy Scriptures is a constant and undoubted tradition in the Church, which enjoy such authority with all that they leave no room for gainsaying or doubt in sound minds, because they are written by the finger of God....Opinions vary as to the authors, though in the Church the opinion has prevailed that they were written by those whose names they bear....But why should we be anxious, most illustrious Lord, to discuss various opinions on the subject, since we are agreed that the Holy Spirit is the one Author of all Holy Scriptures. ...It is as if when you were certain of the writer, a question was raised about the pen with which the book was written¹’

¹ Johan. Sarisb. *Ep.* 143 (ed. exclusive authority of the Hebrew Migne). The original text is given in App. D. It may be added that Bp. Pecock affirms very distinctly Jerome's judgment in favour of the

Canon of the Old Testament, and explains how the Apocryphal books came to be added to them. “In the bigynnyng of the chirche, soone after

Chap. ii.

Thus the strange freedom of the first words of the mediæval scholar falls back into the devout confession of simple faith. Criticism is silent, but in the language of natural instinct there is an antagonism of thought which is prophetic of future conflict. A desire for liberty has to be reconciled with a desire for trustful repose: the craving for individual conviction with the pious belief in a divine order of history. To assert, to compare, to harmonize these principles was the work of the Reformation, and that in the discussions on the formation and authority of the Bible no less than in the examination of the central doctrines of the Christian belief.

Cristis passioun, writingis dressing men into holynes weren scant...and therfore for deuocioun and avidite whiche men in tho daies hadden into goostli techingis thei wroten into her Biblis the book of Philo which is clepid Sapience, and the book of Iesus the sone of Sirak which is clepid Ecclesiastik, and othere mo, for great deinte which Cristen men hadden of tho bokis in tyme of so greet scarsenes of deuoute bokis; not with stonding that thei wisten these seid bokis not be of holi Scrip- ture, as Ierom and othere mo openly witnessen that tho bokis bear not of Holi Scripture. And this oolde deuocioun forto plante the seid bokis into Biblis, whanne euere Biblis weren in writing ceesid not into al tyme after. And 3it herbi is not the auctorite of tho bokis reised hi3er then it was bifore; and name- lich it cannot be reised therbi so hi3e, that it be putt bifore gretter evydencis than is the nakid seiyng of hem." (*Repressor*, II. 17, p. 251. Comp. pp. 126, 250.)

CHAPTER III.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Dixit veritatem, pertulit iniquitatem, allaturus est æquitatem.

AUGUSTINUS.

THE sixteenth century places us again face to face with the combined powers of the East and West¹. For a time each had gone on fulfilling its own work, but the fall of Constantinople brought them once more into contact. It was not only that 'Greece had arisen from 'the dead with the New Testament in her hand,' but the East had risen with a Bible which was again felt to be a record of real facts, able to quicken faith amidst the conflicts of a world struggling towards a new life. We have already seen generally the part which Palestine and Greece and Rome had to fulfil in the history of the Canon. A work was still reserved for the German races, and when the time came for its accomplishment men were found to do it. Whatever may be thought of some of Luther's special judgments, however hasty and self-willed and imperious they may be, it is impossible to read his comments on Holy Scripture without feeling that he realizes its actual historic worth and consequent spiritual meaning in a way which was unknown before. For him the words of Apostles and Prophets are 'living words,'

Chap. iii.

*The work of
the German
races for the
Bible.*

¹ I have ventured to transcribe in this chapter much that is given in the *Bible in the Church*, chap. x.

Chap. iii.

*The elements
combined in
the discus-
sion on the
Bible in the
16th cen-
tury.*

direct and immediate utterances of the Holy Spirit, penetrating to the inmost souls of men, and not mere premisses for arguments or proofs.

This intense sense of the personal character of Holy Scripture, so to speak, springing out of the recognition of its primary historical origin, which found a bold and at times an exaggerated expression in Luther, was more or less characteristic of the whole period. On all sides there was a tendency in the sixteenth century, even when it was repressed, to appeal to history and reason. The mere authority of usage, which at earlier times had been denied only by scholars, was then questioned by many in all classes. The study of Greek had made criticism possible, and laid open the true approach to the investigation of the growth of the Church. But still the real force of historical evidence was as yet imperfectly understood. The materials for testing and tracing to its source a current tradition were still scattered or unknown. And even those who felt most deeply that the Books of the Bible had their origin in human life, among men of like passions with themselves, were yet far removed from a simple and absolute trust in their historical transmission and confirmation by the body to which they were delivered. On the one hand a supposed intuitive perception of the Divine authority of Scripture, immediate and final, was assumed to exist in the individual and to supersede the judgment of the Christian society. On the other an ecclesiastical usage was invested, as it were, with a creative power, by which books which had been deliberately set aside in a second rank were raised to a new dignity as infallible sources of doctrine.

*An antago-
nism of prin-
ciples.*

As doctrinal controversy grew wider and keener, the question of the Canon was debated with a vehemence

before unknown. To concede to the Church in every age the prerogative of extending by its own power the range of the authoritative sources and tests of doctrine was (as it appeared) to sacrifice the historical basis of a faith once delivered to men. And at the same time the denial of the existence of an absolute living criterion of truth seemed to make it necessary to transfer to the Bible in its collected form every attribute of that infallibility which before had been supposed to reside in the Church or in its earthly head. The collection of Holy Scripture was first narrowed to the strict limits fixed by ancient criticism, at least in the Old Testament, and then step by step it was taken out of the field of historical inquiry. A movement which began by the assertion of the value of historical evidence ended in the suppression of all historical criticism by the later Lutheran and Genevan schools.

It is not part of our subject to trace the effects for good and for evil which followed from the general prevalence of this later theory of the Bible in Protestant Churches up to our own time. However repugnant it may be to the wider views of ecclesiastical history which are now opened to us, it would not perhaps be difficult to shew that it fulfilled an important function in preserving a true sense of the Divine authority of Holy Scripture as a whole during a period of transition. If the tendency of the later schools was to reduce the Bible to a mere text-book, the Book itself was in danger of falling to pieces under the free treatment of Luther. At present it is necessary only to notice that the controversy on the Canon in the sixteenth century—the first occasion on which the subject was debated as a question of doctrine in the Catholic Church—was really conducted by feeling rather than by external evidence. The

The debate guided by feeling more than by criticism.

Chap. iii.

evidence on the subject was not available, even if the disputants could have made use of it. But a more summary method offered itself. In a word the Romanists followed popular usage, regarding the Bible as one only out of many original sources of truth: the Lutherans, or more strictly Luther, judged the written Word by the Gospel contained in it, now in fuller now in scantier measure, to which the Word in man bore witness: the Calvinists, accepting without hesitation the Old Testament from the Jewish Church, and the New Testament from the Christian Church, set up the two records as the outward test and spring of all truth, absolutely complete in itself and isolated from all history.

It would be a fruitful inquiry to follow out the growth and antagonism of the principles involved in these general views: to trace the truth which each embodies and exaggerates: to indicate the influence which partial or faulty teaching on Scripture exercised on other parts of the Christian doctrine in which they were included; and even in the purely historical sketch to which we are now limited a reference to these most interesting questions will give a unity and significance to what might otherwise appear a fragmentary discussion.

§ I. *The Roman Church.*

At the dawn of the Reformation the great Romanist scholars remained faithful to the judgment on the Canon which Jerome had followed in his translation. And Cardinal Ximenes in the preface to his magnificent Polyglott *Biblia Complutensia*—the lasting monument of the University which he founded at *Complutum* or *Alcala*, and the great glory of the Spanish press—separates the *Apocrypha* from the Canonical books. The books¹,

¹ *Prolog.* III. b.

Cardinal
XIMENES.
1437—1517
A.D.

he writes, which are without the Canon, which the Church receives rather for the edification of the people than for the establishment of ecclesiastical doctrines, are given only in Greek, but with a double translation¹.

Cardinal Ximenes spoke only of the disputed books of the Old Testament. His great literary rival went further. Erasmus, in his edition of the New Testament (the first published in the original Greek A. D. 1516) which was dedicated to Leo X., notices the doubts which had been raised as to the controverted books, without pronouncing more than a critical judgment upon them. Thus he distinctly maintains that the *Epistle to the Hebrews* was not written by St Paul, both on the ground of its style, and also from questionable statements on points of doctrine (ch. vi. 6), while he prefaces his criticism with this remark: 'I would wish you, good reader, 'not to consider this Epistle of less value because many 'have doubted whether it is the work of Paul or some 'other writer. Whoever wrote it is worthy of being read 'by Christians on many accounts. And though in expression it is very widely different from the style of 'Paul, it is most closely akin to the spirit and soul '(pectus) of Paul. But while it cannot be shewn conclusively who wrote it, we may gather from very many 'arguments that it was written by some other than Paul.' Again at the close of his Commentary on St James he says: 'The authorship of this Epistle also, although it is 'filled with salutary precepts, was questioned in former 'times. For it does not seem to present in every part 'the dignity and gravity which we look for in an Apostle...For my own part, though I will fight (*digladiabor*)

Chap. iii.

ERASMUS.
1467—1536
A.D.*His opinion
on Hebrews.**The Epistle
of St James.*

¹ Sixtus Senensis (see p. 475) with an obvious reference to this passage alters it most significantly: 'The books which are without the Canon

'of the Hebrews, which the Church reads for edification, are given only in Greek, &c.' (*Bibl. S. IV. Franciscus Xymenius.*)

Chap. iii.

2 and 3 John.

*The Apoca-
lypse.*

‘with no one on the subject, I heartily affirm (*probo et amplector*) the authority of the Epistle. But I am surprised that on these questions no people are more bigoted in their statements than those who cannot tell in what language it was originally written....So great a man as Jerome was in doubt, and expresses his opinion with care. We are reckless in proportion to our ignorance.’ In like manner he notices the doubts as to the second Epistle of St Peter and the Epistle of St Jude, and expressly assigns the second and third Epistles of St John to the ‘Presbyter.’ On the *Apocalypse* he speaks at greater length; and his words are so characteristic that they may be quoted here as a singular illustration of the manner in which the best scholars of the sixteenth century approached the criticism of Holy Scripture¹. ‘St Jerome,’ he says, ‘bears witness that the *Apocalypse* was not received by the Greeks even in his time; and moreover that some most learned men had assailed the whole substance of the book with severe criticisms as a mere romance, on the ground that it presents no trace of Apostolic dignity, but contains only an ordinary history disguised in symbols. To say nothing at present of these opinions, I have been somewhat moved by other conjectures and also by the fact that the author while writing the Revelation is so anxious to introduce his own name: *I John, I John*, just as if he were writing a bond and not a book, and that not only against the custom of the other Apostles but much more against his own custom, since in his Gospel, though the subject is less exalted, he nowhere gives his own name, but indicates it by slight references, and Paul when compelled to speak of his own visions sets forth the facts under the person of another. But how

¹ *Nov. Test.* p. 625.

‘often does our author when describing most mysterious conversations with Angels introduce the phrase *I John*. Further in the Greek Manuscripts which I have seen the title is not of *John the Evangelist*, but of *John the Divine*; not to mention that the style is widely different from that of the Gospel and Epistle. For though we may admit that there would be little trouble in explaining some passages falsely assailed on the ground that they are tinged with heretical ideas, these arguments, I say, would somewhat move me to decline to believe that the work belongs to John the Evangelist, unless the general consent of the world called me to another conclusion, but especially the authority of the Church, if at least the Church approves of this work with the feeling that she wishes it to be considered the work of John the Evangelist and to be held of equal weight with the other canonical books....In fact I observe that ancient theologians quote passages from this book rather for illustration and ornament than for the support of a serious proposition. Since even among jewels there is some difference; and some gold is purer and better than other. In sacred things also one thing is more sacred than another. *He who is spiritual*, as Paul says, *judges all things, and is judged by no one.*’

With this strange conflict of criticism and authority, with this half suppressed irony and insinuated doubt, with this assertion of a final appeal to private judgment, the great work of Erasmus closes; and it is probable that the last words best express the freedom of his real judgment. For some time his notes seem to have been unchallenged; but the spread of the reformed opinions directed attention to the statements which they contained in opposition to the current opinion of the Roman

Church. An attack was made upon them before the Theological Faculty of Paris, the Sorbonne, in 1524; and in 1526 the French doctors considered and condemned a large number of propositions which were taken from his New Testament, and the defence which he had previously made. In this censure the Sorbonne declared that 'it was an error of faith to doubt as to the 'author of one of the books' (of the New Testament). 'Though formerly some have doubted about the authors 'of particular books,' the decision runs, 'yet after that 'the Church has received them under the name of such 'authors by its universal usage, and has approved them 'by its judgment, it is not any longer right for a Christian to doubt of the fact, or to call it in question¹.' This general judgment is then enforced by a special affirmation of the authenticity of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* as St Paul's, 2 *Peter*, and the *Apocalypse*, with references to the Councils of Laodicea, Carthage, and the Apocryphal Council at Rome under Gelasius.

Erasmus was the real leader both of the literary and critical schools of the Reformation. His influence extended both to his own Church and to the Protestant Churches of Germany and Switzerland; and opinions

¹ Du Plessis, *Collect. Jud. de nov. error.* I Jud. iv.; II. 53 ff. *Propositio* I. Non statim dubius est in fide, qui de auctore libri dubitat.

Censura. Hæc propositio temerarie et erronee assertitur, loquendo ut scriptor loquitur de dubio autorum sanctorum librorum novi Testamenti ab Ecclesia sub nomine talium autorum receptorum, cujusmodi sunt autores quatuor librorum Evangeliorum, septem Epistolarum Canonicarum, quatuordecim epistolarum Pauli, actuum Apostolorum et Apocalypsis: nam cum Deus

viros illos sanctos organa sua constituerit in editione talium librorum, honori eorum detrahit quisquis ab hujusmodi libris nomina eorum aufert, vel in dubium vertit, necnon et a frequenti abducit et fructuosa eorum lectione. Præterea quamvis de autoribus aliquorum hujusmodi librorum a normulis olim dubitatum sit, nihilominus postquam Ecclesia sub nomine talium autorum suo usu universali illos recepit et sua probavit definitione, jam non fas est Christiano dubitare aut in dubium revocare.

which he intimated with hesitation and doubt found elsewhere a bold expression. To take one example from Romanist scholars, Cardinal Caietan (Jacob [Thomas] de Vio), the adversary of Luther at Augsburg in 1518, gives an unhesitating adhesion to the Hebrew Canon in his *Commentary on all the Authentic Historical Books of the Old Testament*, which was dedicated to Clement VII. 'The whole Latin Church,' he says, 'owes very much to St Jerome...on account of his separation of the Canonical from the uncanonical books.'

And the authority of Jerome had equal weight with him in dealing with the Antilegomena of the New Testament. Thus in the preface to his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* he writes: 'Since we have received Jerome as our rule that we may not err in the separation of the Canonical books (for those which he delivered as Canonical we hold Canonical, and those which he separated from the Canonical books we hold without the Canon); therefore as the author of this Epistle is doubtful in the opinion of Jerome, the Epistle also is rendered doubtful, since unless it is Paul's it is not clear that it is Canonical. Whence it comes to pass that if anything arise doubtful in faith it cannot be determined from the sole authority of this Epistle. See how great mischief an anonymous book creates.' In like manner he quotes Jerome for the doubts entertained as to the authority of *St James*, *2 Peter*, *2* and *3 John*, and *St Jude*. Of the three last he expressly says that 'they are of less authority than those which are certainly Holy Scripture.' On *2 Peter* alone he decides favourably, for the argument from style is, he maintains, very fallacious¹. The *Apocalypse* he dismisses in a sentence.

Chap. iii.

Cardinal
CAIETAN.
1469—1534
A.D.

1532 A.D.
Ad Clem.
VII. *Pont.*
Max.

*The Disputed Books
of the New
Testament.*

¹ Infirmum itaque argumentum dem hominem diverso stylo quando assumitur: cum unum atque eun- que scribere experientia testetur.

Chap. iii.

'I confess that I cannot interpret the *Apocalypse* according to the literal sense. Let him interpret it to whom 'God has given the power'.'

CATHARINUS.

The Council of Trent.

These statements of Cardinal Caietan passed unchallenged during his lifetime, but shortly after his death they were assailed by Catharinus, a vehement controversialist whose life was spent in disputes. Yet Catharinus abandoned the argument from history, and simply took refuge in the decrees of Popes Innocent, Gelasius, and Eugenius, as decisive upon the extent of the Canon². This simple mode of determining the question was unhappily adopted, and probably in part through his influence, at the Council of Trent, in which he played an important part. The Council held its first Session on Dec. 13th, 1545. In the third session (Feb. 4th, 1546) the Nicene Creed was recited and ratified. The subject of Holy Scripture and Tradition was then brought forward for preliminary discussion on Feb. 12th. Four articles taken from the writings of Luther were proposed for consideration or rather for condemnation. Of these the first affirmed that Scripture only (without tradition) was the single and complete source of doctrine; the second that the Hebrew Canon of the Old Testament and the acknowledged books of the New Testament ought alone to be admitted as authoritative. These dogmas were discussed by about thirty divines in four meetings. On the first point there was a general

Registrum Gregorii tantum dissonat ab aliis scriptis a Gregorio, ut si ex stylo arguendum esset negaretur Gregorii (*Præf. ad 2 Petr.*).

¹ Et sic finitur Epistola Judæ: et est finis Commentariorum nostrorum super Novum Testamentum.

Caietæ die 17 Augusti. Anno

Domini M.D.XXIX. ætatis autem propriæ sexagesimo primo. Apocalypsim enim fateor me nescire exponere juxta sensum literalem: exponat cui Deus concesserit (*Opera*, T. v. p. 401, ed. 1639).

² *Annot. in Comm. Caietani*, Lib. I. (1542).

agreement. It was allowed that tradition was a co-ordinate source of doctrine with Scripture. On the second there was a great variety of opinion. Some proposed to follow the judgment of Cardinal Caietan and distinguish two classes of books, as, it was argued, had been the intention of Augustine. Others wished to draw the line of distinction yet more exactly, and form three classes, (1) the Acknowledged Books, (2) the Disputed Books of the New Testament, as having been afterwards generally received, (3) the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. A third party wished to give a bare list, as that of Carthage, without any further definition of the authority of the books included in it, so as to leave the subject yet open. A fourth party, influenced by a false interpretation of the earlier papal decrees, and necessarily ignorant of the grave doubts which affect their authenticity, urged the ratification of all the books of the enlarged Canon as equally of Divine authority. The first view was afterwards merged in the second, and on March 8th three minutes were drawn up embodying the three remaining opinions. These were considered privately, and on the 15th the third was carried by a majority of voices. The decree in which it was finally expressed was published on the 8th of April, and for the first time the question of the contents of the Bible was made an absolute article of faith and confirmed by an Anathema. 'The holy œcumenical and general Council of Trent,' so the decree runs, '...following the examples of the orthodox Fathers receives and venerates all the books of the Old and New Testaments...and also traditions pertaining to faith and conduct...with an equal feeling of devotion and reverence.' Then follows the list of the books of the Old and New Testaments, including *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, 1 and 2 *Macca-*

Chap. iii.

*Varieties of opinion.**Decree on the Canon of Scripture.*

Chap. iii.

bees, in the same order as the decree of Eugenius IV., and the decree proceeds, 'If however anyone does not 'receive the entire books with all their parts as they 'are accustomed to be read in the Catholic Church and 'in the old Latin Vulgate edition (*i. e.* Jerome's with the 'additions) as sacred and Canonical, and knowingly and 'wittingly despises the aforesaid traditions, let him be 'Anathema.'

*The Decree
unprece-
dented.*

This fatal decree, in which the Council, harassed by the fear of lay critics and 'grammarians,' gave a new aspect to the whole question of the Canon, was ratified by fifty-three prelates, among whom there was not one German, not one scholar distinguished for historical learning, not one who was fitted by special study for the examination of a subject in which the truth could only be determined by the voice of antiquity. How completely the decision was opposed to the spirit and letter of the original judgments of the Greek and Latin Churches, how far in the doctrinal equalization of the disputed and acknowledged books of the Old Testament it was at variance with the traditional opinion of the West, how absolutely unprecedented was the conversion of an ecclesiastical usage into an article of belief, will be seen from the evidence which has been already adduced. If historical criticism had made as much advance as grammatical criticism at the time when the decree was enacted, no anathema at least would have been directed against differences of opinion on books or parts of books; for on one point at least scholarship gained the day. It was decided after much discussion that no anathema should be added to the second part of the decree which affirmed the authority of the Latin Vulgate.

It is unnecessary to continue the history of the

Canon in the Romish Church. The attempts which have been made from time to time by Romanist scholars to claim some freedom of opinion on the subject can find no excuse in the terms of the decree. One judgment only will be added, which has considerable interest from the circumstances under which it was pronounced.

The *Bibliotheca Sancta* of the Dominican Sixtus Senensis, which was dedicated to Pius V. as the 'chief author of the Index of prohibited books and the purifier of Christian literature,' may be taken as the authorized expression of the general views which prevailed in the Council. Sixtus divides the books of the Bible into two classes. The books of the first class (Protocanonical) are those of which there has never been any doubt in the Church, or to use the term which has been already explained the 'acknowledged' books of the Old and New Testaments except *Esther*. The books of the second class—'called Ecclesiastical in former times but now 'Deuterocanonical'—are those which were not generally known till a late period, 'as in the Old Testament *Esther*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, and *Baruch*, the *Letter of Jeremiah*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Additions to Daniel*, 2 *Maccabees*. And in the New Testament in 'like manner, *Mark* xvi. 9—20; *Luke* xxii. 43, 44; *John* vii. 53—viii. 11, the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *James*, 2 *Peter*, 2 and 3 *John*, *Jude*, *Apocalypse*, and other books of the same kind (?), which formerly the ancient Fathers of the Church held as Apocryphal and not Canonical, and at first permitted to be read only before catechumens (as Athanasius witnesses)...then as (Ruffinus writes) allowed to be read before all the faithful, not for the confirmation of doctrines, but merely for the instruction of the people: and...at last willed that they

Chap. iii.

The statement of
SIXTUS SE-
NENSIS.
1566 A.D.

Chap. iii.

‘should be adopted among the Scriptures of irrefragable authority...’

The concessions and claims made in this passage are equally significant. The determination of the books which come within the limits of the Bible is taken out of the domain of historical criticism. It is admitted that for nearly four centuries the Hebrew Canon of the Old Testament was alone received. It is affirmed that the Church has power not only to fix the extent of the Canon, but also to settle questions of text. The field of Biblical study is definitely closed against all free research.

§ 2. *The Saxon School of Reformers.*

LUTHER.

Meanwhile a spirit was awakened in Germany which for a time cast a vivid if a partial light upon the Bible as the depository of the Divine teaching transmitted to the Church. The discovery of a Latin Bible, we are told, turned the thoughts of Luther into a new channel. And Luther on his side found in the Bible something which had long been hidden from the world, not as to its doctrine only, but as to its general relation to God and men. The study of the Bible was a life-long passion with him. ‘Were I but a great poet,’ he said, ‘I would write a ‘magnificent poem on the utility and efficacy of the Divine word¹.’ His judgments on the different Books are given in detail in his Prefaces. These are so full of life, and so characteristic of the man, that they can never lose their interest; and as a whole they form an important chapter in the history of the Bible. His comments on the Apocrypha have singular vigour and personal appreciation of the value of the several books; nor does

¹ Comp. *Bible in the Church*, pp. 260 ff.

he shew less freedom and boldness in dealing with the Antilegomena of the New Testament.

For him there is a Gospel within the Gospel, a New Testament within the New Testament. After giving a general summary of the principles of the Christian life, he thus concludes the preface to his first edition of the translation¹. 'From all this you can rightly judge between 'all the books, and distinguish which are the best. For '*St John's Gospel*, and *St Paul's Epistles*, especially that 'to the *Romans*, and *St Peter's first Epistle*, are the true 'marrow and kernel of all the books; which properly 'also might be the first, and each Christian should be 'counselled to read them first and most, and make them 'as common by daily reading as his daily bread...briefly '*St John's Gospel* and his *first Epistle*, *St Paul's Epistles*, especially those to the *Romans*, *Galatians*, *Ephe- 'sians*, and *St Peter's first Epistle: these*'—the words are emphasized in the original—'*are the books which 'shew thee Christ, and teach all which it is needful and 'blessed for thee to know, even if you never see or hear any 'other book, or any other doctrine. Therefore is the Epi- 'stle of St James a right strawy Epistle compared with 'them, for it has no character of the Gospel in it.*'

Agreeably to this general statement Luther placed the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *James*, *Jude*, and the *Apocalypse*, at the end of his translation, after the other books of the New Testament, which he called 'the true and 'certain Capital-books of the New Testament²; for these 'four have been regarded in former times in a different 'light.' Of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* he says that it was certainly by a disciple of the Apostles, and not by an Apostle. It was, he thinks, 'put together out of many

Chap. iii.

*Differences
in the New
Testament.*

*He placed
some of the
disputed
books by
themselves.*

Heb. ii. 3.

¹ *Werke*, ed. Walch, XIV. 104: this is left out in the later editions.

² *Ib.* p. 147.

Chap. iii.
Heb. vi. r.

*The Epistle
of St James.*

Rom. iii. 21.

'pieces.' The writer 'does not lay the foundation of faith, but yet he builds upon it gold, silver, precious stones. Therefore even if we find perhaps wood, straw, or hay, mingled with it, that shall not prevent us from receiving such instruction with all honour; though we do not place it absolutely on the same footing as the 'Apostolic Epistles.'

'I admire,' he says, 'the *Epistle of St James*, though it was rejected by the ancients, and still hold it as good, for this reason that it lays down no teaching of man, and presses home the law of God¹. Yet to express my own opinion, without prejudice to any one, I do not hold it to be the writing of any Apostle, for these reasons: (1) It contradicts St Paul and all other Scripture in giving righteousness to works... (2) It teaches Christian people, and yet does not once notice the Passion, the Resurrection, the Spirit of Christ. The writer names Christ a few times; but he teaches nothing of him, but speaks of general faith in God. While it is the duty of a true Apostle to preach Christ's Sufferings and Resurrection²...and therein all true holy books agree, that they preach and urge Christ. That too is the right touchstone whereby to criticise all books, whether they urge Christ or not, for all Scripture testifies of Christ...That which does not teach Christ is still not Apostolic, even if it were the teaching of St Peter or St Paul. Again that which preaches Christ, that were Apostolic, even if Judas, Annas, Pilate, and Herod, preached it³.' 'I cannot then place it among the true Capital-books; but I will forbid no one to place and elevate it as he pleases; for there are many good sayings in it⁴.'

¹ *Ib.* p. 148.

² *Ib.* p. 149.

³ *Ib.* p. 150.

⁴ The edition of 1552 had after

The *Epistle of St Jude* is 'indisputably an extract or 'copy from the second Epistle of St Peter'¹...Therefore, 'though I applaud it, it is not an Epistle which can claim 'to be reckoned among the Capital-books, which ought 'to lay the foundation of faith.'

Of the *Apocalypse* he simply says (1534 A. D.)² that 'no man ought to be hindered from holding it to be 'a work of St John or otherwise, as he will...³' Reckless interpretations had brought it into dishonour. And though it was yet a 'dumb prophecy,' he shews that the true Christian can use it for consolation and warning. 'Briefly, our holiness is in heaven where Christ is, and 'not in the world before our eyes, as some paltry ware 'in the market. Therefore let offence, factions, heresy 'and wickedness, be and do what they may; if only the 'Word of the Gospel remains pure with us, and we hold 'it dear and precious, we need not doubt that Christ 'is near and with us, even if matters go hardest; as we 'see in this Book that through and above all plagues, 'beasts, evil angels, Christ is still near and with His 'saints, and at last overthrows them.'

The freshness and power of Luther's judgments on the Bible, the living sense of fellowship with the spirit which animates them, the bold independence and self-assertion which separate them from all simply critical conclusions, combined to limit their practical acceptance to individuals. Such judgments rest on no definite ex-

Chap. iii.

*The Epistle
of St Jude.*

*The Apoca-
lypse.*

these words the following sentence: 'One man is no man in worldly 'things; how then should this single 'writer all alone hold good against 'Paul and all other Scripture?'

¹ He does not notice the doubts raised as to the authority of this Epistle.

² Twelve years before he had spo-

ken far more disparagingly of the book. 'For several reasons I hold 'it to be neither Apostolic nor Pro- 'phetic...My spirit cannot acquiesce 'in the book:...I abide by the books 'which present Christ clear and pure 'to me.'

³ *Id.* p. 152.

Chap. iii.

ternal evidence. They cannot be justified by the ordinary rule and measure of criticism or dogma. No Church could rest on a theory which makes 'private feeling the supreme authority as to doctrine and the source of doctrine. As a natural consequence the later Lutherans abandoned the teaching of their great master on the written Word. For a time the 'disputed' books of the New Testament (*Antilegomena*) were distinguished from the remainder; but in the early part of the seventeenth century this difference was looked upon as wholly belonging to the past, and towards its close the very letter of the printed text of Scripture was treated by great Lutheran Divines as possessing an inherent and inalienable sanctity beyond the reach of historical discussion. Yet the Lutheran Church has no recognized definition of Canoncity, and no express list of the Sacred Books. The nearest approach to this is in the Lutheran Bible, in which the Apocrypha are placed by themselves and separated distinctly from 'the Holy Scripture.' But on the other hand four of the *Antilegomena* of the New Testament are in like manner removed from their places in the Latin Bible and placed as a kind of Appendix, though without any special notice. And the detailed judgments which Luther delivered are not more favourable to one class than to the other. To a certain extent therefore the question was left open; and usage alone has determined finally the subordinate position of the Apocrypha to the Old Testament, and elevated the *Antilegomena* of the New Testament to an equality with the remaining books.

KARLSTADT

One attempt however was made to investigate independently the extent of the Canon and the principles on which it was formed. Among the early friends of Luther was Andrew Bodenstein of Karlstadt, who is

commonly known by the name of his native town, Archdeacon of Wittenberg. As the Reformation advanced, Luther and Karlstadt were separated by theological differences, and after long sufferings Karlstadt found an honourable retreat in Switzerland. By Bullinger's recommendation he was made professor of theology at Basle and died there in 1541. While he was still working with Luther, in 1520 he published a treatise *On the Canonical Scriptures*, which exhibits a remarkable sense of the real bearings and principles of an investigation into the constitution of the Bible. The book was in advance of the age and appears to have produced no effect at the time. It consists of five parts, (1) On the majesty of Scripture. (2) On the force and strength of Scripture. (3) On the number and order of the Sacred books. (4) On the Catalogues of Jerome and Augustine. (5) A general classification of Scripture. It is with the last division alone that we are now concerned. In this Karlstadt divides all the books of Scripture into three classes of different dignity, almost as Hugo of St Victor had done before him. The first class contains only the *Pentateuch* and the four *Gospels*, 'the clearest 'luminaries of the whole Divine truth.' The second class includes the Prophets according to the Hebrew reckoning, and the acknowledged Epistles of the New Testament (*Paul* 13, *Peter* 1, *John* 1). The third class contains the Hagiographa of the Hebrew Canon and the seven disputed books of the New Testament¹.

His classification of Scripture.

This short summary of Karlstadt's results can give no idea of the breadth and subtlety of many of his re-

¹ The *Acts* is entirely omitted. *Scripturis*, § 136. Yet again in §§ 65 ff. he appears to pass over the book purposely. Probably the book was looked upon by Karlstadt as an Appendix to St Luke's Gospel: see *de Canonicis*

Chap. iii.

§ 91.

§ 37.

§ 5.

§ 6.

marks. The whole evidence was not before him and consequently he erred in his conclusions; but even as it is, his treatise is not without use in the present day. It was the first clear assertion of the independent supremacy of Holy Scripture, and so far the first enunciation of the fundamental principle of the Reformation. Yet at the same time Karlstadt recognized the historic function of the Church in collecting and ratifying the sacred books. 'Why,' he asks, in reference to Luther's objections to the Epistle of St James, 'if you allow the Jews to stamp books with authority by receiving them, do you refuse to grant as much power to the Churches of Christ, since the Church is not less than the Synagogue?' And though he placed the different books of the Bible in different ranks, yet he drew a broad line between all of them and the traditions or decrees of Christian teachers. 'You see,' he writes, 'kind reader, how great is the authority of the Holy Scriptures. Whether willingly or unwillingly, you will allow the extent of their authority, whose slightest sign all other arts and sciences, as far as they affect the moulding of life, revere, regard, dread, adore. Therefore rightly the laws of men, the canons of Popes, the customs of the people, yield to [the Bible] as their mistress, and minister to it.' 'We judge of the opinions of all and each from the Sacred Scriptures,' he elsewhere says, 'and therefore we pronounce [the Bible] to be the queen and mistress of all and the judge who judges all things while she herself is judged by none...' 'The Divine Law, single and alone, is placed beyond all suspicion of error, and draws all other laws within its dominion, or utterly destroys them if they strive against it.'

§ 3. *The Swiss School of Reformers.*

Karlstadt forms a link between the Saxon and Swiss Reformers. While Luther was battling for the one great principle of faith, a more comprehensive movement was begun in Switzerland. Zwingli the foremost of its champions was only a few weeks younger than Luther, and he had not yet heard Luther's name, as he writes, when he began to preach the Gospel. But Zwingli was not contented with the compromise which Luther was willing to make with all that was hallowed by usage, provided it was not positively superstitious. He aimed at forming a strictly logical system based on Scripture only, irrespective of tradition or custom. In this respect he carried out, in intention at least, the principles which Karlstadt had maintained; and the method which he followed became characteristic of the Swiss Churches. The Saxon reformation was in essence conservative: the Swiss reformation was in essence rationalistic.

Zwingli himself does not appear to have discussed the Canon of Scripture. In his notes on the *Epistle to the Hebrews* and *St James* he takes no account of the doubts which had been raised as to their authority. Of the *Apocalypse* alone he declares that he 'takes no account of it, for it is not a book of the Bible¹.' While Zwingli was labouring to spread his doctrines at Zurich, his friend Œcolampadius carried on the same work at Basle. In a letter to the Waldenses Œcolampadius explains the views of his party on the Canon. 'In the New Testament we receive four *Gospels*, with the *Acts of the Apostles*, and fourteen *Epistles* of St Paul, and seven

Chap. iii.

ZWINGLI.
1484—1531
A.D.

ŒCOLAMPA-
DIUS.
1482—1531
A.D.

¹ *Werke*, II. I., p. 169 (ed. Schuler): Us Apocalypsi nemend wir kein kundschaft an, dann es nit ein biblisch buch ist...

Chap. iii.

‘Catholic Epistles, together with the *Apocalypse*; although we do not compare the *Apocalypse*, the Epistles of *James* and *Jude*, and 2 *Peter* and 2 and 3 *John* with the rest¹.’

This judgment of Œcolampadius may be taken as a fair representation of the feeling in the German Churches of Switzerland. But even before his death, which happened in the same year as that of Zwingli, Farel had begun that movement in the French cantons which under the direction of Calvin influenced more or less the theology of all Western Europe.

CALVIN'S
judgment on
the Antile-
gomena of
the New
Testament.

The Epistle
to the
Hebrews.

With regard to the *Antilegomena* of the New Testament Calvin expresses himself with hardly less boldness than Luther, though practically he followed common usage. He passes over 2 and 3 *John* and the *Apocalypse* in his Commentary without notice, and writes of 1 *John* as simply ‘the Epistle of John.’ ‘I embrace,’ he says, ‘[the Epistle to the *Hebrews*] without doubt among the ‘Apostolic Epistles; nor do I doubt but that it was ‘through a device of Satan that some have questioned ‘its authority...Wherefore let us not allow the Church ‘of God and ourselves to be bereft of so great a blessing; but let us vindicate for ourselves the possession of ‘it with firmness. We need however feel little anxiety ‘as to who wrote it...I cannot myself be brought to ‘believe that Paul was the author...The method of instruction and style sufficiently shew that the writer ‘was not Paul, and he professes himself to be one of ‘the disciples of the Apostles, which is wholly alien from ‘Paul’s custom...’

Heb. ii. 3.

2 Peter.

‘The fact that Eusebius says that doubts were formerly entertained on it [2 *Peter*] ought not to deter us

¹ *Epistolae*, Lib. I. p. 3 c, ed. 1548.

‘from reading it...I am more moved by the statement
 ‘of Jerome that some, led by the difference of style, did
 ‘not think Peter the author of it. For although some
 ‘likeness with his style can be observed, yet I confess
 ‘that there is an obvious difference which indicates a
 ‘different writer. There are also other plausible con-
 ‘jectures from which we may gather that it was the work
 ‘of some other than Peter...But if it is received as
 ‘Canonical, we must confess that Peter was its author,
 ‘since not only is it inscribed with his name, but the
 ‘writer himself witnesses that he lived with Christ...I
 ‘therefore lay down that if the Epistle be deemed
 ‘worthy of credit it proceeded from Peter, not that he
 ‘wrote it himself, but that some one of his disciples at
 ‘his command included in it what the necessity of the
 ‘times required...Certainly, since the majesty of the
 ‘Spirit of Christ exhibits itself in every part of the
 ‘Epistle, I feel a scruple at rejecting it wholly, however
 ‘much I fail to recognize in it the genuine language of
 ‘Peter.’

Of the Epistle of *St James* he speaks more con-
 fidently. ‘It is known,’ he writes, ‘from the evidence
 ‘of Jerome and Eusebius, that this Epistle was not
 ‘received formerly without a struggle by many churches.
 ‘There are even at the present day some who do not
 ‘think it worthy of authority. Still I willingly embrace
 ‘it without doubt, because I see no sufficiently good
 ‘reason for rejecting it...Certainly it cannot be required
 ‘of all to treat of the same topic.’ And of the Epistle
 of *St Jude* he speaks in similar terms: ‘Although dif-
 ‘ferent conflicting opinions were entertained about this
 ‘Epistle also among the ancients; still because it is
 ‘useful for reading, and does not contain anything
 ‘foreign to the purity of Apostolic doctrine, while al-

St James.

St Jude.

Chap. iii.

‘ready in former times it gained authority with the best writers, I willingly add it to the others.’

BEZA.

1564 A.D.

*The Epistle
to the
Hebrews.*

In each case a personal and not a critical or historical test was applied. The result could not be long doubtful. The edition of the New Testament which was dedicated by Beza to Queen Elizabeth in the year of Calvin's death, exhibits very clearly the influence which usage exercised in the suppression of the early doubts on the *Antilegomena*. In his preface to the *Epistle to the Hebrews* Beza examines and meets the arguments which had been brought against the belief in its Pauline authorship, and then concludes: ‘Let us however allow liberty of judgment on this point, provided only we all agree in this, that this Epistle was truly dictated by the Holy Spirit...while it is written in so excellent and so exact a method, that (unless we can suppose Apollos wrote it, whose learning and eloquence combined with the greatest piety are highly praised in the Acts) scarcely any one except St Paul could have been the writer.’ He afterwards notices generally the doubts entertained as to *James*, 2 *Peter*, 2 and 3 *John*, and *Jude*, but sets them aside without discussion. His preface to the *Apocalypse* is far more elaborate. In this he discusses in some detail the objections raised by Erasmus to its Apostolic origin, and pronounces them in general to be severally weak and futile. ‘This being the case,’ he argues, ‘although I do not think that we ought to dispute too obstinately as to the name of the writer, still I should be inclined to assign the book to John the Apostle rather than to any one else...If however it were allowed to form a conjecture from the style, I should assign it to no one rather than Mark, who also is himself called John. The character of this book being similar to and almost iden-

*The Catholic
Epistles.*

*The Apoca-
lypse.*

'tical with that of the Gospel of Mark, not only in words but also in general phraseology...Finally, we are led to believe that the Holy Spirit was pleased to gather into this most precious book those predictions of the earlier Prophets which remained to be fulfilled after the coming of Christ, and also added some particulars, as far as He knew that it concerned us to be acquainted with them.'

From what has been said it will appear that the subject of the Canon was not one which excited any marked interest among the chief Swiss reformers. Custom fixed the details of their judgment, and by a gradual process the Bible was more and more removed (as was formally the case in the Romish Church) from the region of history. The idea of Inspiration was substituted for that of Canonicity. The recognition of variety and advance in the records of Revelation was virtually forbidden. The test of authority was placed in individual sentiment, and not in the common witness of the congregation.

The progress of thought thus indicated is seen yet more clearly in the public acts of the Reformed Calvinistic Churches. In these also there is a rapid advance from a general assertion of the claims of Holy Scripture to an exact and rigid definition of the character and contents of the Bible. No notice is taken of the limits of the Canon in the Confessions of Faith issued by Zwingli. In the first Confession of Faith at Basle (1534), which is said to have been moulded on the Confession of Œcolampadius, a general reference is made to 'Holy Biblical Scripture,' to which every opinion is submitted¹. In the first Helvetic Confession (1536) Canonical Scripture, that is 'the Word of God, given by the Holy Spirit, and set forth by the Prophets and Apostles,' is declared

*Judgments
on Scripture
in the re-
formed
Confessions.*

1523—1530
A.D.

¹ Niemeyer, *Coll. Confess.* p. 104.

Chap. iii.

to be 'the oldest and most perfect philosophy, which 'alone contains completely all piety and all the rule of 'life'. The same general description is found in the Genevan Catechism, published by Calvin in 1545², and in the later Helvetic Confession of 1566³. The Belgian Confession (1561—63), which was influenced in some degree by the English Articles, treats of the Canon at some length. 'We embrace,' it is said, 'Holy Scripture in those two volumes of the Old and New Testament, which are called the Canonical Books, about 'which there is no controversy'. Then follows a list of the Hebrew Canon and of the books of the New Testament, as we receive them. 'These books alone,' the next article continues, 'we receive as sacred and 'Canonical, on which our faith can rest, by which it can 'be confirmed and established. And we believe all those 'things which are contained in them, and that not so 'much because the Church receives and approves them 'as Canonical, as because the Holy Spirit witnesses to 'our consciences that they emanated from God; and on 'this account also that they themselves sufficiently witness to and of themselves approve this their proper 'authority...' 'Moreover we lay down a difference between these sacred books and those which men call 'Apocryphal, inasmuch as the Church can read the 'Apocryphal books, and take out proof from them so 'far as they agree with the Canonical books; but their 'authority and certainty is by no means such that any 'dogma of Christian faith or religion can certainly be 'established from their testimony...And therefore with 'these divine Scriptures and this truth of God no other

¹ Niemeyer, pp. 105, 115.

² *Ib.* p. 159.

³ *Ib.* p. 467.

⁴ *Art.* 3—7, pp. 361—3. Altered afterwards to 'there never was any 'controversy.'

'human writings however holy, no custom, nor multitude, nor antiquity, nor prescription of time, nor succession of persons, nor any councils, no decrees or statutes of men in fine, are to be compared, inasmuch as 'the truth of God excels all things.' Statements to the same general effect, with some verbal agreements, are found in the Articles of the French reformed Church of 1561¹; but there is this significant difference, that the *Epistle to the Hebrews* is placed in the French catalogue apart from the Epistles of St Paul. The Westminster Assembly, which first met in 1643, followed the same method in dealing with Scripture, and the words of their Confession may be taken as an exact and mature expression of the feelings of the Calvinistic churches on the subject of the Bible.

'*Art. i.* ...It pleased the Lord at sundry times and 'in divers manners to reveal Himself and to declare His 'will unto His Church; and...to commit the same 'wholly unto writing; which maketh the Holy Scripture 'to be most necessary; those former ways of God's revealing His will unto His people being now ceased.

'*ii.* Under the name of Holy Scripture, or the Word 'of God written, are now contained all the books of the 'Old and New Testament, which are these:

'Of the Old Testament, *Genesis...Malachi.*

'Of the New Testament, *The Gospel according to Matthew...The Revelation of John.*

'All which are given by inspiration of God to be the 'rule of faith and life.

'*iii.* The books commonly called Apocrypha, not 'being of Divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of 'Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the

Chap. iii.

The Westminster Confession.

The Humble Advice of this Assembly of Divines...
pp. 1 ff. ed.
1646.

¹ Niemeyer, p. 311.

Chap. iii.

'Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or 'made use of than other human writings.

'iv. The authority of the Holy Scripture, for which 'it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon 'the testimony of any man or Church-; but wholly upon 'God (who is truth itself) the Author thereof; and there- 'fore it is to be received because it is the Word of God.

'v. We may be moved and induced by the testi- 'mony of the Church to an high and reverent esteem of 'the Holy Scripture...yet notwithstanding our full per- 'suasion and assurance of the infallible truth and Divine 'authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy 'Spirit bearing witness by and with the Word in our 'hearts.'

The controversies on the text of the Bible, which form a painful episode in the ecclesiastical annals of the seventeenth century, added yet severer precision to definitions like these, which seem sufficiently stringent. The most exact and rigid declaration of the Inspiration of the Bible which is found in any public Confession of Faith was drawn up in the Swiss Declaration of 1675, which forms a characteristic close to this division of our history¹. 'Almighty God,' thus the articles commence, 'not only provided that His Word, which is a power to 'every one who believes, should be committed to writing 'through Moses, the Prophets, and Apostles, but also has 'watched over it with a fatherly care up to the present 'time, and guarded lest it might be corrupted by the 'craft of Satan or any fraud of man...' Thus the 'He- 'brew volume of the Old Testament, which we have 'received from the tradition of the Jewish Church, to 'which formerly the oracles of God were committed,

Swiss Decla-
ration of
1675.

¹ Niemeyer, p. 730.

‘and retain at the present day, both in its consonants
 ‘and in its vowels,—the points themselves, or at least
 ‘the force of the points,—and both in its substance and
 ‘in its words is divinely inspired, so that together with
 ‘the volume of the New Testament it is the single and
 ‘uncorrupted Rule of our faith and life, by whose stand-
 ‘ard, as by a touchstone, all Versions which exist,
 ‘whether Eastern or Western, must be tried, and wher-
 ‘ever they vary be made conformable to it.’

Chap. iii.

§ 4. *The Arminian School.*

Yet such doctrines as these were not promulgated without opposition. Historical criticism was universally subordinate to doctrinal controversy, but still at times it made itself felt. In this respect the influence of the Arminian School upon the study of Holy Scripture was too great to be neglected in any account of the history of the Canon. The principles which were embodied in their teaching belonged to the dawn of the Reformation, though they only found adequate expression at a later time. Grotius (de Groot) may be taken as their representative, and no one can have used his *Annotations* without feeling that his power of interpreting Scripture, though practically marred by many faults, was yet in several respects far superior to that of his contemporaries. His *Commentary* includes notes on the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament. On the *Antilegomena* of the New Testament he speaks in detail: ‘It is most obvious,’ he says, ‘that the *Epistle to the Hebrews* was not written by St Paul, from the difference in style between this Epistle and the Epistles of St Paul;’ and he then points out various reasons which lead him to attribute it to St Luke. ‘Those who have rejected the *Epistle of James*...had reasons, but

GROTIUS.
 1583—1645
 A.D.

Præf. ad
 Hebr.

Votum pro
 Pace, IV. p.
 672.

Chap. iii.

Præf. ad
2 Petr.Præf. ad
2 Joh.Præf. ad
Jud.Præf. ad
Apoc.

‘not good reasons, for they saw that it was opposed to their views: This I remarked, that all might see how perilous it is to recede from the general agreement of the Church.’ ‘I believe,’ he says, ‘that the original title of 2 *Peter* was the Epistle of Simeon,’ *i.e.* of the successor of James in the bishopric of Jerusalem; ‘and that the present Epistle was made up of two epistles by this primitive bishop, of which the second begins at the third chapter.’ ‘Many of the ancients,’ he writes, ‘believed that 2 and 3 *John* were not the works of the Apostle, with whom Eusebius and Jerome do not disagree; and there are weighty arguments in favour of that opinion.’ ‘I am wholly led to believe that the *Epistle of Jude* was the work of Judas a bishop of Jerusalem in the time of Hadrian.’ On the contrary, he maintains that the *Apocalypse* is a genuine work of the Apostle. ‘Those early writers believed that it was a work of the Apostle John, who justly claim our credence.’ ‘I believe however that it was kept in the care of the *Presbyter* John, a disciple of the *Apostle*, and that therefore it came to pass that it was supposed by some to be his work.’

§ 5. *The English Church.*

The history of the Canon in England is clearly reflected in the history of the English translations of the Bible. The work which was begun by Alfric and Wycliffe was brought to a worthy completion in the reign of Henry VIII. and his successors; and the various Bibles which were issued exhibit in details of classification and order the changes of feeling which arose with regard to the *Apocrypha* of the Old and the *Antilegomena* of the New Testament.

The first edition of the New Testament which was

printed in English was that of WILLIAM TYNDALE. This probably was executed at Worms in 1525; and in the arrangement of the books it follows the order of Luther's Bible. The *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *James*, *Jude*, and the *Apocalypse*, are placed together at the end. The *second Epistle of St Peter* and 2 and 3 *John* on the other hand are placed with 1 *Peter* and 1 *John*. In his Prologues to the several books Tyndale notices the same doubts which Luther noticed, except that he passes over the *Apocalypse* in silence, though he decides generally in favour of the authority of the disputed books. 'Whether [the *Epistle to the Hebrews*] were Paul's or no I say not, 'but permit it to other men's judgments; neither think I 'it to be an article of any man's faith, but that a man 'may doubt of the author¹.' But in spite of these doubts 'this Epistle ought no more to be refused for a holy, 'godly, and catholic, than the other authentic Scriptures².' 'Though [the *Epistle of St James*] were refused 'in old time, and denied of many to be the Epistle of a 'very Apostle, and though also it lay not the foundation 'of the faith of Christ...methinketh it ought of right to 'be taken for Holy Scripture³.' 'As for the *Epistle of Judas*, though men have and yet do doubt of the author '...I see not but that it ought to have the authority of 'Holy Scripture⁴.' In his Prologues to 2 *Peter* and 2 and 3 *John* (like Luther) he does not refer to any doubts as to the Canonicity of the Epistles⁵.

The subsequent editions of the English Bible up to the Authorized Edition of 1611 offer no points of special interest with regard to the history of the Canon of the

Chap. iii.

TYNDALE'S
New Testa-
ment.

On the dis-
puted books.

¹ *Doctrinal Treatises*, &c. p. 521
(ed. Park. Soc.).

² *Ib.* p. 523.

³ *Ib.* p. 525.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 531.

⁵ For the general relation of Tyndale's Prologues to Luther's see *History of the English Bible*, pp. 197 ff.

Chap. iii.

1560 A.D.

The teaching of the Articles of the English Church.

New Testament¹. In the Genevan Bible alone notice is taken in the preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews of the doubts as to whether St Paul wrote it ('as it is not 'like'), but no reference is made to the doubts as to the authority of the other disputed books.

Practically the English Canon of the New Testament was settled by usage. The authoritative teaching of the Church of England in the Articles is not removed beyond all question. In the Articles of 1552 it was affirmed that 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to 'salvation,' but nothing was then said of the books included under that title. In the Elizabethan Articles of 1562 and 1571 a definition was added: 'In the name 'of Holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical 'books of the Old and New Testament of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.' Then follows a statement 'Of the names and number of the Canonical 'books,' in which the books of the Old Testament are enumerated at length. A list of the Old Testament Apocrypha is given next, imperfect in the Latin, but complete in the English; and at the end it is said: 'all the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them for 'Canonical;' but no list is given². A strict interpretation of the language of the Article thus leaves a difference between Canonical books and such Canonical books as have never been doubted in the Church³. Nor is it a complete explanation of the omission of a catalogue that the Articles were framed with a special refer-

¹ The changes with regard to the Apocryphal additions to Esther, Apocrypha are given in the *Bible in Daniel, and Jeremiah.*
the Church, pp. 282 ff.

² Hardwick, *Hist. of the Articles*, App. III. p. 275. The Latin text (1562) only notices the Apocryphal books, without distinguishing the

³ Some light may be perhaps thrown upon this strange ambiguity, which, as far as I know, is not noticed in any history of the Articles.

ence to the Church of Rome, with which the Church of England had no controversy as to the New Testament; for the Catalogue of the New Testament books is given, not only in the French and Belgian Articles, which alone of the foreign Confessions contain any list of the books of Scripture, but also in the Westminster Confession and in the Irish Articles¹.

But whatever may be the explanation of this ambiguity,—even if we admit that the framers of our Articles were willing to allow a certain freedom of opinion on a question which was left undecided, not only by the Lutheran, but by many Calvinistic Churches,—there can be no doubt as to the general reception of all the books of the New Testament as they now stand by our chief Reformers. Tyndale in his Prologues notices the doubts as to the Apostolical authority of the Epistles of St Jude and St James and of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but he adds that ‘he sees no reason why they should ‘not be accounted parts of Holy Scripture².’ Bishop Jewel rebuts Stapleton’s charge that he rejected the Epistle of St James on the authority of Calvin³. Bullinger’s Decades contain a list of all the books of the New Testament in the ‘roll of the Divine Scriptures⁴.’ Whitaker affirms that our Church receives ‘the same ‘books of the New Testament and those only, as were ‘enumerated at the Council of Trent;’ though he notices the doubts of the Lutherans and of Caietan in particular as to the seven Antilegomena⁵. Fulke again in his answer to Martin states that the Holy Scriptures according to the acknowledgment of the English Church

*The opinions
of the Eng-
lish Re-
formers.*

TYNDALE.

JEWEL.

BULLINGER.

WHITAKER.
1558.

FULKE.
1583.

¹ *Confes. Fid.* Cap. i.; Niemeyer, II. ix. i.

II. i ff.; Hardwick, *ib.* App. VI.

² He makes no preface to the Park. Soc.).

Apocalypse.

³ Jewel, *Defence of Apology*, Pt. c. xvi. p. 105 (ed. Park. Soc.).

⁴ Bullinger, *Decades*, I. p. 54 (ed.

⁵ Whitaker, *Disp. on Scripture*,

Chap. iii.

are 'all and every one of equal credit and authority, 'as being all inspired of God¹...' But it is useless to multiply quotations, for I am not aware that the judgment of the English Church as expressed by her theologians has ever varied as to the Canonical authority of any of the books of the New Testament. If she left her sons at liberty to test the worth of their inheritance, they have learnt to value more highly what they have proved more fully. The same Apostolic books as gave life and strength to the early Churches quicken our own. And they are recognized in the same way, by familiar and reverent use, and not by any formal decree.

Conclusion.

Little now remains to be added on a retrospect of the history of the Canon. That whole history is itself a striking lesson in the character and conduct of the Providential government of the Church. The recognition of the Apostolic writings as authoritative and complete was partial and progressive, like the formalizing of doctrine, and the settling of ecclesiastical order. But each successive step was virtually implied in that which preceded; and the principle by which they were all directed was acknowledged from the first.

Thus it is that it is impossible to point to any period as marking the date at which our present Canon was determined. When it first appears, it is presented not as a novelty but as an ancient tradition. Its limits were fixed in the earliest times by use rather than by criticism; and this use itself was based on immediate knowledge.

For it is of the utmost importance to remember that the Canon was never referred in the first ages to the

¹ Fulke, *Defence of the Translation of the Bible*, p. 8 (ed. Park. Soc.).

authority of Fathers or Councils. The appeal was made not to the judgment of men but to that of Churches, and of those particularly which were most nearly interested in the genuineness of separate writings. And thus it is found that while all the Canonical books are supported by the concurrent testimony of all, or at least of many Churches, no more than isolated opinions of private men can be brought forward in support of the authority of any other writings. For the New Testament Apocrypha can hold a place by the side of the Apostolic books only so long as our view is limited to a narrow range: a comprehensive survey of their general relations shews the real interval by which they are separated.

And this holds true even of those books which are exposed to the most serious doubts. The Canonicity of the second Epistle of St Peter, which on purely historical grounds cannot be pronounced certainly authentic, is yet supported by evidence incomparably more weighty than can be alleged in favour of that of the Epistle of Barnabas, or of the Shepherd of Hermas, the best attested of Apocryphal writings. Nor must it be forgotten that in the fourth century numerous sources of information were still open to which we can no longer have recourse. And how important these may have been for the history of the Canon can be rightly estimated by the results which have followed from some recent discoveries, which have tended without exception to remove specious difficulties and to confirm the traditional judgments of the Church.

But though external evidence is the proper proof both of the authenticity and authority of the New Testament, it is supported by powerful internal testimony drawn from the relations of the books to one another and to the early developments of Christian doctrine. Subjective

Conclusion.

criticism when used as an independent guide is always uncertain, and often treacherous; but when it is confined to the interpretation and comparison of historic data, it confirms as well as illustrates. And no one perhaps can read the New Testament as a whole, even in the pursuit of some particular investigation, without gaining a conviction of its unity not less real because it cannot be expressed or transferred. But while this must be matter of personal experience, the connexion of the Apostolic writings with the characteristic forms of early doctrine is clearer and more tangible. Something has been said already on this subject, and it offers a wide field for future investigation. For the New Testament is not only a complete spring of Christian truth; it is also a perfect key to the history of the Christian Church.

To the last however it will be impossible to close up every avenue of doubt, and the Canon, like all else that has a moral value, can be determined only with practical and not with demonstrative certainty. But to estimate the comparative value of this proof, let any one contrast the evidence on which we receive the writings of St Paul or St John with that which we regard as satisfactory in the case of the letters of Cicero or Pliny. The result is as striking as it is for the most part unnoticed. Yet the record of divine Revelation when committed to human care, is not, at least apparently, exempted from the accidents and caprices which affect the transmission of ordinary books. And if the evidence by which its authenticity is supported is more complete, more varied, more continuous, than can be brought forward for any other book, it is because it appeals with universal power to the conscience of mankind: because the Church which under the influence of the Spirit first recognized in it the law of its constitution has never failed to seek in it fresh guidance and strength.

APPENDIX A.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE WORD ΚΑΝΩΝ¹.

THE original meaning of κανών (connected with קָנָה, *kánva*, *canna* [*canalis, channel*], *cane, cannon*) is a straight rod, as a ruler, or rarely the beam of a balance; and this with the secondary notion either (1) of keeping anything straight, as the rods of a shield, or the rod (*liciatorium*) used in weaving; or (2) of testing straightness, as a carpenter's rule, and even improperly a *plumbline*.

From the sense of literal measurement naturally followed the metaphorical use of κανών (like *regula, norma, rule*) to express that which serves to *measure* or *determine anything*; whether in Ethics, as the good man (Ar. *Eth. Nic.* III. 4, 5); or in Art, as the Doryphorus of Polycletus (ὁ κανών); or in Language, as the 'Canons' of Grammar².

With a slight variation in meaning, *great epochs* which served as landmarks of history, were called κανόνες χρονικοί. and κανών was used for a summary account of the contents of a work—the rule, as it were, by which its composition was determined³.

One instance of the metaphorical use of the word requires special notice. The Alexandrine grammarians spoke of the classic Greek authors, as a whole, as ὁ κανών, the absolute standard of pure language, the perfect model of composition⁴.

¹ Credner has investigated the early meanings of the word at considerable length, but I cannot accept all his conclusions (*Zur Gesch. d. K.* 3—68).

² References for all these meanings are given in the Lexicons.

³ Cf. Credner, p. 10. To this sense must be referred the *Paschal Canons* of various authors, and the *Eusebian Canons* of the New Testament.

⁴ Redepenning, *Origenes*, I. 12.

Appendix A.

A. The Classical use of κανών.

1. Literally.

2. Metaphorically.

Appendix A.

3. *Passively.*

By a common transition in the history of words, κανών as that which measures was afterwards used for that which is so measured. Thus a certain space at Olympia was called κανών, and in late Greek κανών (canon) was used for a fixed tax, as of corn¹. So also in Music, a canon is a composition in which a given melody is the model on which all the parts are strictly formed.

B. *The Ecclesiastical use of the word.*1. *In the LXX.*

So far we have traced the common use of κανών, and at first sight the application of the word to the collection of classic authors seems to offer a complete explanation of its use in relation to Holy Scripture; but the ecclesiastical history of the word lends no support to such an hypothesis. The word occurs in its literal sense in Judith xiii. 6 (LXX.) for the rod at the head of a couch; and again in Job xxxviii. 5 (Aq.) for a measuring line (ἵρ, σπαρτίον, LXX. *linea*, Vulg.)².

2. *In the New Testament.*

In the New Testament it is used in two passages of St Paul's Epistles. In one (Gal. vi. 16, ὅσοι τῷ κανόνι (*regula*, Vulg.) τούτῳ στοιχήσουσι) the abstract idea of the Christian rule of faith is connected by the verb with the primary notion of an outward measure. In the second (2 Cor. x. 13—16, κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος (*regulae*, Vulg.) κατὰ τὸν κανόνα ἡμῶν ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ κανόνι) the transition from an active to a passive sense is very clearly marked.

3. *In Patristic writings:*
i. *Generally:*
(a) *As a Rule in the widest sense.*

In later Christian writers the metaphorical use of κανών is very frequent, both in a general sense (Clem. R. *ad Corinth.* i, ὁ κανὼν τῆς ὑποταγῆς· c. 7, ὁ εὐκλεῆς καὶ σεμνὸς τῆς ἀγίας κλήσεως κανὼν); and also in reference to a definite rule (*id.* c. 41, ὁ ὠρισμένος τῆς λειτουργίας κανὼν³). One use of the word however rose into peculiar prominence, and is of great importance with regard to the history of Holy Scripture. Hegesippus (cf. pp. 202 sqq.), according to the narration of Eusebius, spoke of those who tried to corrupt the 'sound rule

(B) *The Rule of Truth, whether*

¹ Cf. Forcellinus and Du Cange, and νόμος. Credner, ss. 11 f. s. v. Canon.

² The word is used by Philo in word even here describes an ideal connexion with παράγγελμα, ὅρος, standard.

³ Credner (s. 15) thinks that the

‘(τὸν ὑγιῆ κανόνα) of the saving proclamation;’ and whether the words be exactly quoted or not, they are fully supported by the authority of subsequent writers¹. The early fathers, from the time of Irenæus, continually appeal to the *Rule* of Christian teaching,—variously modified in the different phrases the *Rule of the Church*, the *Rule of Truth*, the *Rule of Faith*²,—in their controversy with heretics; and from the first, as it seems, it was regarded in a double form. At one time it is an abstract ideal standard, handed down to successive generations, the inner law, as it were, which regulated the growth and action of the Church, felt rather than expressed, realized rather than defined. At another time it is a concrete form, a set creed, embodying the great principles which characterized

Appendix A.

Abstract, or

Concrete
(the Creed).

¹ In the Clementine Homilies the word *κανών* is of frequent occurrence. Thus the principle of a duality in nature and Revelation is described as ὁ λόγος τοῦ προφητικοῦ κανόνος, ὁ κανὼν τῆς συζυγίας (*Hom.* II. 15, 18, 33). In like manner mention is made of the ‘Rule of the Church’ and of the ‘Rule of Truth;’ and it was by this Rule that apparent discrepancies of Scripture were to be reconciled, by this that the unity of the Jewish nation was preserved (*Clem. ad Jac.* 2, 19; *Petr. ad Jac.* 3; *Petr. ad Jac.* 1). Cf. Credner, ss. 17 ff.

² Each of these three phrases possesses a peculiar meaning corresponding to the notions of the *Church*, the *Truth*, the *Faith*.

i. Ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἐκκλησίας expresses that Rule or governing principle by which the Church of God in its widest sense is truly held together, and yet gradually unfolded in the different stages of its growth. In early Christian writers it specially described that which was the common ground of the Old and New Testaments. Cf. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* VII. 16. 105; *Orig. de Princ.* IV. 9. But it is no less applied to the peculiar Rule and order of the Christian Church; yet still to that Rule

as being one, and not as made up of many rules. Cf. *Corn. ap. Euseb. H. E.* VI. 43. So also we find *κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός* in *Synod. Ant.* ap. Routh, *Rel.* III. 291; *Concil. Nic.* Can. 2, 6, &c. And as applied to details, ὁ κανὼν in *Conc. Neoces.* Can. 14. Cf. Routh, IV. 208. Yet cf. *Syn. Ant.* ap. Routh, III. 305.

ii. Ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας. As the Rule of the Church regarded the outward embodiment of divine teaching in a society, so the Rule of Truth had reference to the informing life by which it is inspired. *Clem. Alex.* VII. 16. For the Christian this Rule was the expression of the fundamental articles of his creed. Cf. *Iren. c. Hær.* I. 9. 4; 22. 1; *Novat. de Trin.* 21; *Firm. Ep.* (Cypr.) LXXV.

iii. Ὁ κανὼν τῆς πίστεως. The Rule of Truth, when viewed in this concrete form, became the Rule of Faith. The phrase first occurs in the letter of Polycrates (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24), and repeatedly in Tertullian (e.g. *de Vel. Virg.* 1).

Credner has discussed these various phrases with his usual care and research; but it is surprising to find a scholar speaking repeatedly of ὁ κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός (*a. a. O.* ss. 20—58).

Appendix A.

the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church. Thus Clement speaks of the 'Ecclesiastical Canon' as consisting in the 'harmonious concord of the Law and the Prophets with the 'dispensation (διαθήκη) given to men at the presence of the 'Lord among them'. In other words, the Rule which determined the progress of the Church was seen in that principle of unity by which its several parts were bound together, 'in virtue 'of the appropriate dispensations [granted at successive periods], or rather in virtue of one dispensation adapted to the 'wants of different times'. But this principle of unity found a clear expression 'in the one unchangeable rule of faith', the Apostolic enunciation of the great facts of the Incarnation, in which all earlier Revelations and later hopes found their explanation and fulfilment.

(γ) The Rule of Discipline.

At the beginning of the fourth century the word received a still more definite and restricted meaning, without losing the original idea involved in it. The standard of revealed truth was the measure of practice no less than of belief; and Synodical decisions were regarded in detail as 'Canons' of Christian action⁴. In particular the sum of such decisions affecting those specially devoted to the ministry in holy things was the 'Rule' by which they were bound; and they were described simply as 'those included in or belonging to the 'Rule,' just as we now speak of 'ordination' and 'orders'.⁵

¹ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VI. 15. 125: κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἡ συνωδία καὶ ἡ συμφωνία νόμου τε καὶ προφητῶν τῇ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίᾳ παραδιδόμενη διαθήκη. Cf. p. 204, n. 4.

² Clem. Alex. *Strom.* VII. 17. 107: κατὰ τε οὖν ὑπόστασιν κατὰ τε ἐπίνοιαν κατὰ τε ἀρχὴν κατὰ τε ἐξοχὴν μόνῃν εἶναι φάμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰς ἐνότητα πίστεως μιᾶς κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας διαθήκας, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην τὴν μίαν διαφόροις τοῖς χρόνοις, ἐνὸς (τοῦ θεοῦ) τῷ βουλευματι δι' ἐνὸς (τοῦ κυρίου), συναύγουσαν τοὺς ἤδη κατατεταγμένους, οὓς προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς δικαίους ἔσο-

μένους πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἐγνωκώς. ³ Tertull. *de Vel. Virg.* I.

⁴ The ordinances of Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea (c. 262 A.D.) and those of Peter of Alexandria (c. 306 A.D.), taken from his work *περὶ μεταβολῆς* (Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* III. 256 ff.; IV. 23 ff.), are called 'Canons,' but it is probable that the title was given to them at a later time. The first Council which gave the name of Canons to its decrees was that of Antioch (341 A.D.): in the earlier Councils they were called δόγματα or ὅροι. Cf. Credner, p. 51 n.

⁵ The earliest instance of this use of the word with which I am ac-

There was a further stage in the history of the word when it assumed a definitely passive meaning, as when applied to the fixed Psalms appointed for festivals, or to the 'Canon,' the invariable element of the Roman Liturgy, in the course of which the dead were commemorated or 'canonized'.

Hitherto no instance of the application of the word κανών to the Holy Scriptures has been noticed, and the earliest with which I am acquainted occurs in Athanasius; but the derivatives κανονικός, κανονίζω occur in Origen², though these words

Appendix A.

(8) Canon in a passive sense.

ii. As applied to Holy Scripture.

The derivatives of κανών were used

quainted occurs in the Nicene decrees: Can. 16: πρεσβύτεροι ἢ διάκονοι ἢ ὅλως ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι. Can. 17: πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἐξεταζόμενοι. Can. 19: ...περὶ τῶν διακονισσῶν καὶ ὅλως τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι (αἱ κλήρω) ἐξεταζομένων. Cf. *Conc. Ant.* Can. 6: ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ὅρος ἐπὶ λαϊκῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι (αἱ ἐν τῷ κλήρω καταλεγόμενων). *Conc. Chalced.* 2: ἡ ὅλως τῶν τοῦ κανόνος. But this κανὼν must not be confounded with the κατάλογος, though the same persons might be described as ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ and ἐν τῷ κανόνι. Thus the two are joined in *Conc. Trull.* 5: μηδεὶς τῶν ἐν ἱερατικῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ κανόνι... Again in *Conc. Tol.* III. 5: qui vero sub canone ecclesiastico jacuerint... Athanas. (?) *de Virgin.* I. p. 1052: οὐαὶ παρθένῳ τῇ μὴ οὔσῃ ὑπὸ κανόνα. Cf. *Conc. Ant.* I. The word κανονικός first occurs in Cyril (Catech. Pref. 3, cf. *Conc. Laod.* 15; *Conc. Constant.* I. 6), and is found frequently in later writers. Du Cange (s. v.) quotes a passage which illustrates very well the origin of the word: Canonici secundum canones—an earlier writer would have said canonem—regulares secundum regulam vivant.

Bingham (*Antiq.* I. 5, 10) and Credner (p. 56), though with hesitation, identify the κανὼν and the κατάλογος, but the passages quoted are I think conclusive against the identification.

¹ Cf. Suicer, s. v.

The interchange of κανονικός and καθολικός, not only in the title of the seven Catholic Epistles but elsewhere, is a singular proof of the supposed universality of an authoritative judgment of the Church. Cf. Euseb. *H. E.* III. 5; *Conc. Carthag.* XXIV. (Int. Gr.).

There is a curious account of κανονική—the mathematical basis of music—in Aulus Gellius, *N. A.* XVI. 18; and in other Roman scientific writers the word *canonicus* is used to express that which is determined by definite rules, as the phenomena of the heavens. Cf. August. *de Civ. Dei*, III. 15. I, and Forcellinus, s. v.

² Orig. *de Princ.* IV. 33: in Scripturis Canonicis nusquam ad præsens invenimus. Id. *Prol. in Cantic. s. f.*: Illud tamen palam est multa vel ab apostolis vel ab evangelistis exempla esse prolata et Novo Testamento inserta, quæ in his Scripturis quas Canonicas habemus, nunquam legimus, in apocryphis tamen inveniuntur et evidenter ex ipsis ostenduntur assumpta. Id. *Comm. in Matt.* § 117: In nullo regulari libro hoc positum invenitur. Id. *Comm. in Matt.* § 28: Nec enim scimus in libris canonizatis historiam de Janne et Jambre resistentibus Mosi. Just before Rufinus says: Fertur ergo in Scripturis non manifestis (i. e. apocryphis, as he elsewhere translates the word). The phrase (*Prol. in Cantic. s. f.*) cum

Appendix A.

before the
word itself,

but not com-
monly till
after the per-
secution of
Diocletian.

did not come into common use till the beginning of the fourth century. In the interval Diocletian had attempted to destroy the 'Scriptures of the Christian Law;' and as far as his efforts tended to make a more complete separation of authoritative from unauthoritative books, they were likely to fix upon the former a popular and simple title. Yet even after the persecution of Diocletian the word *Canonical* was not universally current. Eusebius I believe nowhere applies it to the Holy Scriptures; and its reappearance in the writings of Athanasius seems to shew that it was originally employed in the school of Alexandria, and thence passed into the general dialect of the Church.

(a) κανονικός.

The original meaning of the whole class of words, *Canonical*, *Canonize*, *Canon*, in reference to the Scriptures is necessarily to be sought in that of the word first used. But κανονικός, like κανών, was employed both in an active and in a passive sense. Letters which contained rules, and letters composed according to rule, were alike called Canonical¹; and so the name may have been given to the Apostolic writings either as containing the standard of doctrine or as ratified by the decision of the Church. Popular opinion favours the first interpretation²: the prevalent usage of the word however is decidedly in favour of the second. Thus the Latin equivalent of κανονικός,

neque apud Hebræos...amplius habetur in Canone, is probably only a rendering of κανονίζουαι. *Sacr.* III. 256 ff.). On the *litteræ formate* or *canonicae*, cf. Bingham, II. 4, 5.

Since these words are found in works which survive only in the Latin version, they have been suspected by Redepenning (*Origenes*, I. 239) to be due to Rufinus, and not to Origen. Credner follows Redepenning without reserve. But I can see no ground for the suspicion. The fact that in one place we have *regularis* and in another *canonicus* to express the same idea marks an exact translation.

¹ The canonical letter of Gregory of Cæsarea (c. 262 A.D.) is an instance of the first kind (Routh, *Rel.* 14.

² Even Credner has sanctioned this view: 'The Scriptures of the *Canon* (γραφὰι κανόνος) are,' he says, 'the Scriptures of the Law: those writings are *canonical* which obtain the force of Law: those writings are *canonized* which are included among them' (p. 67). Credner does not quote any instance of the phrase γραφαὶ κανόνος, nor do I know one; but he supports his view by reference to the words *scripturæ legis* in the Acts of Felix (cf. p. 409), and to *litteræ fidei* in Tertullian *de Præscr.*

regularis, points to a passive sense, even though the analogy be imperfect. Ecclesiastics again of every grade were called *Canonici*, as bound by a common rule; and in later times we commonly read of canonical obedience, a canonical allowance, and canonical hours of prayer.

The application of κανονίζω (βιβλία κανονιζόμενα, κεκανονισμένα, ἀκανόνιστα) to the Holy Scriptures confirms the belief that they were called *canonical* in a passive sense. In classical Greek the word means to measure or form according to a fixed standard¹. As in similar terms, the notion of approval was added to that of trial; and those writings might fitly be said to be *canonized* which were ratified by an authoritative rule. Thus Origen says that 'no one should use for the proof of doctrine books not included among the canonized Scriptures².' Athanasius again speaks of 'books which are canonized (κανονιζόμενα) and have been handed down' from former time³. The Canon of [Laodicea] forbade the public reading of 'books which had not been canonized (ἀκανόνιστα).' And at a later time we read 'of books used in the Church and which have been canonized⁴.'

The clearest instance in early times of the application of the word κανών to the Scriptures occurs at the end of the enumeration of the books of the Old and New Testaments commonly attributed to Amphilochius. 'This,' he says, 'would be the most unerring Canon of the Inspired Scriptures.' The measure, that is, by which the contents of the Bible might be

Appendix A.

(β) κανονίζω.

(γ) κανών.
The first use
of this word.

¹ Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* II. 3. 8, κανονίζομεν δὲ καὶ τὰς πράξεις... ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ. In later times the word was used to express regular grammatical inflexion. Schol. ad Hom. *Odyss.* IX. 347: τὸ δὲ τῇ πόθιν κανονίζεται; A very striking instance of the use of the word in this sense, as applied to the substance of Apostolic teaching, is found in the Letter of Ptolemæus to Flora: μαθήσθη θεοῦ διδόντος ἐξῆς καὶ τὴν τούτου [τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ] ἀρχὴν τε καὶ γέννησιν ἀξιου-

μένη τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἣν ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ ἡμεῖς παρειλήφαμεν, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ κανονίσαι πάντας τοὺς λόγους τῇ τοῦ σωτήρος διδασκαλίᾳ (*Epist. Ptolem. ap. Epiph. Hær. xxxiii. 7*).

² Orig. *Comm. in Matt.* § 28: Nemo uti debet ad confirmationem dogmatum libris qui sunt extra canonizatas scripturas.

³ Athan. *Ep. Fest. App. D.* The same phrase occurs in Leontius.

⁴ Niceph. *Stichometria*, App. D.

Appendix A.

tried, and so approximately an index or catalogue of its constituent books¹. But the use of the word was not confined within these limits. It was natural that the rule of written, no less than of traditional teaching, should be regarded in a concrete form. The ideas of the New Testament and of the Creed grew out of the same circumstances and were fixed by the same authority. Thus Athanasius and later writers speak of books 'without the Canon,' where the Canon is no longer the measure of Scripture, but Scripture itself as fixed and measured, the definite collection of books received by the Church as authoritative. In this sense the word soon found general acceptance. The Canon was the measured field of the theologian, marked out like that of the athlete or of the Apostle by adequate authority.

*Its later
meaning.*

But though this was, as I believe, the true meaning of the word, instances are not wanting in which the Scriptures are called a Rule, as being in themselves the measure of Christian truth; for they possess an inherent authority though it was needful that they should be ratified by an outward sanction. At the beginning of the fifth century Isidore of Pelusium calls 'the divine Scriptures the rule of truth²;' and it is useless to multiply examples from later ages. Time proved the worth of the Apostolic words. The ideal Rule preceded the material Rule; but after a long trial the Church recognized in the Bible the full enunciation of that law which was embodied in her formularies and epitomized in her Creeds.

¹ Amphil. *Iamb. ad Sel.* App. D.

² Isid. Pelus. *Ep.* CXIV. ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί.

APPENDIX B.

ON THE USE OF APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

TWO different classes of writings may be described as Apocryphal in respect to their claims to be admitted among the Canonical Scriptures of the New Testament. The first consists of the scanty remains of the works of the immediate successors of the Apostles: the second of books professing either to be written by Apostles or to contain an authoritative record of their teaching. The history of the first class consequently illustrates the limits by which the idea of Canonicity was bounded; while the history of the second class offers a criterion of the critical tact by which the true and the false were distinguished by the early Church. The two classes together offer an instructive contrast to the New Testament as a whole, no less in their outward fortunes than in their inward character.

It would not have been surprising if the writings of the Apostolic Fathers had been invested with something of Apostolic authority, not indeed in accordance with their own claims¹, but by the pardonable reverence of a later age for all those who had looked on the Truth at its dawning. Yet a few questionable epithets alone remain to witness to the existence of such a feeling; and no more than three books of this class obtained a partial ecclesiastical currency, through which they were at first not clearly separated from the disputed writings of the New Testament.

The Epistle of Clement, the earliest and best authenticated

Appendix B.

*Two classes
of writings
called Apo-
cryphal.*

i. *Writings
of Apostolic
men.*

*The Epistle
of Clement.*

¹ Cf. pp. 56 ff.

Appendix B.

The Epistle
of Barnabas.The Shep-
herd of
Hermas.Honoured in
considera-
tion of a
supposed
Apostolic
sanction.

of uncanonical Christian writings, is quoted by Irenæus, by Clement of Alexandria, and by Origen, without anything to shew that they regarded it as an inspired book¹. Eusebius omits all mention of it in his famous Catalogue of writings which claimed to be authoritative²; and though many later writers were acquainted with it, no one I believe favours its reception among the Canonical Scriptures.

The epistle of Barnabas, in consideration of the name of the 'Apostle,' and of the peculiar character of its teaching, gained a position at Alexandria which it does not appear to have ever held in any other place³. It is contained together with the Shepherd in the Sinaitic Manuscript of the Greek Bible. But Eusebius classes it among the 'spurious' books; and Jerome calls it 'Apocryphal'.

The Shepherd of Hermas again, which approximates in form and manner most closely to the pattern of Holy Scriptures, though commonly quoted with respect by the Greek fathers, is expressly stated by Tertullian to have been excluded from the New Testament 'by every Council of the Churches,' Catholic or schismatic⁵.

Nor was it a mere accident that these three writings occupied a peculiar position. They were supposed to be written by men who were honoured by direct Apostolic testimony. But the letters of Polycarp and Ignatius, whose names the New

¹ Iren. III. 3. 3 (ικανωτάτην γραφήν); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. 7. 38; IV. 17. 107 (ὁ ἀπόστολος Κλήμης); VI. 8. 65. Cf. *ib.* V. 12. 81. Orig. *de Princ.* II. 3. 6; *Sel. in Ezech.* viii. Cf. in *Joan.* T. VI. 36.

² Euseb. *H. E.* III. 25. Cf. p. 415. This is the more remarkable because he elsewhere mentions the Epistle with great respect, cf. iii. 16: μεγάλη καὶ θαυμασία ἐπιστολή. Cf. also *H. E.* VI. 13.

³ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II. 6. 31: ἐκότως οὖν ὁ ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας... *ib.* 7. 35; II. 20. 116: οὐ μοι δεῖ πλειόνων λόγων παραθεμένῳ μάρτυν τὸν ἀποστολικὸν Βαρνάβαν, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐβδό-

μήκοντα ἦν καὶ συνεργὸς τοῦ Παύλου... Cf. *Strom.* II. 15. 67; *ib.* 18. 84; V. 8. 52; *ib.* 10. 64.

Orig. *c. Cels.* I. 63: γέγραπται ἐν τῇ Βαρνάβα καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ. *Comm. in Rom.* I. 24: ...in multis Scripturæ locis... Cf. *de Princ.* III. 2. 4.

⁴ Euseb. *H. E.* III. 25. Hieron. *de Virr.* III. 6: Barnabas Cyprius... epistolam composuit quæ inter apocryphas Scripturas legitur.

⁵ Tert. *de Pudic.* 10, 20. Cf. Hieron. *in Hab.* i. (i. 14). The references of Irenæus and Origen to the Shepherd have been noticed already, pp. 380 n. 5, 361 n. 4.

Testament does not record, were never put forward as claiming Canonical authority¹. And thus the high estimation in which the works of Clement and Barnabas and Hermas were held becomes an indirect evidence of the implicit reverence paid to the Apostolic words, and of the Apostolic basis of the Canon.

The usage of the Churches interprets and corrects the judgment of individual writers. The Epistle of Barnabas was read in the time of Jerome, but among the Apocryphal Scriptures, and it is still found in the Sinaitic Manuscript after the Apocalypse. The Epistle of Clement was publicly read in the Church at Corinth and elsewhere²; and it also is included (with the second spurious Epistle) in the Alexandrine Manuscript of the Greek Bible³; but in this case the book was placed after the Apocalypse; and so in both respects it occupied a position similar to that of the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, according to the judgment of our own Church. The Shepherd again was long regarded as a book useful for purposes of instruction, and is found not only in the Greek Sinaitic Manuscript, but also in Latin Bibles; but it was definitely excluded from the Canon by Eusebius, Athanasius, and Jerome, who record its partial reception⁴. And in a word, no one of these writings is reckoned among the Canonical books in any Catalogue of the Scriptures⁵.

If then it be admitted, and this is the utmost that can be urged, that these books were at one time ranged with the Antilegomena of the New Testament⁶, it is evident that they occupied

Appendix B.

But nowhere publicly received into the Canon.

The writings of the Apostolic Fathers never reckoned Canonical.

¹ Cf. Hieron. *de Virr. Ill.* 17: [Polyc. ad Phil. Epistola] in conventu Asiæ legitur.

² Euseb. *H. E.* III. 16; IV. 23. Hieron. *de Virr. Ill.* 15.

³ The fact that this is the only copy of the Epistle now in existence is in itself a proof of its comparatively limited circulation.

⁴ Euseb. *H. E.* III. 25; Athanas. *Ep. Fest.* T. 1. 767.

⁵ The Catalogue at the end of the Apostolic Canons may seem an exception to this statement, since it

ratifies the two Epistles and Constitutions of Clement; but it has been shewn already that the peculiarities of this Catalogue received no conciliar sanction. Cf. p. 434.

⁶ According to the old text of the Stichometry of Nicephorus the Apocalypse is classed with the writings of the Apostolic Fathers as Apocryphal; but the truer text places it with the Apocalypse of Peter, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Epistle of Barnabas, as disputed, while the remaining writings

Appendix B.

that position in virtue of a supposed indirect Apostolic authority, just as the other books were disputed, because their claims to Apostolicity were also supposed to be indirect¹. And it is equally certain that those who expressed the judgment of the Church, when a decision was first called for, unanimously excluded them from the Canon, while with scarcely less unanimity they included in it the Epistles of St James and St Jude, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse and shorter Epistles of St John. The ecclesiastical use of the writings of the Apostolic fathers was partial and reserved from the first, and it became gradually less frequent till it ceased entirely. Wider knowledge and longer experience denied to them the sanction which was accorded to the doubtful books of the New Testament.

ii. *Apocryphal writings.*

Of Apocryphal writings directly claiming Apostolic authority, four only deserve particular notice, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Gospel, the Preaching, and the Apocalypse of St Peter. The Gospel according to the Egyptians², and the Acts of Paul and Thecla, never obtained any marked authority; and still less so the various Gospels and Acts which date from the close of the second century, and are popularly attributed to the inventive industry of Leucius³.

The Gospel according to the Hebrews.

One passage which occurred in the Gospel according to the Hebrews is found in a letter of Ignatius, who does not however quote the words as written, but only on traditional authority⁴. Papias again related a story 'of a woman accused of many crimes before our Lord, which was contained in the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews,' but the words of Eusebius seem to imply that he did not refer to that book as the source of the narrative⁵. The evangelic quotations of Justin Martyr

of the Apostolic Fathers, with some other books, are Apocryphal.

¹ The second Epistle of St Peter is the only exception to this statement; and that is beset with peculiar historical difficulties on every side.

² Clem. Alex. *Strom.* III. 9. 63; *ib.* 13. 93: πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς παρὰ δειδομένοις ἡμῶν τέτταρσιν εὐαγγελ-

ίοις οὐκ ἔχομεν τὸ ῥητόν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀλγυπτίους. Cf. [Clem.] *Ep.* II.

12. See *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, App. C.

Comp. Lardner, *Credibility*, ix. 422 ff.

⁴ Ign. *ad Smyrn.* iii. Cf. Jacobson, *l. c.*

⁵ Euseb. *H. E.* III. 39. Cf. Routh, *Rel. Sac.* I. 39.

offer no support to the notion that he used it as a coordinate authority with the Canonical Gospels, but on the contrary distinguish a detail which it contained from that which was written in the Apostolic memoirs¹. Hegesippus is the first author who was certainly acquainted with it; but there is nothing to shew that he attributed to it any peculiar authority². Clement of Alexandria and Origen both quote the book, but both distinctly affirm that the four Canonical Gospels stood alone as acknowledged records of the Lord's life³. Epiphanius regarded the 'Hebrew Gospel' as a heretical work based on St Matthew. Jerome has referred to it several times⁴, and he translated it into Latin, but he nowhere attributes to it any peculiar authority, and calls St John expressly the fourth and last Evangelist. Yet the fact that he appealed to the book as giving the testimony of antiquity furnished occasion for an adversary to charge him with making 'a fifth Gospel⁵;' and at a later time, in deference to Jerome's judgment, Bede reckoned it among the 'ecclesiastical' rather than the 'Apocryphal writings⁶'.

The Gospel of Peter has been already noticed. How far this Gospel was connected with the 'Preaching of Peter,' which is quoted frequently by Clement of Alexandria⁷, and once by Gregory of Nazianzus⁸, is very uncertain⁹. There is indeed

*The Gospel
and Preach-
ing of Peter*

¹ Cf. pp. 158 ff.

² Heges. ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* i. 277; supr. pp. 206 f.

³ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 9. 45; Orig. *Comm. Hom. in Jer.* xv. § 4.

⁴ *Dial. adv. Pelag.* iii. 2: In Evangelio juxta Hebræos, quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque sermone sed Hebraicis litteris scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum apostolos, sive ut plerique autumant juxta Matthæum, quod et in Cæsariensi habetur bibliotheca, narrat historia... Quibus testimoniis si non uteris ad auctoritatem, utere saltem ad antiquitatem, quid omnes ecclesiastici viri senserint. Cf. *de Virr.* iii. 2; in *Isai.* iv. c. xi.; *id.* xl. c. xl.; in *Ezech.* iv. c. xvi.; in

Mich. ii. c. vii. (quoted with the Song of Solomon, yet with hesitation); *Comm. in Matt.* i. c. vi. 11; *ib.* ii. c. xii. 13; *ib.* iv. c. xxvii. 51; *Comm. in Eph.* iii. c. v. 4. Credner (*Beitr.* i. 395 ff.) gives these and the remaining passages at length.

⁵ Julian Pelag. ap. August. *Op. imperf.* iv. 88.

⁶ Bede, *Comm. in Luc. init.* quoted on Hieron. *adv. Pelag.* iii. 2. See *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, App. D.

⁷ Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 29. 182; vi. 5. 39 ff.; *ib.* 6. 48; *ib.* 15. 128.

⁸ Greg. Naz. *Ep. ad Cesar.* i. Credner, *Beitr.* i. 353, 359.

⁹ Some have argued that the Acts, the Preaching, the Doctrine, and the

Appendix B.

nothing in the fragments of the preaching that remain which requires a severer censure than Serapion passed on the Gospel. And it seems very likely that both books contained memoirs of the Apostle's teaching based in a great measure on authentic traditions.

not Canon-
ical.

It has been already shewn that it is uncertain whether the Gospel of Peter was regarded as Canonical at Rhossus¹; and even if it had been so, the custom of an obscure town, which was at once corrected by superior authority, cannot be set against the silence of the other early Churches, and the condemnation of the book by every later writer who mentions it. In reply to a quotation from the *Doctrine of Peter*, Origen says that we 'must first reply that that book is not reckoned among 'the ecclesiastical books; and next shew that it is not a genuine writing of Peter nor of any one else who was inspired 'by the Spirit of God;' and Eusebius repeats the same judgment². Nor am I aware that it was ever supposed to be a Canonical book.

The Apoca-
lypse of
Peter.

The Canonicity of the Apocalypse of Peter is supported by more important authority. The doubtful testimony of the Muratorian Canon has been considered before³. In addition to this, Clement of Alexandria wrote short notes upon it, as well as upon the Catholic Epistles and upon the Epistle of Barnabas⁴. But the book was rejected by Eusebius⁵, and I believe by every later writer.

Peculiarities
of some
Manuscripts
of the New
Testament.

Mention has been made already of the insertion of the two Epistles of Clement and of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd in the Alexandrine and Sinaitic Manuscripts of the Greek Bible respectively. Two other Greek Manuscripts con-

Apocalypse of Peter, the Preaching and Acts of Paul, and the Preaching of Peter and Paul, were only different recensions of the same work. It is perhaps nearer the truth to say that they were all built on a common oral tradition. The variety of titles and forms is in itself a conclusive argument against their gene-

ral and public reception. Cf. Reuss, § 253.

¹ Cf. pp. 386 sq.

² Orig. *de Princ.* I. Præf. 8; cf. *Comm. in Joan.* XIII. 17. Euseb. *H. E.* III. 3.

³ Cf. p. 216.

⁴ Euseb. *H. E.* VI. 14.

⁵ *Ib.* III. 23.

tain notices of Apocryphal writings which are curious, though they are not of importance. At the end of the *Codex Boernerianus* (G) a Manuscript of the ninth century, which contains the thirteen Epistles of St Paul with some lacunæ, after a vacant space occur the words: 'The Epistle to Laodiceans begins' [*προς λαουδακήσας (laudicenses g.) αρχεται*]. This addition is not found in the *Codex Augiensis* (F) which was derived from the same original as G, nor is there any trace of the Epistle itself. Haimo of Halberstadt in the ninth century mentions the Latin cento of Pauline phrases which now bears the title 'as useful though not Canonical¹,' and the inscription in G probably refers to the same compilation.

In the *Codex Claromontanus* (D) again after the Epistle to Philemon there occurs a Stichometry of the books of the Old and New Testament, obviously imperfect and corrupt, and then follows, after a vacant space, the Epistle to the Hebrews. This Stichometry omits the Epistles to the Philippians, both to the Thessalonians, and to the Hebrews; and after mentioning the Epistle of Jude thus concludes: 'The Epistle of Barnabas, the Apocalypse of John, the Acts of the Apostles, the Shepherd, the Acts of Paul, the Revelation of Peter².' But Stichometries are no more than tables of contents; and both the contents and the arrangement of the different books in a Manuscript may have been influenced by many causes.

Appendix B.

Cod.
Boerner.

Cod. Claromont.

¹ See App. E.

² Tischdf. *Cod. Clarom.* p. 468. *Prolegg.* xi. Cf. App. D.

APPENDIX C.

THE MURATORIAN FRAGMENT ON THE CANON.

Appendix C.

THE famous fragment on the Canon of the New Testament, which was first published in an unsatisfactory form by Muratori in 1740, has lately been examined by several scholars with the most exact diligence. The collation made by Dr Hertz in 1847 for Baron Bunsen (*Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, i. pp. 137 ff.) and the facsimile traced by Dr Tregelles in 1857 leave absolutely nothing to be desired for a complete knowledge of the text itself¹. But the general character of the Manuscript in which it occurs has been strangely overlooked, and as this throws considerable light on the fragment itself I copied some pages of the context at Milan this year (1865) by the kind permission of Dr Ceriani, which are now first printed with the Canon. A cursory glance at them will shew what reliance can be placed on the perverse ingenuity of some recent scholars who have not scrupled to affirm that the Canon, so far from being corrupt, is really one of the most correct texts which antiquity has bequeathed to us.

The Manuscript (*Bibl. Ambros. Cod. 101*) in which the Canon is contained was brought from Columban's famous monastery at Bobbio. It may therefore probably be of Irish origin or descent, though there is nothing in the Manuscript itself, as far as I could observe, which proves this to be the case. It was written probably in the eighth (or seventh) century, and contains a miscellaneous collection of Latin frag-

¹ Even the most careful transcripts fail in complete accuracy, and I owe to the great kindness of Dr Ceriani the results of a collation of Dr Tregel-les' facsimile (made twice) with the original manuscript. These I have added in the notes [1874].

ments, including passages from Eucherius, Ambrose, translations from Chrysostom, and brief expositions of the Catholic Creed. The first sheet ends (p. 9 *b*) abruptly in the middle of a quotation from Eucherius *Liber Formularum Spirit. Intell.* [called in the manuscript *De Nominibus*] cap. vi. beginning *Vir et uxor vae vobis divitibus in Evangelio*, which closes the line. The next sheet (p. 10 *a*) begins at the top without any vacant space whatsoever *quibus tamen interfuit*, and the Canon extends over p. 10 *a*, p. 10 *b*, and p. 11 *a* to within eight lines of the bottom. A little more than half a line is left vacant at the end of the Canon, and then in the next line a new fragment from a Homily of Ambrose commences. It is impossible to tell how much has been lost between the first and second sheets. They probably formed part of the same Manuscript, but the number of lines in the pages of the first sheet is twenty-four, and in those of the second sheet thirty-one. The style of writing is also somewhat different, but not more so I think than is often the case in different parts of the same Manuscript. The sheets have I believe no signature, but I omitted to look carefully for this. It may be added that the pages are generally furnished with a heading, but there is none over those containing the Canon except a simple I on the top of p. 11 *a*.

The Fragment stands exactly thus in the Manuscript¹:

p. 10 *a*. *quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit*.

¹ The fragment is of course written wholly in capitals. Some of the letters are larger than others, but it does not appear certain that this is due to anything but the caprice of the scribe and I have neglected to notice the difference. The lines printed in capitals are rubricated in the original. In the scanty punctuation I have followed Dr Tregelles' facsimile. [Dr Tregelles has since published the fragments with a very complete commentary (Oxford 1867), and I owe to him two corrections in the quotation from Ambrose:

11 *b*, 31 *add.* Dei; 12 *a*, 4 cccxviii. for cccviii. 1870.]

The division of the words cannot be accurately represented. The prepositions are generally written with their cases: e. g. *de passione*, *deresurrectione*, &c. The *ae* is generally written at length, but three or four times (p. 10 *a* l. 29, p. 10 *b*, l. 8) in a contracted form.

The words corrected in the Manuscript are marked by an asterisk. The corrections (apparently by the first hand, when it is not otherwise specified) are given below the text.

Appendix C.

TERTIO EUANGELII LIBRUM SECANDO* LUCAN

lucas iste medicus post acensum* xp̄i.

cum eo paulus quasi ut iuris studiosum

secundum adsumsisset numeni suo

5

ex opinione concriset* dnm̄ tamen nec ipse

duidit in carne et idē pro asequi potuit

ita et ad natiuitate iohannis incipet dicere

QUARTI EUANGELIORUM. IOHANNIS EX DECIPOLIS

cohortantibus condiscipulis et eps̄ suis

10

dixit conieiunate mihi· odie triduo et quid

cuique fuerit reuelatum alterutrum

nobis ennaremus eadem nocte reue

latum andreae ex apostolis ut recognis

centibus cuntis iohannis suo nomine

15

cunta* discribet* et ideo licit uaria sin

culis euangeliorum libris principia

doceantur nihil tamen differt creden

tium fidei* cum uno ac principali sp̄u de

clarata sint in omnibus omnia de natiui

20

tate de passione de resurrectione

de conuesatione* cum decipulis suis

ac de gemino eius aduentu

l. 1 T initiale *nigrum* (Ceriani).l. 2 *secundo*. [*u* manu dubia, C.]l. 3 *ascensum*. [*s* superscriptum manu dubia, C.]l. 4 post *studiosum* nullum punctum sed foramen pro directione scripturae (C).l. 6 *concribset*.l. 7 *d* crossed out.

... prout.

l. 8 post *dicere* foramen non punctum ut l. 4 (C).l. 9 *euangeliorum*, rubra omnia et cum puncto rubro post vocem (C).l. 16 *cuncta*. [*c* serius sed vetus, C.]

... describeret.

l. 18 *differt*, sub *t* lineola *r* manu (C).l. 19 *fidei*.l. 22 *conuesatione*.

primo in humilitate dispectus quod fo*
 it secundum potestate* regali pre 25
 clarum quod foturum est. quid ergo
 mirum si iohannes tam constanter
 sincula etiā in epistulis suis proferam
 dicens in semeiꝰ su quæ uidimus oculis
 nostris et auribus audiimus et manus 30
 nostræ palpauerunt hæc scripsimus

[uobis

p. 106. sic enim non solum uisurem sed* auditorem'
 sed et scriptore omnium mirabiliū dñi per ordi
 nem profetetur acta autē omniū apostolorum
 sub uno libro scribta sunt lucas obtime theofi
 le conprindit quia sub praesentia eius singula 5
 gerebantur sicut* et semote passionē petri
 euidenter declarat sed* profectione pauli ab* ur
 bes* ad spania proficescentis epistolæ autem

I. 24 *humilitate*, *u* primo fuit *o*, serius, ut apparet, reffectum *u* (C).

II. 24. 25 The letters *fo* at the end of I. 24 are fairly distinct. Those at the beginning of the next line are almost erased. Dr Tregelles conjectures that the scribe began to write *foturum*, and then discovering his error erased the letters which he had written. [*Quod fo*, omnino intacta, et, linea resumpta, *it* intacta, evanida tamen et maculata: super *fo* autem [linearum vestigia] ut *fu* videatur correctum 1 manu cujus prior pars evanuerit, C.]

I. 25 *potestate*.

... post *regali* erasæ duæ literæ (C).

I. 28 *proferam*, cum *m* in fine aperte non *t* (C).

I. 31 *uobis* under the line almost illegible. Dr Tregelles first traced out the true reading. [literæ *us* evanuerunt plene post *u*, ubi *s* connexum cum *a* et partim evanidum, C.]

I. 1 *sed et*.

I. 2 dñi, *i* in rasura, manu dubia; videtur fuisse *s* (C).

I. 4 *uno*, pro *o* fuit *u*; manu dubia ex *u* reffectum *o* (C).

I. 6 *sicuti*, abasis: relictum *i* (*sicuti*) (C).

I. 7 *sed et*.

... *ab*, *b* manu fortasse prima, reffectum ex *d* priori ut videtur (C).

I. 8 *urbe*, erasum *s*.

... *proficescentis*, *c* (prius) scriptum primo, ut apparet, et 1^a manus in actu scriptionis correxit *i* (C).

Appendix C.

pauli quae a quo loco uel qua ex causa directe
 sint uolentatibus* intellegere ipse declarant > 10
 primu omnium corintheis scysmæ heresis in
 terdicens deincepsb callætis circumcissione
 romanis autē ornidine* scripturarum sed et*
 principium earum e*e* esse xpm intimans
 prolexius scripsit de quibus sincolis neces 15
 se est ad nobis desputari cum ipse beatus
 apostulus paulus sequens prodecessuris sui
 iohannis ordine non nisi *omenati* . semptæ*
 eccleses* scribat ordine tali a corenthios
 prima . ad efesius seconda ad philippinsis* ter 20
 tia ad colosensis quarta ad calatas quin
 ta ad tensaolenecinsis sexta . ad romanus
 septima uerum corentheis* et tesaolecen*
 sibus licit* pro correptione iteretur una
 tamen per omnem orbem terrae ecclesia 25
 deffusa esse denoscitur et iohannis enī in a
 pocalebsy licet septe eccleseis scribat
 tamen omnibus dicit ueru ad filemonem una'

1. 10 uolentibus. [*e* ex *u* reffectum manu dubia: *ta* imperfecte erasa, sed nulla puncta inferius: super initio *t* secundi punctum *m*. dubia, C.]

1. 13 ordine.....*et* erased.

1. 14 post *earum* tres literæ erasæ *1^a* et *3^a* videntur fuisse *e*, sed media omnino incerta (C).

1. 17 *apostulus*, prius *u* mutatum in *o* manu dubia (C).

... *prodecessuris*, *u* videtur mutatum in *o* manu dubia (C).

1. 18 *nomenati*: **omenati*, litera erasa videtur fuisse *d* non *c*: *n* superius *1^a* manu ut videtur (C).

... *semptē*, *a* erasum (C).

1. 19 *ecclesiis*.

1. 20 *efesius*, *u* aperte non *o* (C).

... *philipenses*. [ex *i* in fine factum *e* *1^a* manu, C.]

1. 22 *Romanus*: ex forma potius *us* quam *os* (C).

1. 23 *corintheis*, primum *e* manus *1^a* instauravit ut *i* eraso ductu inferiori (C).

... *thesaolecensibus*. [*h* superius manu dubia, C.]

1. 24 *licit*. [*e* ex *i* effectum *1^a* manu, C.]

et at titu una et ad tymotheu duas pro affec
to et dilectione in honore tamen ecclesiae ca
tholice in ordinatione ecclesiastice

30

Appendix C.

I

p. 11 a. descepline* scificate sunt fertur etiam ad
laudicensis* alia ad alexandrinus pauli no
mine fincte ad hesem* marcionis et alia plu
ra quae in chatholicam* ecclesiam recepi non
potest fel enim cum melle misceri non con
cruit epistola sane iude et superscriptio
iohannis duas in catholica habentur et sapi
entia ab amicis salomonis in honore ipsius
scripta apocalapse etiam iohannis et pe
tri tantum recipemus* quam quidam ex nos
tris legi in ecclesia nolunt pastorem uero
nuperrim et* temporibus nostris in urbe
roma herma conscripsit* sedente cathe
dra urbis romae aeclesiae pio eps frater*
eius et ideo legi eum quide oportet se pu
blicare uero in ecclesia populo neque inter
profe*tas completum numero nene* inter
apostolos in fine temporum potest.
arsinoi autem seu ualentini. uel metiad**

5

10

15

p. 11. In fronte I atramento non minio exaratum, et manu dubia (C).

l. 1 discipline. [ex e priori correctum i 1^a manu, relicto et e, C.]

l. 2 laudicensis. [ex i correctum e 1^a manu, C.]

l. 3 heresem.

l. 4 catholicam.

l. 10 recipimus.

l. 12 e.

l. 13 conscripsit.

l. 14 fratre. [manu dubia, C.]

l. 17 profe*as, s erasum (C).

... neque. [nene sic primo, C.]

l. 19 metiad** prius e erasione et nova scriptura manu dubia rasuræ
fortasse superscriptum: post d est manu 1^a, ut apparet, pars superior i vel

Appendix C.

nihil in totum recipemus. qui etiam nouu
psalmorum librum marcioni conscripse
runt una cum basilide assianum* catafry
cum constitutorem* 20

ABRAM NOMERAVIT SERUOLUS SUOS UER
naculus et cum trecentis dece et octo 25
uirus adeptus uictoriam liuerauit nepote
prouatur diuisionis adfectus quando sic
amabat nepotem ut pro eo nec uellit* decli
nare* periculum quid est nomerauit. hoc
est elegit unde et illud non solu ad scien 30
tiam dei refertur. sed etia ad cratia iustorum

p. 11 b. quod in euangelio dicit dñs ihs et capilli uestri
omnes nomerati sunt cognouit ergo dñs qui
sunt eius eos autem eos* autē* qui non sunt
ipsius non dignatur cognoscere numerauit
cccxviii ut scias non quantitate numeri sed me 5
ritum electionis expressu. eos enim adscuit*
quod* dignus* numero iudicauit fidelium*****
qui in dñi nostri ihu xpi passionem crederent
ccc enim d* τ greca littera significat. dece
et octo autē summa ih exprimit nomen fidei 10
ergo merito habraham uicit non populo
exercito deneque eos quibus quinque regum

l vel h: inferius nunc erasum est et manu seriori, ut videtur, inscriptum ε,
quantum apparet, et additum ρ sine puncto (C).

l. 22 assianom. [u manu 1^a mutatum in o, C.]

l. 23 constitutorem.

l. 26 uiris.

l. 28 uelli.

l. 29 declinaret.

l. 3 eos autē underlined.

l. 6 adscuit.

l. 7 quos dignos.

l. 9 d erased.

arma ceserunt* cum paucis egressus uer
 naculis triumphauit sed qui uincit non
 debet arorocare* sibi uictoria sed referre 15
 deo. hoc abraham docit qui triumpho
 homilior factus est non superuior. sacri
 ficiū denique obtulit decimas dedit
 ideoque eum melchisedeh qui interpe
 tratione latine dicitur rex iustitiæ rex 20
 pacis benedixit erat enim sacerdos sum
 mi dī qui est rex iustitiæ sacerdos dei
 non* cui dicitur tu es sacerdos in æternū
 secundum ordine melchisedeh hoc est dei
 filius sacerdos patris qui sui corporis 25
 sacrificio patrem nostris repropicia
 uit dilectis* nomerauit abraam* seruo
 los suos uernaculos et cum cccxviii uiris
 adeptus uictoria liuerauit nepotem quid
 est nomerauit. hoc est elegit. unde et illud 30
 non solum ad scientiā Dei refertur sed
 [etiam ad cratiā iustorum

p. 12 a. quod in euangelio dicit dñs ihs et capilli uestri
 omnes nomerati sunt . cognouit ergo dñs qui
 sunt ipsius . eos autem qui non sunt ipsius non
 dignatur cognoscere . nomerauit aute cccxviii
 ut scias non quantitate numeri sed meritum 5
 electionis expressum. eos autem sciuit quods*
 dignos numero iudicauit fideleium qui in dñi
 nostri ihu xpi passionem crederent. ccc enim
 dece et octo greca littera significat xviii
 autem summa ih exprimit nomen fidei. 10
 ergo abraham uicit non populosu exercitu

l. 13 cesserunt.

l. 15 arrocicare.

l. 23 nisi.

l. 27. A late hand in the margin *hic dimite... abraham.*

l. 6 quos.

Appendix C.

denique eos quibus v regum arma cesserunt
 cum paucis egressus uernaculis trium
 phauit . sed qui uincit non debet arrogare
 sibi uictoria sed dō referri hoc abraham 15
 docit qui triumpho homilior factus est.
 non superior sacrificium n denique obtu
 lit decimas dedit ideoque eum melcisedeh
 qui interpetraone latina rex iustitiae
 rex pacis benedixit . erat enim sacerdos 20
 summi dī qui est rex iustitiae sacerdos dī
 nisi cu* dicitur tu es sacerdos in aeternum
 secundum ordine melcisedeh hoc est filii
 us sacerdu^s patris qui suis* corporis sacri
 ficat patre nostris repropitiauit dilectis 25
 INCIPIT DE EXPOSITIONEM DIUERSARU RERU

IN PRIMIS mandragora in genesi genus
 pumi simillimum paruo peponis speci
 e muel odore..... (Eucher. Lugd. *Instruct.* II. 3.)

The fragment from Ambrose (*De Abrahamo*, I. 3. 15) which follows the Fragment on the Canon furnishes a fair criterion of the accuracy to be expected from the scribe. And by a remarkable accident the piece is more than usually instructive, for the whole fragment is repeated. Thus we have two copies of the same original and their divergence is a certain index of the inaccuracy of the transcriber which cannot be gainsaid. The second copy differs from the first in the following places :

- p. 11 b. 27 nomerauit abraam (Abr. nomerauit).
 28 seruolos suos uernaculos (seruolus suos uernaculus).
 29 uictoria (uictoriam).
 29 *omit* prouatur—periculum (two and a half lines).
 p. 12 a. 3 ipsius (eius).
 4 nom. autē (*om.* autem).
 6 eos autem (eos enim).

- 6 sciuit (adsciuit).
- 7 numero (numero).
- 7 fideleium (fidelium).
- 9 dece et octo (d* τ).
- 11 ergo (ergo merito).
- 11 abraham (habraham).
- 11 populosu exercitu (popoloso exercito).
- 12 denique (deneque).
- 14 *triumphauit (triumfauit).
- 14 debit (debet).
- 15 uictoria (uictoria).
- 15 dō referri (referre deo).
- 17 soperior (superuior).
- 17 sacrificium (sacrificium).
- 17 η (?).
- 18 melcisedeh (melchisedeh).
- 19 interpetraone (interpretatione).
- 19 latina (latine).
- 19 rex (dicitur rex).
- 23 filii|us (filius).
- 24 sacerdos (sacerdos).
- 24 sacrificat (sacrificio).
- 25 repropitiauit (repropiciauit).

Thus in thirty lines there are thirty unquestionable clerical blunders including one important omission (p. 11^b 29), two other omissions which destroy the sense completely (p. 12^a 11 *merito*, 19 *dicitur*), one substitution equally destructive of the sense (p. 12^a 9 *decem et octo* for τ), and four changes which appear to be intentional and false alterations (p. 12^a 6 *scivit*, 11 *populosu exercitu*, 23 *fili*, 25 *sacrificat*). We have therefore to deal with the work of a scribe either unable or unwilling to understand the work which he was copying, and yet given to arbitrary alteration of the text before him from regard simply to the supposed form of words. To these graver errors must be added the misuse of letters (e. g. of *u* for *o* and conversely of *o* for *u*; of *g* for *c*; of *f* for *ph*; of *i* for *e* and conversely of *e*

Appendix C.

for *i*; of *ei* for *i*; of *u* for *b*; of *c* for *ch*), and the omission of the final *m*.

Nor yet was the actual writer of the Manuscript the only author of errors. It appears from the repetition of one or two obvious mistakes in the repeated fragment that the text from which the copy was made was either carelessly written or much injured. Thus we have in both transcripts *ad cratia*, *docit*, *homilior*, *dilectis* (for *delictis*); and it is scarcely likely that *interpertatione* and *interpetraone* could have been copied severally from a legible original.

On the other hand the text itself as it stands is substantially a good one. The errors by which it is deformed are due to carelessness and ignorance and not to the badness of the source from which it was taken. But these errors are such as in several cases could not be rectified without other authorities for comparison.

In the sheet which precedes the Fragment on the Canon the same phenomena occur. There is in that also the same ignorance of construction: the same false criticism: the same confusion of letters and terminations. If we now apply the results gained from the examination of the context to the Fragment on the Canon, part of it at least can be restored with complete certainty; and part may be pronounced hopelessly corrupt. It has been shewn that a fragment of thirty lines contains three serious omissions and at least two other changes of words wholly destructive of the sense, and it would therefore be almost incredible that something of the like kind should not occur in a passage nearly three times as long. Other evidence shews that conjecture would have been unable to supply what is wanting or satisfactorily correct what is wrong in the one case, and there is no reason to hope that it would be happier in the other.

1. Two of the commonest blunders in the Manuscript are the interchange of *u* and *o* and the omission of the final *m*. Of these undoubted examples occur: p. 11^a 25, 11^b 9 *dece*, 11^b 24

secundum ordine, p. 9^a 22 in mala partem &c. 11^b 11 popoloso exercito, p. 12^a 11 populosu exercitu, p. 12^a 24 sacerdos &c. In the Fragment similar errors occur p. 10^a 2 tertio (-um), secundo (-um); 4 eo (eum); 11 triduo (-um); [23 adventu (-to)]; 24 primo (-um); [foit (fuit)]; 26 foturum; 29 semetipsu (-o); p. 10^b 1 visurem (-orem); 12 circumcissione (-em); 17 apostulus; 20 seconda; 29 affecto; 11^a 6 epistola (elsewhere epistula).

2. The interchange of *e* and *i* (*y*) is even more common. Examples occur: p. 11^b 16 docit; 27 dilectis (delictis); 12^a 14 debit, 15 referri (referre); 11^b 12 deneque; 9^a 11 proxemi. In the Fragment the same error is found in various combinations: p. 10^a 5 numeni (nomine); 8 incipet; 9 iohannis (so l. 15, 10^b 26); 14 recogniscentibus; 16 discriberet, licit; 24 dispectus; p. 10^b 3 profetetur; 5 conprindit; 6 sicute; 8 proficescentis; 11 corintheis; 15 prolexius; 16 desputari; 18 nomenatim; 19 corenthios; 20 philippinses; 21 colosensis; 23 corentheis; 26 deffusa, denoscitur; 27 apocalebsy, eccleseis; p. 11^a 3 heresem; 4 recepi (10, 20 recipimus).

3. The aspirate is also omitted or inserted: p. 8^b 26 talamo; 11^b 11 Habraham; 12^a 18 Melcisedeh. Thus we have in the Fragment p. 10^a 11 odie; p. 10^b 11 scysmae.

4. *C* and *g* are interchanged: p. 11^b 15 arrocare; 31 cratia; 12^a 17 sacrificium. So in the Fragment 10^a 17 sinculis, 28 sincula; 10^b 15 sincolis (5 singula); 12 callætis; 21 calatas; 11^a 6 concruit; 23 catafrycum.

5. *E* and *ae* are interchanged: p. 9^a 13 consumate iustitiae; p. 9^a 9 audi et vidae. In the Fragment 10^a 25 preclarum; 10^b 9 directe; 10 ipse; 18 semptaë; 30 ecclesiae catholice; 31 ecclesiastice descepline; p. 11^a 1 scificate; 3 fincte, heresem; 6 iude; 14 aeclesiae.

6. *F* and *ph*: 11^b 14 triumfaut (16 triumpho). So in the Fragment p. 10^b 4 Theofile; 28 Filemonem.

Appendix C.

7. Another common interchange is that of *b* and *p* which occurs in the Fragment: p. 10^b 4 scribta obtime: 24 correbtione; 27 apocalebsy: and conversely 11^a 16 publicare.

In addition to these changes of letters the repetition of letters and the omission of repeated letters are fruitful sources of error. Of the former there are examples: p. 11^b 15 arorocare, 3 eos autem. In the Fragment both I believe occur. In p. 11^a 6 superscriptio iohannis is an evident mistake for superscripti (or tæ) iohannis, the *o* (or *io*) having been falsely added from a confusion with the corresponding syllable of the next word. Again in p. 10^a 22 the pronoun suis requires an antecedent and it is extremely likely that *āni* was omitted between the words de nativitate. So again in p. 10^b 3 profitetur requires se which was probably lost after visorem before sed. It is not unlikely that in p. 11^a 2 alia should be repeated.

One false reading appears to be due to the mechanical assimilation of terminations of which examples occur: p. 12^a 19 interpetraone latina (-ne); 11 populosu exercitu; p. 11^b 11 popoloso exercito. Thus p. 10^b 4 optime Theophile should almost certainly be optime Theophilo. The phrase 'optime Theophile' is found in the Preface to the Gospels and not in the dedication of the Acts, and could not therefore be used as the title of the latter book.

Some forms are mere senseless and unintelligible blunders: 10^a 6 concribset; 10^b 22, 23 Tensaolenecinsis, Thesaolecensibus; 11^a 9 apocalypse. And the inconsistency of the scribe is seen in the variations of spelling the same word: 10^b 11 Corinthis, 19 Corenthios, 23 Corentheis; and so with Iohannes and discipulus. But prodecessoris (10^b 17) and finctæ (11^a 3) are probably genuine forms.

If then we take account of these errors we shall obtain a text of the Fragment as complete as the conditions of correction will allow. Two or three passages in it will remain which can only be dealt with by conjectures wholly arbitrary and uncertain.

* * * * *

quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit¹. Tertium Evangelii librum secundum Lucan Lucas iste medicus post ascensum² Christi cum eum Paulus quasi tut juris³ studiosum secundum adsumsisset nomine suo ex opinione⁴ conscripsit: Dominum tamen nec ipse uidit in carne, et idem prout assequi potuit, ita et a nativitate Iohannis incepit dicere*. †Quarti Evangeliorum†⁵ Iohannes ex discipulis. Cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis dixit: Conieiunate mihi hodie triduum, et quid cuique fuerit reuelatum alterutrum⁶ nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte reuelatum Andreæ ex apostolis, ut recognoscentibus cunctis, Iohannes suo nomine cuncta describeret. * * * Et ideo⁷ licet uaria singulis Euangeliorum libris principia docean-

¹ *Et ita, i. e. καὶ οὕτως*, even so (as he had heard from St Peter) without addition or omission. Euseb. *H. E.* III. 39. I see no probability whatever in the view advocated by Hesse that the words refer to the last section of St Mark (xvi. 9—20), as containing statements which were not derived from apostolic authority, but due to the Evangelist's own experience (*e. g.* v. 20), a section which Hesse admits to be 'certainly unauthentic.' The phrase 'interesse colloquio' is perfectly good Latin, and the statement that Mark recorded what he heard Peter 'relate' falls in completely with *ἐν τῇ γράφῃ ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν*, so that it is needless to seek any other interpretation.

² These words evidently refer to the time when St Luke became a teacher and not to the time when he wrote his Gospel, as if the writer thought that St Mark's Gospel was written before the Ascension (Hesse, s. 64).

³ *Ut juris studiosum secundum*. The words *ut juris* must be corrupt. *Juris* might stand for τοῦ δικαίου, but not for τῆς δικαιοσύνης. It has been suggested that it may stand for 'lex,' 'scriptura' (Cf. Hesse, p. 75), but hardly, I think, in a translation. *Virtutis* seems to be nearer the sense.

The correction of Routh *secum* for *secundum* (cf. Acts xv. 37) is very plausible. If *secundum* is correct it must mean *as assistant*, as in the second rank.

⁴ The suggestion of [Rönsch] (Hesse s. 80) that *ex opinione* is equivalent to ἐξ ἀκοῆς seems to be most plausible. *Opinio* has the meaning of *rumour* in the silver age. Formerly I supposed that the phrase represented κατὰ τὸ δόξαν with a reference to ἔδοξε κάμω (Luke i. 3).

⁵ There is an analogy in the Fragment for the change of *Quarti* to *Quartum*. But *Evangeliorum* can hardly be right, and it is probable that the whole clause is corrupt. *Evangeliorum* may be a blunder for *Evangelii librum*, and *conscripsit* may then be supplied from the former sentence. But all conjectures are most uncertain, though the stop (in the MS.) after *Evangelium* favours such a conjecture as Hesse adopts... *Evangelii librum secundum Iohannem*. *Iohannes ex...*

⁶ *Alterutrum*. Let us relate to one another the revelation which we receive. Comp. Acts vii. 26; James v. 16 (Vulgate).

⁷ The whole passage from *Et ideo* — *futurum est* comes in very abruptly and has no connexion with

Appendix C.

tur nihil tamen differt¹ credentium fidei, cum uno ac principali spiritu declarata sint in omnibus omnia de natiuitate, de passione, de resurrectione, de conuersatione cum discipulis suis, ac de gemino eius aduento² * primum in humilitate despectûs, quod fuit, secundum potestate regali præclarum, quòd futurum est. * * * Quid ergo mirum si Iohannes tam constanter singula etiam in epistulis suis proferat dicens in semetipsum³. *Quæ uidimus oculis nostris, et auribus audiuius, et manus nostræ palpauerunt, hæc scripsimus*⁴? Sic enim non solum uisorem [se], sed et auditorem, sed et scriptorem omnium mirabilium domini per ordinem profitetur.

Acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt. Lucas optime Theophilo comprehendit, quia sub præsentia eius singula gerebantur, sicuti et tsemote⁵ passionem Petri euidenter declarat, sed et profectionem Pauli ab urbe⁶ ad Spaniam proficiscentis.[†] * * *

Epistolæ autem Pauli, quæ, a quo loco, uel qua ex causa

what precedes, which could be expressed by *ideo*; and similarly what follows is not connected with it by *ergo*.

¹ *Nihil tamen differt, οὐδὲν διαφέρει τῇ—πίστει.*

² *Aduento.* The relatives and adjectives which follow shew that this was a neuter form answering to *euentum, inuentum*, &c. Possibly it occurs also in Ter. *Phorm.* I. 3, 2. The addition of *m* is far less likely than the omission of it, or it would be simpler to keep *primo* and read *secundo, præclaro*. If the space at the end of the line indicates an omission, *quorum* would complete the sense.

³ *In semetipsum.* καθ' ἑαυτοῦ.

⁴ The quotation from 1 John i. 1 is not verbal, but the word *palpauerunt*, for *contractauerunt* (*tractauerunt, temptauerunt*) is to be noticed. Tertullian twice quotes the verse with the Vulg. rendering; but Jerome and Victorinus quote *palpauerunt*, and *palpare* represents ψηλαφᾶν in Luke xxiv. 39.

⁵ *Semote proficiscentis.* This sentence is evidently corrupt. If the general character of the errors of the manuscript had been favourable to the changes it would have been the simplest correction to read *semotâ passione...sed et profectione...proficiscentis*, i. e. the narrative was that (in the main) of an eye-witness, as he evidently shews by setting aside without notice events so remarkable as the Martyrdom of Peter and even the last great journey of Paul. Perhaps by reading *semota declarant* a fair sense may be obtained. The personal narrative of St Luke deals with part of the Apostolic history, just as detached allusions clearly point to the Martyrdom of Peter (John xxi. 18, 19); and even the journey of Paul to Spain (Rom. xv. 24 ff.). It is however more likely that some words have been lost at the end of the sentence, such as *significat Scriptura*.

⁶ "*Ab urbe* indicates the Roman character of the document." Tregelles, p. 40.

directæ sint, uolentibus intellegere ipsæ declarant. Primum omnium Corinthiis schisma hæresis¹ interdicens, deinceps² Galatis circumcisionem, Romanis autem ordine scripturarum³, sed et principium earum esse Christum intimans, prolixius scripsit, de quibus singulis necesse est⁴ a nobis disputari; cum⁵ ipse beatus apostolus Paulus, sequens prodecessoris⁶ sui Iohannis ordinem, nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat ordine tali: ad Corinthios (prima), ad Ephesios (secunda), ad Philipenses (tertia), ad Colossenses (quarta), ad Galatas (quinta), ad Thessalonicenses (sexta), ad Romanos (septima). Uerum Corinthiis et Thessalonicensibus licet pro correptione iteretur⁷, una tamen per omnem orbem terræ ecclesia diffusa esse dinoscitur; et Iohannes enim in Apocalypsi, licet septem ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit. Uerum ad Philemonem unam et ad Titum unam, et ad Timotheum duas⁸ pro affectu et dilectione; in honore tamen ecclesiæ catholicæ in ordinatione⁹

¹ Hesse (s. 158) quotes a parallel future genitive *schismæ* and reads *schismæ hereses*, which, if indeed allowable, is probably to be received.

² "B after *deinceps* has generally been passed unnoticed; but this seems to be the Greek numeral letter retained by the translator." Tregelles, p. 42.

³ *Ordine Scripturarum*, according to the general tenor of the Scriptures. Compare Tregelles, p. 43, who points out that there are more quotations from the Old Testament in the Epistle to the Romans than in all the other Epistles of St Paul together. At the same time it must be noticed that *ordinem* is a very probable correction.

⁴ The reference appears to be to the treatise from which the Fragment is taken.

⁵ The sense of the passage seems to be that a detached discussion of the points raised by the great Epistles is necessary for the whole church, for though St Paul addressed seven churches he distinguished them only by name (nonnisi nominatim), while the typical number seven really marked their unity. Hesse rightly

insists on the position of *nominatim*, though I cannot follow his interpretation of this passage.

⁶ St John may be called the 'predecessor' of St Paul, either because he was an Apostle before him (Gal. i. 17, τοὺς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀποστόλους), or because the writer of the fragment placed the composition of the Apocalypse before that of the last of St Paul's Epistles to Churches. It seems wholly unreasonable to suppose that the writer placed the composition of St John's Gospel (Hesse, s. 98) 'before the beginning of St Paul's literary activity.'

⁷ I. e. so that the mystical number seven, symbolizing the unity of the Church, is apparently lost.

⁸ *Duas*. It seems best to change the preceding *una*, *una* into *unam*, *unam* than to regard this as a nominative, which however perhaps occurs below. The *tamen* in the following clause implies the opposition of *scripsit* or the like.

⁹ Perhaps in *ordinationem* is the better reading. The change, though not absolutely required, is suggested by the character of the MS.

Appendix C.

ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ sanctificatæ sunt. Fertur etiam ad Laodicensēs, alia ad Alexandrinos, Pauli nomine finctæ ad hæresim¹ Marcionis, et alia plura quæ in catholicam ecclesiam recipi non potest²: fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit. Epistula sane Iudæ et superscripti Iohannis duas³ in Catholica⁴ habentur; et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta⁵.

Apocalypses etiam Iohannis et Petri tantum recipimus, quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt. Pastorem uero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Hermas conscripsit, sedente cathedra urbis Romæ ecclesiæ Pio episcopo fratre eius; et ideo legi eum quidem oportet, se publicare⁶ uero in ecclesia populo, neque inter prophetas, †completum numero⁷, neque inter apostolos, in finem temporum potest.

Arsinoi autem seu Ualentini, uel †Metiad* * nihil in totum recipimus. Qui etiam nouum psalmorum librum †Marcioni conscripserunt, una cum Basilide, †Assianom Cataphrygum constitutorem⁸ * * *

¹ *Ad hæresim, i. e. πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν, bearing upon, whether against it or otherwise.*

² *Recipi non potest, i. e. παραλαμβάνεσθαι οὐ δυνατόν.*

³ The reading of the MS.: *Superscriptio Ioannis duas* is evidently corrupt. The —*io* is probably due to the *io*— which follows (p. 526). The simplest correction is *superscripti*, but *superscriptæ* suits the construction better (*ἐπιγεγραμμένα Ἰωάννου*). Hesse's arguments against the use of a nominative *duas* (like *trias*) are strong, and it would probably be better to read *duæ*.

⁴ *In catholica*, the Catholic Church; if the original reading was not *in catholicis*.

⁵ The reference to *Wisdom* in a place where we should expect only the *Antilegomena* of the New Testament, finds a complete parallel in the account which Eusebius gives of Clement of Alexandria (*H. E.* VI. 13), *κέχρηται...καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων γραφῶν μαρτυρίαις, τῆς τε λεγομένης Σολομώντος. Σοφίας καὶ τῆς Ἰη-*

σοῦ τοῦ Σιράχ, καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἐβραίους ἐπιστολῆς, τῆς τε Βαρνάβα, καὶ Κλήμεντος, καὶ Ἰούδα. Comp. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 8.

⁶ *Se publicare, i. e. δημοσιεύεσθαι.*

⁷ *Completum numero.* This appears to be corrupt, for the phrase can scarcely mean 'A collection made up fully in number,' as if *Prophetas* were equivalent to *Corpus Prophetarum* (Volkmar). There is no certain analogy in the fragment for the correction *completo*.

⁸ The conclusion is hopelessly corrupt, and evidently was so in the copy from which the Fragment was derived. A. Harnack has endeavoured to shew that 'Mitiadis' is a correction of 'Tatiani,' and that the reference is to Tatian's *Diatessaron*. He rewrites the whole passage as follows: *Arsinoi autem seu Valentini vel Tatiani nihil in totum recipimus, qui [i. e. Tatianus] etiam novum Propositionum librum Marcioni conscripsit.* *Zeitschr. f. Luth. Theol.* 1874. pp. 276 ff.

APPENDIX D.

THE CHIEF CATALOGUES OF THE BOOKS OF THE BIBLE DURING THE FIRST EIGHT CENTURIES.

	No.	
A. Catalogues ratified by Conciliar authority :		Appendix D.
1. The Laodicean Catalogue	i.	
2. The Carthaginian Catalogue ; and	ii.	
3. The Apostolic Catalogue : both ratified at the Quinisextine Council, Can. 2.....	iii. a	
[The Catalogue in the Apostolic Constitutions.....]	iii. b	
B. Catalogues proceeding from the Eastern Church :		
1. Syria.		
Chrysostom, <i>Synopsis</i>	iv.	
Junilius	v.	
Johannes Damascenus	vi.	
Ebed Jesu	vii.	
2. Palestine.		
Melito.....	viii.	
Eusebius.....	ix.	
Cyril of Jerusalem.....	x.	
Epiphanius.....	xi.	
[Cod. Alex.]	xii.	
3. Alexandria.		
Origen	xiii.	
Athanasius.....	xiv.	

Appendix D.

4. Asia Minor.

Gregory of Nazianzus	xv.
Amphilochius.....	xvi.
The 'Sixty Books'.....	xvii.

5. Constantinople.

Leontius.....	xviii.
Nicephorus.....	xix.

C. Catalogues proceeding from the Western Church :

1. Africa.

Stich. ap. Cod. Clarom.	xx.
Augustine	xxi.

2. Italy.

Muratorian Canon.....	xxii.
Philastrus	xxiii.
Jerome	xxiv.
Rufinus	xxv.
[Innocent]	xxvi.
[Gelasius]	xxvii.
Cassiodorus	xxviii.

3. France.

Hilary	xxix.
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4. Spain.

Isidore	xxx.
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5. Mediæval.

John of Salisbury	xxxi.
Hugo of St Victor.....	xxxii.

I.¹

*Can. LIX*². (Cf. Bickell, *Stud. u. Krit.* III. ss. 611 ff.; *supr.* pp. 427 sqq.)

¹ Ea quæ ad *Novum Testamentum ecclesia cantari, nec libros præter ca-*
spectant ex libris manuscriptis potis- *nonem legi, sed sola sacra volumina*
simum hausit, cætera ex impressis. *novi testamenti vel veteris.* Cui con-

² E cod. Bibl. Univ. Cant. EE. iv. sentt. intt. Syrr. Codd. Mus. Brit.
29. Coll. cod. Arund. 533 Mus. Brit. 14,526, 14,528, 14,529.
(Ar.) Dionysius Exig. hæc tantum ha- Idem Canon, nisi quod *Baruch*
bet: *Non oportet plebeios psalmos in Lamentationes et Epistola* omittuntur,

ιθ'. Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικούς ψαλμούς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικά τῆς καινῆς καὶ παλαιᾶς¹ διαθήκης. Ὅσα δὲ βιβλία ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. ²παλαιᾶς διαθήκης· α' Γένεσις κόσμου. β' Ἐξοδος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. γ' Λευιτικόν. δ' Ἀριθμοί. ε' Δευτερονόμιον. ς' Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ. ζ' Κριταί, Ῥούθ. η' Ἑσθήρ. θ' βασιλειῶν πρώτη καὶ δευτέρα. ι' βασιλειῶν τρίτη καὶ τετάρτη. ια' Παραλειπόμενα, πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον. ιβ' Ἑσδρας, πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον. ιγ' Βίβλος Ψαλμῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα. ιδ' Παροιμίαι Σολομῶντος· ιε' Ἐκκλησιαστής. ις' Ἄσμα ᾠμάτων. ιζ' Ἰώβ. ιη' Δώδεκα προφῆται. ιθ' Ἡσαίας. κ' Ἱερειμίας καὶ Βαρούχ, Θρηνοὶ καὶ Ἐπιστολαί. κα' Ἰεζεκιήλ. κβ' Δανιήλ. τὰ δὲ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης³. εὐαγγέλια δ', κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λουκᾶν, κατὰ Ἰωάννην. πράξεις ἀποστόλων. ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ ἑπτὰ· οὕτως⁴. Ἰακώβου α'. Πέτρου α'. β'. Ἰωάννου α'. β'. γ'. Ἰούδα α'. ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου ιδ'⁶. πρὸς Ῥωμαίους α'. πρὸς Κορινθίους α'. β'. πρὸς Γαλάτας α'. πρὸς Ἐφεσίους α'. πρὸς Φιλιππησίους α'. πρὸς Κολασσαεῖς α'. πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς α'. β'. πρὸς Ἑβραίους α'. πρὸς Τιμόθεον α'. β'. πρὸς Τίτον α'. ⁷πρὸς Φιλήμονα α'.

II.

Can. 39 (ita B. C. Can. 47. Mansi, II. 1177. Cf. supr. pp. 435 seqq.)⁸.

Item placuit ut præter Scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem Canonicae Scripturae hæ⁹: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Jesus Naue, Judicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri quatuor, Paralipomenon libri duo, Job, Psalterium Davidicum,

habetur in *Capitula. Aquisgran. c. xx.* (Mansi, XIII. App. 161, ed. Flor. 1767), hoc titulo præposito: *De libris Canonicis. Sacerdotibus.* Lectt. varr. littera A notavi.

¹ Ar. τῆς π. καὶ κ.

² Ar. al. præm. τῆς.

³ Bick. al. τὰ δὲ τῆς κ. δ. ταῦτα. τῆς δὲ κ. δ. ταῦτα. Ar.

⁴ Bev. om. οὕτως. Ar. om. ε. οὐ.

⁵ Cod. Cant. α'. β'. Ar. γ.

⁶ Bick. + οὕτως.

⁷ Bev. Ar. præm. καί.

⁸ E cod. Coll. SS. Trin. Cant. B. xiv. 44, sæc. xii. in quo ordo canonum hic est: i.—xxxvii. xlix. xlvii. xlviii. (*Placuit — ministri*), xlviii. (*Quibus—fin.*) + xxxviii. &c. Collatis Codd. Mus. Brit. (B.) Cott. Claud. D. 9, sæc. xi.; (C) Reg. 9, B. xii.

⁹ Mansi om. hæ.

Appendix D.

Salomonis libri quinque, libri duodecim prophetarum, Jesaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Esdræ libri duo, Machabæorum libri duo. Novi autem Testamenti, evangeliorum libri quatuor, Actuum Apostolorum liber unus, Epistolæ Pauli Apostoli¹ xiii., ejusdem ad Hebræos una, Petri apostoli duæ, Johannis² tres, Jacobi i., Judæ i.³, Apocalypsis Johannis liber unus⁴. Hoc etiam fratri et consacerdoti⁵ nostro Bonifacio, vel aliis earum partium Episcopis, pro confirmando isto canone innotescat, quia a patribus ista accepimus in ecclesia legenda⁶. Liceat autem⁷ legi passiones martyrum cum anniversarii eorum dies celebrantur⁸.

III a.

CAN. APOST.

Can. LXXVI. (al. LXXXV.) (Bunsen, *Anal. Ante-Nic.* II. p. 30)⁹: Ἔστω δὲ ὑμῖν πᾶσι κληρικοῖς καὶ λαϊκοῖς βιβλία σεβάσµια καὶ ἅγια· τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης Μωϋσέως πέντε, Γένεσις, Ἔξοδος, Λευιτικόν, Ἀριθμοί, καὶ Δευτερονόμιον· Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ ἓν· τῶν κριτῶν ἓν· τῆς Ῥούθ ἓν· βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα· Παραλειπομένων, τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν, δύο· Ἔσδρα δύο· Ἑσθῆρ ἓν· Ἰουδαίων ἓν· Μακκαβαίων τρία· Ἰωβ ἓν· Ψαλμοὶ ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα· Σολομῶνος βιβλία τρία, παροιμίαι, ἐκκλησιαστής, ᾠσμα ᾠμάτων· προφηταὶ δεκάξ· ἔξωθεν δὲ ὑμῖν προσηγορεύσθω μανθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σειράχ· ἡμέτερα δέ, τουτέστι τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα¹⁰, Ματθαίου, Μάρκου, Λουκᾶ, Ἰωάννου· Παύλου ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες· Πέτρου ἐπιστολαὶ δύο· Ἰωάννου τρεῖς· Ἰακώβου μία· Ἰούδα μία¹¹· Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολαὶ¹² δύο, καὶ αἱ διαταγαὶ ὑμῖν¹³ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις δι' ἐμοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν ὀκτὼ βιβλίοις προσπεφωνημένοι, ἃς οὐ χρὴ δημοσιεύειν

¹ c. B. C. M. *Pauli ap. ep.*

² M. + *apostoli* = B. C.

³ M. *Judæ apostoli una et Jac. una.*

⁴ M. 'Quidam vetustus codex sic habet: De confirmando isto canone transmarina ecclesia consulatur.'

⁵ B. *coepiscopo.*

⁶ C. *agenda vitiose.*

⁷ C. *etiam.*

⁸ B. *dies cel. eor. C. dies eor. celebr.*

⁹ Hic Catal. integer exstat in Codd. Syrr. (Mus. Brit.) 14,526, 14,527, sæc. vi. vel vii.; non autem in MS. Arab. 7207. Dion. Exig. Canones tantum L. vertit.

¹⁰ Syr. + *quæ antea memoravimus.*

¹¹ I. μ. om. cod. Bodl. ap. Bev. (Ueltzen.)

¹² Syr. *duæ ep. meæ Clementis.*

¹³ Bunsen ὑμῶν? err. typ.

ἐπὶ πάντων διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μυστικά· καὶ αἱ πράξεις ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Appendix D.

III b.

Lib. II. 57, μέσος δ' ὁ ἀναγνώστης ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἐστὼς ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ Μωσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, τὰ τῶν Κριτῶν καὶ τῶν Βασιλειῶν, τὰ τῶν Παραλειπομένων καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἐπανόδου· πρὸς τοῦτοις τὰ τοῦ Ἰωβ καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶνος καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐκκαίδεκα προφητῶν. Ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γενομένων [l. γινομένων] ἀναγνωσμάτων ἕτερός τις τοὺς τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλέτω ὕμνους καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω. Μετὰ τοῦτο αἱ πράξεις αἱ ἡμέτεραι ἀναγινωσκέσθωσαν καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου τοῦ συνεργοῦ ἡμῶν, αἷς ἐπέστειλε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθ' ὑφήγησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ εὐαγγέλια ἃ ἐγὼ Ματθαῖος καὶ Ἰωάννης παρεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἃ οἱ συνεργοὶ Παύλου παρειληφότες κατέλειψαν ὑμῖν Λυκάς καὶ Μάρκος.

CONST.
APOST.

IV.

Synopsis Sacr. Script. ap. Chrys. Tom. vi. p. 314 ff. Ed. Bened.: Σκοπὸς τῶν Διαθηκῶν εἰς, τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ διόρθωσις... μὴ τοίνυν νομιζέτω τις ξένον εἶναι νομοθέτου τὸ παλαιὰς ἱστορίας διηγέσθαι καὶ νόμους ἀναγράφειν· ὅπερ γὰρ ἰσχύει νόμος τοῦτο καὶ ἡ διήγησις τοῦ βίου τῶν ἁγίων· Ἔστι τοίνυν τῆς παλαιᾶς τὸ μὲν ἱστορικὸν ὡς ἡ ὀκτάτευχος (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Josue, Judices, Ruth)... Μετ' ἐκείνο (Ρούθ) αἱ βασιλείαι αἱ τέσσαρες... μετὰ δὲ τὰς βασιλείας Ἔσδρας...(316) ...τῆς οὖν παλαιᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ μὲν ἱστορικὸν τοῦτο δὴ ὁ προειρηκάμεν, τὸ δὲ συμβουλευτικὸν ὡς αἶ τε παροιμίαι καὶ ἡ τοῦ Σειράχ Σοφία καὶ ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστής καὶ τὰ Ἄσματα τῶν Ἀσματῶν, τὸ δὲ προφητικὸν ὡς οἱ δεκαεὶ λέγω προφήται καὶ Ρούθ (?) καὶ Δαυὶδ... ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς καινῆς βιβλία, αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ δεκατέσσαρες Παύλου, τὰ εὐαγγέλια τὰ τέσσαρα, δύο μὲν τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ Ματθαίου· δύο δὲ Λουκᾶ καὶ Μάρκου· ὧν ὁ μὲν τοῦ Πέτρου ὁ δὲ τοῦ Παύλου γεγόνασι μαθηταί. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοπταὶ ἦσαν γεγεννημένοι, καὶ συγγενόμενοι τῷ Χριστῷ· οἱ δὲ παρ' ἐκείνων τὰ ἐκείνων διαδεξάμενοι εἰς ἑτέρους ἐξήνεγκαν· καὶ τὸ τῶν πράξεων

Appendix D.

δὲ βιβλίον, καὶ αὐτὸ Λουκᾶ ἱστορήσαντος τὰ γενόμενα· καὶ τῶν καθολικῶν ἐπιστολαὶ τρεῖς.

V.

JUNILIUS,
Ep. Afric.
c. 550 A.D.

*De partibus divinæ legis*¹, Lib. i. c. 2 (Gallandi, xii. 79 seqq.) Species [scripturæ]...aut historica est, aut prophetica, aut proverbialis, aut simpliciter docens.

- c. 3. *De historia...Discipulus*. In quibus libris divina continentur historia? *Magister*. In septemdecim. Gen. i. Exod. i. Levit. i. Num. i. Deuter. i. Jesu Nave i. Judicum i. Ruth i. Regum secundum nos iv. secundum Hebræos ii. Evangeliorum iv. secundum Matthæum, secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Joannem, Actuum Apostolorum i. *D*. Nulli alii Libri ad divinam Historiam pertinent? *M*. Adjungunt plures: Paralipomenon ii. Tob. i. Esdræ ii. Judith i. Hester i. Maccab. ii. *D*. Quare hi libri non inter canonicas scripturas currunt? *M*. Quoniam apud Hebræos quoque super hac differentia recipiebantur, sicut Hieronymus cæterique testantur.....
- c. 4. *De Prophetia...D*. In quibus libris prophetia suscipitur? *M*. In septemdecim. Psalmorum cl. lib. i. Osee lib. i. Esaiaë lib. i. Joel lib. i. Amos lib. i. Abdiaë lib. i. Jonæ lib. i. Michææ lib. i. Nahum. lib. i. Sophoniaë lib. i. Habacuc lib. i. Jeremiaë lib. i. Ezechiel lib. i. Daniel lib. i. Aggæi lib. i. Zachariaë lib. i. Malachiaë lib. i. Cæterum de Joannis Apocalypsi apud orientales admodum dubitatur.....
- c. 5. *De proverbiiis...D*. In quibus hæc [proverbialis species] libris accipitur? *M*. In duobus: Salomonis Proverbiorum lib. i. et Jesu filii Sirach lib. i. *D*. Nullus alius liber huic speciei subditur? *M*. Adjungunt quidam librum qui vocatur Sapientiaë et Cantica Canticorum.....

¹ Ad. Primasium Episcopum (c. 553 A.D.) *Pref.* ...[vidi] quendam mundanis studiis Grammatica et Paullum nomine, Persam genere, Rhetorica, ordine ac regulariter traditur ... ejus ... regulas quasdam... in qui in Syrorum schola in Nisibi urbe est edoctus, ubi divina lex per magistros publicos, sicut apud nos in duos brevissimos libellos...collegi...

- c. 6. *De simplici doctrina...D.* Qui libri ad simplicem doctrinam pertinent? *M.* Canonici sexdecim; id est; Eccles. lib. i. et Epist. Pauli Apostoli ad Rom. i. ad Corinth. ii. ad Gal. i. ad Ephes. i. ad Philip. i. ad Coloss. i. ad Thessal. ii. ad Timoth. ii. ad Titum i. ad Philem. i. ad Hebr. i.; beati Petri ad gentes i.; et beati Joannis prima. *D.* Nulli alii libri ad simplicem doctrinam pertinent? *M.* Adjungunt quamplurimi quinque alias quæ Apostolorum Canonice nuncupantur; id est: Jacobi i. Petri secundam, Judæ unam, Johannis duas.....
- c. 7. *De auctoritate Scripturarum. D.* Quomodo divinorum librorum consideratur auctoritas? *M.* Quia quidam perfectæ auctoritatis sunt, quidam mediæ, quidam nullius. *D.* Qui sunt perfectæ auctoritatis? *M.* Quos canonicos in singulis speciebus absolute numeravimus. *D.* Qui mediæ? *M.* Quos adjungi a pluribus diximus. *D.* Qui nullius auctoritatis sunt? *M.* Reliqui omnes. *D.* In omnibus speciebus hæ differentiæ inveniuntur? *M.* In historia et simplici doctrina¹ omnes; namque in prophetia mediæ auctoritatis libri non præter Apocalypsim reperiuntur; neque in proverbiali specie omnino tressata.

VI.

De fide Orthodoxa, IV. 17²: ἰστέον δὲ ὡς εἴκοσι καὶ δύο βίβλοι εἰσὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς Ἑβραϊδος φωνῆς εἴκοσι δύο γὰρ στοιχεῖα ἔχουσιν ἐξ ὧν πέντε διπλοῦνται ὡς γίνεσθαι αὐτὰ εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ. διπλοῦν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ Χάφ καὶ τὸ Μέμ καὶ τὸ Νοῦν καὶ τὸ Πέ καὶ τὸ Σαδί. διὸ καὶ αἱ βίβλοι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἴκοσι δύο μὲν ἀριθμοῦνται εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ δὲ εὐρίσκονται διὰ τὸ πέντε ἐξ αὐτῶν διπλοῦσθαι. Συναπτεται γὰρ Ῥοῦθ τοῖς Κριταῖς καὶ ἀριθμεῖται παρ' Ἑβραίοις μία βίβλος· ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δευτέρα τῶν Βασιλειῶν μία βίβλος· ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δευτέρα τῶν Παραλειπομένων μία βίβλος· ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δευτέρα τοῦ Ἑσδρά

JOHANNES
DAMASCENUS
† 750 A.D.

¹ Gallandii pravam interpunctionem correxi: *doctrina: omnes namque...* collata vers. Lat. Joannis Burgundionis (c. 1180 A.D.), civis Pisani, ex codd. Mus. Brit. Reg. 6, B, xii.

² Ex edit. Lequien, Paris, 1712; (α); 5, D, x. (β); add. 15, 407 (γ).

Appendix D.

μία βίβλος· οὕτως οὖν συγκεῖνται αἱ βίβλοι ἐν πεντατεύχοις τέτρασι καὶ μένουσιν ἄλλαι δύο ὥς εἶναι τὰς ἐνδιαθέτους βίβλους οὕτως· πέντε νομικάς, Γένεσιν, Ἑξοδον, Λευιτικόν, Ἀριθμοί (?), Δευτερονόμιον. Αὕτη πρώτη πεντάτευχος ἡ καὶ νομοθεσία. Εἴτα ἄλλη πεντάτευχος τὰ καλούμενα Γραφεῖα παρὰ τισι δὲ Ἀγιογραφα ἅτινά ἐστιν οὕτως· Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ, Κριταὶ μετὰ τῆς Ῥούθ, Βασιλειῶν πρώτη μετὰ τῆς δεύτερας βίβλος μία, ἡ τρίτη μετὰ τῆς τετάρτης βίβλος μία καὶ αἱ δύο τῶν Παραλειπομένων βίβλος μία. Αὕτη δευτέρα πεντάτευχος. Τρίτη πεντάτευχος αἱ στιχήρεις, βίβλος τοῦ Ἰώβ, τὸ Ψαλτήριον, Παροιμῖαι Σολομώντος, Ἐκκλησιαστής τοῦ αὐτοῦ, τὰ Ἄσματα τῶν Ἀσμάτων τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Τετάρτη πεντάτευχος ἡ προφητικὴ, τὸ δωδεκαπρόφητον βίβλος μία, Ἡσαίας, Ἰερεμίας, Ἰεζκιήλ, Δανιήλ, εἴτα τοῦ Ἑσδρά αἱ δύο εἰς μίαν συναπτόμεναι βίβλον¹, καὶ ἡ Ἑσθήρ. Ἡ δὲ Πανάρετος, τουτέστιν ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Σολομώντος καὶ ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ μὲν τοῦ Σιράχ ἐξέθετο Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ τούτου μὲν ἕγγονος (? ἕκγονος) Ἰησοῦς τοῦ δὲ Σιράχ υἱός· ἐνάρετοι μὲν καὶ καλαὶ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀριθμοῦνται οὐδὲ ἕκειντο ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ.

Τῆς δὲ νέας διαθήκης εὐαγγέλια² τέσσαρα· τὸ³ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον, τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν⁴, τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διὰ Λουκᾶ τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ. Καθολικαὶ⁵ ἐπιστολαὶ ἑπτὰ· Ἰακώβου μία, Πέτρου⁶ δύο, Ἰωάννου τρεῖς, Ἰούδα μία. Παύλου ἀποστόλου ἐπιστολαὶ⁷ δεκατέσσαρες. Ἀποκάλυψις⁸ Ἰωάννου εὐαγγελιστοῦ. Κανόνες τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων⁹ διὰ Κλήμεντος.

VII.

Catal. Libr. omn. Ecclesiasticorum (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* III. pp. 3 seqq.).

Proœmium. Virtute auxilii tui Deus,

Et precibus omnis iusti insignis,

¹ R. 2428 addit καὶ ἡ Ἰουδίθ (Leq.).

² *Evangeliste* γ.

³ *quod* sec. M. &c. β. γ.

⁴ τὸ κ. Α. = β.

⁵ *Canonica* α. *Catholica* β. γ.

⁶ + *tertius* punctis suppos. γ.

⁷ = *epistolæ* γ. sed man. sec. add.

⁸ *Apocalypsis* γ.

⁹ R. 2428 καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ δύο διὰ Κλήμεντος, sed interpolatum varie huncce codicem esse monuimus (Leq.).

Ac matris celeberrimæ,
 Scribere aggredior Carmen admirabile :
 In quo Libros Divinos,
 Et omnes Compositiones Ecclesiasticas,
 Omnium priorum et posteriorum
 Proponam Lectoribus.
 Nomen Scriptorum commemorabo,
 Et quænam scripsere, et qua ratione,
 In Deo autem confidens,
 En a Moyse initium duco.

Cap. i. Lex quinque Libri,
 Genesis, Liber Exodi,
 Liber Sacerdotum, Numeri,
 Et Liber Deuteronomii.
 Dein Liber Josue filii Nun,
 Post hunc Liber Judicum,
 Et Samuel et Liber Regum
 Et Liber Dabarjamin et Ruth.
 Et Psalmi David Regis :
 Et Proverbia Solomonis et Cohelet :
 Et Sirah Sirin et Bar-Sira :
 Et Sapientia Magna, et Job.
 Isaias, Hosee, Joël,
 Amos, Abdias, Jonas,
 Michæas, Nahum, Habacuc,
 Sophonias, Aggæus, Zacharias,
 Malachias, et Hieremias,
 Ezechiel, et Daniel :
 Judith, Esther, Susanna,
 Esdras, et Daniel minor,
 Epistola Baruch : et liber
 Traditionis seniorum.
 Josephi¹ autem scribæ exstant

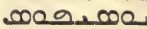
¹ De Flavio Josepho...hic loquitur Solensis, etsi eum modo cum Gorionide per errorem confundat, ut ex sequentibus palam fit. (Assem).
 Æsopo Phryge, modo cum Josepho

Appendix D.

Proverbia¹, et Historia filiorum Samonæ².
 Liber etiam Macabæorum³,
 Et Historia Herodis Regis
 Et liber postremæ desolationis
 Hierosolymæ per Titum.
 Et liber Asiathæ uxoris
 Josephi justi filii Jacob:
 Et liber Tobisë et Tobith
 Justorum Israelitarum.

Cap. ii. Nunc absoluto Veteri
 Aggrediamur jam Novum *Testamentum*:
 Cujus caput est Matthæus, qui Hebraice
 In Palæstina scripsit.
 Post hunc Marcus, qui Romane
 Loquutus est in celeberrima Roma:
 Et Lucas, qui Alexandriæ
 Græce dixit scripsitque:
 Et Joannes, qui Ephesi
 Græco sermone exaravit Evangelium.
 Actus quoque Apostolorum,
 Quos Lucas Theophilo inscripsit.
 Tres etiam Epistolæ quæ inscribuntur
 Apostolis in omni codice et lingua,
 Jacobo scilicet et Petro et Joanni;
 Et Catholicæ nuncupantur.
 Apostoli autem Pauli magni
 Epistolæ quatuordecim⁴.....

Cap. iii. Evangelium, quod compilavit
 Vir Alexandrinus

¹ Fabulas Æsopicas intelligit, quas Orientales recentiores Syri Arabesque Josepho Hebræo perperam adscribunt: utrumque enim vocant  *Iosipum*, hoc est Josephum. (Assem.)

² *i. e.* Lib. iv. Maccab.

³ De opere quod sub nomine *Josephi Gorionidis*...publicatum fuit... loquitur. (Assem.) Equidem de Librr. Macc. i. ii. interpretor.

⁴ *Ep. ad Hebræos* locum ultimum obtinet.

Ammonius qui et Tatianus,
Illudque Diatessaron appellavit.

Cap. iv. Libri quoque quorum Auctores sunt
Discipuli Apostolorum.
Liber Dionysii
Philosophi cælestis.

Cap. v. Et Clementis unius ex septuaginta.....

VIII.

Fragm. ap. Euseb. H. E. iv. 26. Μερίτων Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ...καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἐβουλήθης ἀκρίβειαν πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν, καὶ ὅποια τὴν τάξιν εἶεν ἐσπούδασα τὸ τοιοῦτο πράξαι...ἀνελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ ἕως τοῦ τόπου γενόμενος ἔνθα ἐκηρύχθη καὶ ἐπράχθη καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία ὑποτάξας ἐπεμψά σοι, ὧν ἐστὶ τὰ ὀνόματα. Μωϋσέως πέντε· Γένεσις, Ἔξοδος, Ἀριθμοί, Λευιτικόν, Δευτερονόμιον· Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ· Κριταί, Ῥούθ· Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα· Παραλειπομένων δύο· Ψαλμῶν Δαβίδ· Σολομώντος Παροιμίας ἢ καὶ Σοφία· Ἐκκλησιαστής· ᾠσμα ᾠσμάτων· Ἰώβ· προφητῶν, Ἡσαίου, Ἱερεμίου, τῶν δώδεκα ἐν μονοβίβλῳ, Δανιήλ, Ἰεζεκιήλ, Ἑσδρας. ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐκλογὰς ἐποιησάμην...

IX.

H. E. iii. 25. Cf. *supr.* pp. 410 seqq.

X.

Catech. iv. 33 (22 ed. Mill.) περὶ τῶν θειῶν γραφῶν. Φιλομαθῶς ἐπίγνωθι παρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ποῖαι μὲν εἰσιν αἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βίβλοι, ποῖαι δὲ τῆς καινῆς.....πολύ σου φρονιμώτεροι ἦσαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται, οἱ ταύτας παραδόντες· σὺ οὖν τέκνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας μὴ παραχάραττε τοὺς θεσμούς. Καὶ τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ὡς εἴρηται τὰς εἴκοσι δύο μελέτα βίβλους, ἃς εἰ φιλομαθὴς τυγχάνεις ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ὀνομαστὶ μεμνήσθαι σπούδασον. Τοῦ νόμου μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ Μωσέως πρῶται πέντε βίβλοι, Γένεσις, Ἔξοδος, Λευιτικόν, Ἀριθμοί, Δευτερονόμιον. Ἐξῆς δὲ Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυῆ, καὶ τὸ τῶν Κριτῶν μετὰ τῆς Ῥούθ βιβλίον ἑβδομον ἀριθ-

Appendix D.

MELITO,
Ep. Sard.
c. 180 A.D.

EUSEBIUS,
† 340 A.D.

CYRILLUS,
Ep. Hiero-
sol. 349.
† 386 A.D.

Appendix D.

μούμενον. Τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἱστορικῶν βιβλίων ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δεύτερα τῶν Βασιλειῶν μία παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἐστὶ βίβλος, μία δὲ καὶ ἡ τρίτη καὶ ἡ τετάρτη. Ὅμοίως δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Παραλειπομένων ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δεύτερα μία τυγχάνει βίβλος, καὶ τοῦ Ἑσδρα ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ δεύτερα μία λελόγισται· δωδεκάτη βίβλος ἡ Ἑσθήρ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱστορικά ταῦτα. Τὰ δὲ στιχηρὰ τυγχάνει πέντε, Ἰώβ, καὶ βίβλος Ψαλμῶν καὶ Παροιμίαι, καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστής, καὶ Ἄσμα ἁσμάτων ἑπτακαδέκατον βιβλίον. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὰ προφητικά πέντε· τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν μία βίβλος καὶ Ἡσαίου μία καὶ Ἱερεμίου μία μετὰ Βαρούχ καὶ Θρήνων καὶ Ἐπιστολῆς, εἴτα Ἰεζεκιήλ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Δανιήλ, εἰκοστηδευτέρα βίβλος τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης· τῆς δὲ καινῆς διαθήκης τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ψευδεπίγραφα καὶ βλαβερά τυγχάνει· ἔγραψαν καὶ Μανιχαῖοι κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον, ὅπερ, ὥσπερ εὐωδία τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς προσωνυμίας, διαφθείρει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀπλουστέρων. δέχου δὲ καὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ Ἰακώβου καὶ Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἰούδα, καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς· ἐπισφράγισμα δὲ τῶν πάντων καὶ μαθητῶν τὸ τελευταῖον, τὰς Παύλου δεκατέσσαρας ἐπιστολάς· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκεται, ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ σαντὸν ἀναγίνωσκε καθὼς ἤκουσας.....

XI.

Hæresis VIII. 6. Ἐσχον δὲ οὗτοι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἄχρι τῆς ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος αἰχμαλωσίας ἐπανόδου βίβλους τε καὶ προφήτας τούτους καὶ προφητῶν βίβλους ταύτας· πρώτην μὲν Γένεσιν, δευτέραν δὲ Ἑξοδον...Λευιτικόν...Ἀριθμούς...Δευτερονόμιον...βίβλον Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ...τῶν Κριτῶν...τῆς Ρούθ...τοῦ Ἰώβ...τὸ Ψαλτήριον...Παροιμίας Σολομῶντος...Ἐκκλησιαστήν...τὸ Ἄσμα τῶν ἁσμάτων...πρώτην Βασιλειῶν...δευτέραν Βασιλειῶν...τρίτην Βασιλειῶν...τετάρτην Βασιλειῶν...πρώτην Παραλειπομένων...δευτέραν Παραλειπομένων...τὸ Δωδεκαπρόφητον...Ἡσαίαν...Ἱερεμίαν μετὰ τῶν Θρήνων καὶ Ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ Βαρούχ...Ἰεζεκιήλ...Δανιήλ...τὸ πρῶτον βιβλίον τοῦ Ἑσδρα...τὸ δεύτερον βιβλίον...τὸ βιβλίον Ἑσθήρ· καὶ αὗται εἰσιν αἱ εἰκοσιεπτὰ βίβλοι αἱ ἐκ θεοῦ δοθεῖσαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, εἰκοσιδύο δὲ ὡς τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχεῖα τῶν Ἑβραϊ-

κῶν γραμμάτων ἀριθμούμεναι διὰ τὸ διπλοῦσθαι δέκα βίβλους εἰς πέντε λεγομένας... εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι δύο βίβλοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀμφιλέκτῳ ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Σιράχ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Σολομῶντος, χωρὶς ἄλλων τινῶν βιβλίων ἐναποκρύφων.

Hæresis, LXXVI. 5. Ed. Colon. 1682. Εἰ γὰρ ἥς ἐξ ἀγίου πνεύματος γεγεννημένος καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις μεμαθητευμένος, ᾗδε σε διελθόντα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενέσεως κόσμου ἄχρι τῶν Αἰσθηρ χρόνων ἐν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ βίβλοις παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, εἴκοσι δύο ἀριθμουμένοις, τέτταρσι δὲ ἀγίοις εὐαγγελίοις, καὶ ἐν τεσσαρσικαῖδεκα ἐπιστολαῖς τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου Παύλου, καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρὸ τούτων, καὶ σὺν ταῖς ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν χρόνοις Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων, καθολικαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς Ἰακώβου καὶ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ Ἰούδα, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψει, ἐν τε ταῖς Σοφίαις, Σολομῶντός τε φημὶ καὶ υἱοῦ Σιράχ, καὶ πάσαις ἀπλῶς γραφαῖς θεαίαις.....

De Mens. et Pond. 4. Οὕτως γοῦν σύγκεινται αἱ βίβλοι ἐν παντατεύχοις τέτταρσι καὶ μένουσιν ἄλλαι δύο ὑστεροῦσαι, ὥς εἶναι τὰς ἐνδιαθέτους βίβλους οὕτως· πέντε μὲν νομικάς... πέντε στιχῆρεις... εἶτα ἄλλη πεντάτευχος τὰ καλούμενα γραφεῖα παρὰ τισι δὲ ἀγιόγραφα λεγόμενα, ἃτινά ἐστιν οὕτως, Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ βίβλος, Κριτῶν μετὰ τῆς Ρούθ, Παραλειπομένων πρώτη μετὰ τῆς δευτέρας, Βασιλειῶν πρώτη μετὰ τῆς δευτέρας, Βασιλειῶν τρίτη μετὰ τῆς τετάρτης. αὕτη τρίτη πεντάτευχος. ἄλλη πεντάτευχος τὸ Δωδεκαπρόφητον, Ἡσαίας, Ἰερεμίας, Ἰεζεκιήλ, Δανιήλ. καὶ αὕτη ἡ προφητικὴ πεντάτευχος. ἔμειναν δὲ ἄλλαι δύο αἰτινές εἰσι τοῦ Ἑσδρα μία καὶ αὕτη λογιζομένη καὶ ἄλλη βίβλος ἡ τῆς Ἑσθῆρ καλεῖται. ἐπληρώθησαν οὖν αἱ εἰκοσιδύο βίβλοι κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν εἰκοσιδύο στοιχείων παρ' Ἑβραίοις. αἱ γὰρ στιχῆρεις δύο βίβλοι ἡ τε τοῦ Σολομῶντος ἡ Πανάρετος λεγομένη, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ ἐκγόνου δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ καὶ τὴν Σοφίαν Ἑβραϊστὶ γράψαντος, ἣν ὁ ἐκγονος αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦς ἐρμηνεύσας Ἑλληνιστὶ ἔγραψε, καὶ αὗται χρήσιμα μὲν εἰσι καὶ ὠφέλιμοι ἀλλ' εἰς ἀριθμὸν ῥητῶν οὐκ ἀριθμοῦνται, διὸ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀρῶν ἀνετέθησαν, τούτεστιν ἐν τῇ τῆς διαθήκης κιβωτῷ.

Appendix D.

XII.

INDEX
Cod. Alex.

Γένεσις κόσμου,
Ἔξοδος Ἀιγύπτου,
Λευιτικόν,
Ἀριθμοί,
Δευτερονόμιον,
Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ,
Κριταί,
Ῥούθ.
ὁμοῦ βιβλία η΄.
Βασιλειῶν α΄,
Βασιλειῶν β΄,
Βασιλειῶν γ΄,
Βασιλειῶν δ΄,
Παραλειπομένων α΄,
Παραλειπομένων β΄.
ὁμοῦ βιβλία σ΄.
Προφῆται ις΄,
Ὡσηέ α΄
Ἡσαίας ιγ΄,
Ἰερεμίας ιδ΄ (add. *Baruch, Lament. Epist.*)
Ἰεζεκιήλ ιε΄,
Δανιήλ ις΄ (cum additamentis),
Ἑσθήρ (cum additamentis),
Τωβίτ,
Ἰουδαίθ,
Ἑσδρας α΄ ἱερεύς (1 Esdras),
Ἑσδρας β΄ ἱερεύς (Esdras Canonicus, Neemias),
Μακκαβαίων λόγος α΄,
Μακκαβαίων λόγος β΄,
Μακκαβαίων λόγος γ΄,
Μακκαβαίων λόγος δ΄,
Ψαλτήριον μετ' ὠδῶν,
Ἰώβ,
Παροιμιαί,

Ἐκκλησιαστής,
Ἄσματα ἁσμάτων,
Σοφία ἡ Πανάρετος,
Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ.

Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη.
Εὐαγγέλια δ'.

Κατὰ Ματθαῖον,
Κατὰ Μάρκον,
Κατὰ Λουκᾶν,
Κατὰ Ἰωάννην,
Πράξεις ἀποστόλων,
Καθολικαὶ ζ',
ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου ιδ',
ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου,
Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ α',
Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ β',
ὁμοῦ βιβλία.....
Ψαλμοὶ Σολομώντος ιη'.

XIII.

Ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25. Οὐκ ἄγνοητέον δ' εἶναι τὰς ἐνδια-
θήκους βίβλους, ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδόασιν, δύο καὶ εἴκοσι, ὅσος
ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχείων ἐστίν... εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ εἴκοσι δύο
βίβλοι καθ' Ἑβραίους αἶδε· ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν Γένεσις ἐπιγεγραμμένη...
Ἔξοδος... Λευιτικόν—Ἀριθμοί... Δευτερονόμιον... Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ...
Κριταί, Ρούθ... Βασιλειῶν πρώτη δευτέρα... Βασιλειῶν τρίτη τε-
τάρτη... Παραλειπομένων πρώτη δευτέρα... Ἐσδρας πρῶτος καὶ δεύ-
τερος... Βίβλος ψαλμῶν... Σολομώντος Παροιμίαι... Ἐκκλησιαστής...
Ἄσμα ἁσμάτων... Ἡσαίας... Ἰερεμίας σὺν Θρήνοις καὶ Ἐπιστολῇ...
Δανιήλ... Ἰεζεκιήλ... Ἰώβ... Ἐσθήρ... Ἐξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακ-
καβαϊκά.....

Cf. *supra* pp. 354 ff.

ORIGENES.
† 253 A.D.

Appendix D.

XIV.

ATHANA-
SIUS,
Ep. Alex.
326.
† 373.

Ex *Epist. Fest.* xxxix. Ap. Theodorum Balsamonem in *Scholiis in Canones*¹: T. i. 767. Ed. Bened. Par. 1777. Μέλ-
λων δὲ τούτων [sc. τῶν θείων γραφῶν] μνημονεύειν χρῆσθαι πρὸς
σύστασιν τῆς ἑμαντοῦ τόλμης τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ,
λέγων καὶ αὐτός, Ἐπειδὴ περ τινὲς ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι
ἑαυτοῖς τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπόκρυφα καὶ ἐπιμίξει ταῦτα τῇ θεοπνεύστῳ
γραφῇ περὶ ἧς ἐπληροφορήθημεν, καθὼς παρέδοσαν τοῖς
πάτραισιν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενήμενοι
τοῦ λόγου, ἔδοξε καὶ μοι προτραπέντι παρὰ γνησίων ἀδελφῶν καὶ
μαθόντι ἄνωθεν ἐξῆς ἐκθέσθαι τὰ κανονιζόμενα καὶ παραδοθέντα,
πιστευθέντα τε θεία εἶναι βιβλία, ἵνα ἕκαστος, εἰ μὲν ἡπατήθη,
καταγνῶ τῶν πλανησάντων, ὁ δὲ καθαρὸς διαμείνας χαίρῃ πάλιν
ὑπομνησκόμενος. ἔστι τοίνυν τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία
τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὰ πάντα εἰκοσιδύο· τὸσαῦτα γὰρ ὡς ἤκουσα καὶ τὰ στοι-
χεῖα τὰ παρ' Ἑβραίοις εἶναι παραδεδόται· τῇ δὲ τάξει καὶ τῷ ὀνό-
ματι ἔστιν ἕκαστον οὕτως· πρῶτον Γένεσις, εἶτα Ἔξοδος, εἶτα Λευι-
τικόν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Ἀριθμοί, καὶ λοιπὸν τὸ Δευτερονόμιον.
Ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἔστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ καὶ Κριταί, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
ἡ Ρούθ, καὶ πάλιν ἐξῆς Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα βιβλία... μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
Παραλειπομένων α' καὶ β'... εἶτα Ἑσδρας α' καὶ β'... μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
βίβλος Ψαλμῶν καὶ ἐξῆς Παροιμίαι, εἶτα Ἐκκλησιαστής καὶ Ἄσμα
ἁσμάτων· πρὸς τούτοις ἔστι καὶ Ἰωβ καὶ λοιπὸν Προφῆται, οἱ μὲν
δώδεκα εἰς ἓν βιβλίον ἀριθμούμενοι· εἶτα Ἡσαΐας Ἰερεμίας καὶ σὺν
αὐτῷ Βαροὺχ Ὀρήνοι Ἐπιστολή, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἰεζεκιὴλ καὶ
Δανιὴλ· ἄχρι τούτων τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ἴσονται. τὰ δὲ τῆς
καινῆς οὐκ ὀκνητέον εἰπεῖν· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα· Εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα·
κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λουκᾶν, κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Εἶτα
μετὰ ταῦτα Πράξεις Ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ² καλού-
μεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἑπτὰ οὕτως· Ἰακώβου μὲν α', Πέτρου δὲ β',
εἶτα Ἰωάννου γ', καὶ μετὰ ταύτας Ἰούδα α'. Πρὸς τούτοις Παύλου

¹ Eadem epistola exstat in Vers. Syr. Mus. Brit. (Cod. 12,168. sæc. vii. v. viii.), quam nuper Anglicè reddidit vir reverendus, cui mihi pro singulari ejus humanitate gratiæ

agendæ sunt: *The Festal Letters of Athanasius, translated from the Syriac by the Rev. H. Burgess, Ph. D.* p. 137.

² Syr. om. καθολικαί.

ἀποστόλου εἰσὶν ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες, τῇ τάξει γραφόμεναι¹ οὕτως². καὶ πάλιν Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις· ταῦτα πηγὰς τοῦ σωτηρίου, ὥστε τὸν διψῶντα ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τούτοις λογίων· ἐν τούτοις μόνοις τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασκαλεῖον εὐαγγελίζεται. Μηδεὶς τούτοις ἐπιβαλλέτω, μηδὲ τούτων ἀφαιρέσθω τι... ἀλλ' ἕνεκά γε πλείονος ἀκριβείας προστίθῃμι δὴ τοῦτο γράφων ἀναγκαίως ὥς ὅτι ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον, Σοφία Σολομώντος καὶ Σοφία Σιράχ καὶ Ἑσθήρ καὶ Ἰουδὴ καὶ Τωβίας καὶ Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ὁ Ποιμὴν. Καὶ ὅμως, ἀγαπητοί, κακέινων κανονιζομένων καὶ τούτων ἀναγινωσκομένων οὐδαμοῦ τῶν ἀποκρύφων μνήμη, ἀλλὰ αἰρετικῶν ἐστὶν ἐπίνοια γραψόντων μὲν ὅτε θέλουσιν αὐτὰ χαριζομένων δὲ καὶ προστιθέντων αὐτοῖς χρόνους ἵν' ὥς παλαιὰ προσφέροντες πρόφασιν ἔχωσιν ἀπατῆν ἐκ τούτου τοὺς ἀκεραίους.

XV.

Carm. XII. 31 (Ed. Benedict. Par. 1840). περὶ τῶν γνησίων βιβλίων τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς.

GREGORIUS
NAZIANZENUS.
† 391 A.D.

ὄφρα δὲ μὴ ξείνησι νόον κλέπτοιο βίβλοισι
(πολλαὶ γὰρ τελέθουσι παρέγγραπτοι κακότητες)
δέχυνσο τοῦτον ἐμεῖο τὸν ἔγκριτον, ὦ φίλ', ἀριθμόν.

Ἱστορικαὶ μὲν ἔασι βίβλοι δυοκαίδεκα πᾶσαι
τῆς ἀρχαιότερης Ἑβραϊκῆς σοφίης.

Πρωτίστη Γένεσις εἶτ' Ἑξοδος, Λευιτικόν τε

.....

Ἡ δ' ἐνάτη δεκάτη τε βίβλοι Πράξεις βασιλῶν
καὶ Παραλειπόμεναι. Ἑσχατον Ἑσδραν ἔχεις.

αἱ δὲ στιχηραὶ πέντε ὧν πρῶτός γ' Ἰώβ.

ἔπειτα Δαυὶδ· εἶτα τρεῖς Σολομωνταίαι

Ἐκκλησιαστὴς Ἀσμα καὶ Παροιμίαι,

καὶ πένθ' ὁμοίως πνεύματος προφητικοῦ.

.....

.....

¹ Syr. om. γραφόμεναι.

² Idem est ordo qui in edit. vulgg.

Appendix D.

Ἀρχαίᾳς μὲν ἔθῃκα δύο καὶ εἴκοσι βίβλους
 τοῖς τῶν Ἑβραίων γράμμασιν ἀντιθέτους·
 Ἡδὴ δ' ἀρίθμει καὶ νέον μυστηρίου.
 Ματθαῖος μὲν ἔγραψεν Ἑβραίοις θαύματα Χριστοῦ
 Μάρκος δ' Ἰταλίῃ, Λοῦκας Ἀχαιῖδι.
 Πᾶσι δ' Ἰωάννης κήρυξ μέγας, οὐρανοφοίτης¹,
 Ἐπειτα Πράξεις τῶν σοφῶν ἀποστόλων.
 Δέκα δὲ Παύλου τέσσαρές τ' ἐπιστολαί·
 Ἑπτὰ δὲ καθολίχ², ὧν Ἰακώβου μία,
 Δύο δὲ Πέτρου, τρεῖς δ' Ἰωάννου πάλιν.
 Ἰούδα δ' ἐστὶν ἐβδόμη. Πάσας ἔχεις.
 Εἴ τις δὲ τούτων ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἐν γνησίοις.

XVI.

Iambi ad Seleucum. Ap. Gregor. Nazianz. Cf. Amphiloch.
 ed. Combef. pp. 130 ff.

Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνο προσμαθεῖν μάλιστα σοι
 Προσῆκον, οὐχ ἅπαντα βίβλος ἀσφαλῆς
 Ἡ σεμνὸν ὄνομα τῆς γραφῆς κεκτημένη.
 Εἰσὶν γὰρ εἰσὶν ἐστ' ὅτε ψευδώνυμοι
 Βίβλοι, τινὲς μὲν ἔμμεσοι καὶ γείτονες,
 Ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, τῶν ἀληθείας λόγων.
 Αἱ δ' αὖ νόθοι τε καὶ λίαν ἐπισφαλεῖς
 Ὡς παράσημα καὶ νόθα νομίσματα,
 Ἄ βασιλέως μὲν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν φέρει,
 Κίβδηλα δ' ἐστὶ ταῖς ὕλαις δολούμενα.
 Τούτων χάριν σοι τὴν θεοπνεύστων ἐρῶ
 Βίβλων ἐκάστην, ὥς δ' εὐκρινῶς μάθῃς
 Τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς πρῶτα διαθήκης ἐρῶ.
 Ἡ πεντάτευχος.....
 Τούτοις Ἰησοῦν προστίθει καὶ τοὺς κριτάς,

AMPHILO-
 CHIUS, *Episc.*
Icon.
 c. 380 A.D.

¹ Metra Gregorius nullo certo ordine commiscet; quod lectores monitos velim, nequis Apocalypsim versu proxime sequenti olim commemoratam fuisse suspicetur.

² *i. e.* καθολικά. Αἱ ἐπτὰ δὲ τὰ καθολίχ... Λουκάς, Δέκα, ἐπτὰ, Ἰούδα et in carm. sequ. ὦρᾶ, Λουκά, relin- quere quam corrigere malui.

Ἐπειτα τὴν Ῥούθ, Βασιλεῶν τε τέσσαρας
 Βίβλους, Παραλειπομένων δέ γε ξυνωρίδα.
 Ἐσθρας ἐπ' αὐταῖς πρῶτος, εἴθ' ὁ δεύτερος.
 Ἐξῆς στιχηρὰς πέντε σοι βίβλους ἐρῶ.....
 ταύταις προφήτας προστίθει τοὺς δώδεκα.....
 Μεθ' οὓς προφήτας μάνθανε τοὺς τέσσαρας....
 Τούτοις προσεγκρίνουσι τὴν Ἐσθήρ τινες.
 Καινῆς Διαθήκης ὥρα μοι βίβλους λέγειν
 Εὐαγγελιστὰς τέσσαρας δέχου μόνους,
 Ματθαῖον, εἴτα Μάρκον, ὃ Λουκᾶν τρίτον
 Προσθεῖς ἀρίθμει, τὸν δ' Ἰωάννην χρόνῳ
 Τέταρτον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ὑψει δογμάτων.
 Βροντῆς γὰρ υἱὸν τοῦτον εἰκότως καλῶ
 Μέγιστον ἠχῆσαντα τῷ Θεοῦ λόγῳ.
 Δέχου δὲ βίβλον Λούκα καὶ τὴν δευτέραν,
 Τὴν τῶν καθολικῶν Πράξεων ἀποστόλων.
 Τὸ σκεῦος ἐξῆς προστίθει τῆς ἐκλογῆς,
 Τὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν κήρυκα, τὸν τ' ἀπόστολον
 Παῦλον, σοφῶς γράψαντα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
 Ἐπιστολὰς δις ἐπτά.....
 Τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους νόθον,
 Οὐκ εὖ λέγοντες· γνησίᾳ γὰρ ἡ χάρις.
 Εἶεν· τί λοιπόν; καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν
 Τινὲς μὲν ἐπτὰ φασίν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μόνας
 Χρῆναι δέχεσθαι, τὴν Ἰακώβου μίαν,
 Μίαν δὲ Πέτρου, τὴν τ' Ἰωάννου μίαν,
 Τινὲς δὲ τὰς τρεῖς, καὶ πρὸς αὐταῖς τὰς δύο.
 Πέτρου δέχονται, τὴν Ἰούδα δ' ἐβδόμην.
 Τὴν δ' Ἀποκάλυψιν τὴν Ἰωάννου πάλιν
 Τινὲς μὲν ἐγκρίνουσιν, οἱ πλείους δέ γε
 Νόθον λέγουσιν. Οὗτος ἀψευδέστατος
 Κανὼν ἂν εἴη τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν.....

Appendix D.

Bibl. Bodl.
Codd.
Baroc.
206.

XVII.

Hody, *de Textibus*, p. 649 (Cf. Cotelier, *Patres Apost.* I. 197 ;
Montfaucon, *Bibl. Coislin.* 193 f.).

Περὶ τῶν ξ' βιβλίων καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἐκτός.

α'. Γένεσις.	λα'. Ἡσαίας.
β'. Ἐξόδος.	λβ'. Ἱερεμίας.
γ'. Λευιτικόν.	λγ'. Ἰεζεκιήλ.
δ'. Ἀριθμοί.	λδ'. Δανιήλ.
ε'. Δευτερονόμιον.	λε'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον.
ς'. Ἰησοῦς.	λς'. Κατὰ Μάρκον.
ζ'. Κριταὶ καὶ Ῥούθ.	λζ'. Κατὰ Λουκᾶν.
η'. Βασιλειῶν α'.	λη'. Κατὰ Ἰωάννην.
θ'. Βασιλειῶν β'.	λθ'. Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων.
ι'. Βασιλειῶν γ'.	μ'. Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολὴ.
ια'. Βασιλειῶν δ'.	μα'. Πέτρον.
ιβ'. Παραλειπόμενα ε'.	μβ'. Πέτρον.
ιγ'. Ἰώβ.	μγ'. Ἰωάννον.
ιδ'. Ψαλτήριον.	μδ'. Ἰωάννον.
ιε'. Παροιμίαι.	με'. Ἰωάννου.
ισ'. Ἐκκλησιαστής.	μς'. Ἰούδα.
ιζ'. Ἄσμα ἁσμάτων ε'.	μζ'. Παῦλον πρὸς Ῥωμαίους.
ιη'. Ἐσδρας.	μη'. Παῦλον πρὸς Κορινθίους.
ιθ'. Ὠσηέ.	μθ'. Πρὸς Κορινθίους.
κ'. Ἀμώς.	ν'. Πρὸς Γαλάτας.
κα'. Μιχαίας.	να'. Πρὸς Ἐφεσίους.
κβ'. Ἰωήλ.	νβ'. Πρὸς Φιλιππησίους.
κγ'. Ἰωνᾶς.	νγ'. Πρὸς Κολασσαεῖς.
κδ'. Ἀβδίου.	νδ'. Πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς.
κε'. Ναούμ.	νε'. Πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς.
κς'. Ἀμβρακίου.	νς'. Πρὸς Τιμόθεον.
κζ'. Σοφονίας.	νζ'. Πρὸς Τιμόθεον.
κή'. Ἀγγαῖος.	νη'. Πρὸς Τίτον.
κθ'. Ζαχαρίας.	νθ'. Πρὸς Φιλήμονα.
λ'. Μαλαχίας.	ξ'. Πρὸς Ἑβραίους.

Καὶ ὅσα ἔξω τῶν ξ'.

- α'. σοφία Σολομῶντος.
 β'. σοφία Σίραχ.
 γ'. Μακκαβαίων.
 δ'. Μακκαβαίων.
 ε'. Μακκαβαίων.

- ς'. Μακκαβαίων.
 ζ'. Ἑσθήρ.
 η'. Ἰουδήθ.
 θ'. Τωβίτ.

Καὶ ὅσα ἀπόκρυφα.

- α'. Ἀδάμ.
 β'. Ἐνώχ.
 γ'. Λαμέχ.
 δ'. Πατριαρχαί.
 ε'. Ἰωσήφ Προσευχή.
 ς'. Ἑλδὰμ καὶ Μοδάμ.
 ζ'. Διαθήκη Μωσέως.
 [η'. Deest.)
 θ'. Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος.
 ι'. Ἥλιου ἀποκάλυψις.
 ια'. Ἡσαίου ὄρασις.

- ιβ'. Σοφονίου ἀποκάλυψις.
 ιγ'. Ζαχαρίου ἀποκάλυψις.
 ιδ'. Ἑσδρα ἀποκάλυψις.
 ιε'. Ἰακώβου ἱστορία.
 ις'. Πέτρου ἀποκάλυψις.
 ιζ'. Περίοδοι καὶ διδασκαί τῶν
 ἀποστόλων.
 ιη'. Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή.
 ιθ'. Παύλου πρᾶξις (πράξεις).
 κ'. Παύλου ἀποκάλυψις.
 κα'. Διδασκαλία Κλήμεντος.

κβ'. Ἰγνατίου διδασκαλία.

[κγ'. Deest. Πολυκάρπου διδασκαλία. *Cod. Coislin.*]

κδ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Βαρνάβα (-αν).

Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθ. (i. e. Ματθίαν).

XVIII.

De Sectis Act. II. (Gallandi, XII. 625 seqq.)...ἀριθμησώμεθα τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά βιβλία. τῶν τοίνυν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων τὰ μὲν τῆς παλαιᾶς εἰσὶ γραφῆς· τὰ δὲ τῆς νέας...τῆς μὲν οὖν παλαιᾶς βιβλία εἰσι κβ'. ὧν τὰ μὲν εἰσιν ἱστορικά τὰ δὲ προφητικά τὰ δὲ παραινετικά τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ψάλλειν γενόμενα...τὰ τοίνυν ἱστορικά βιβλία εἰσιν ιβ'...ἡ Γένεσις...ἡ Ἑξοδος...οἱ λεγόμενοι Ἀριθμοί...τὸ Λευιτικόν...τὸ Δευτερονόμιον...ταῦτα δὲ τὰ πέντε βιβλία πάντες τοῦ Μωσέως μαρτυροῦσιν εἶναι· τὰ γὰρ ἐφεξῆς οὐδεὶς οἶδε τίνος εἰσὶ...ἔκτον Ἰησοῦς τοῦ Ναυῆ...Κριταί...Ρούθ. τέσσαρες λόγοι τῶν βασιλευσάντων ἐν δύο βιβλίοις φερόμενοι...ἐνδέκατόν ἐστιν αἱ Παραλειπόμεναι...

LEONTIUS.
c. 590 A.D.

Appendix D.

δωδεκάτον ἐστὶν...ὁ Ἑσδρας...Προφητικά δέ εἰσι πέντε...ὁ Ἡσαίας...
ὁ Ἰερεμίας...ὁ Ἰεζεκὴλ...ὁ Δανιήλ...πέμπτον τὸ δωδεκαπρόφῃτον
λεγόμενον...Παραινετικά εἰσι βιβλία δ', ὧν πρῶτον ὁ Ἰωβ τοῦτο
δέ τινες ἐνόμισαν Ἰωσήπου εἶναι σύγγραμμα...αἱ Παροιμίαι Σολο-
μῶντος...ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστής...τὸ Ἄσμα τῶν Ἀσμάτων...εἰσὶ δὲ ταῦτα
τὰ τρία βιβλία τοῦ Σολομῶντος· μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστὶ τὸ Ψαλτήριον.
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰσι τὰ κβ' βιβλία τῆς παλαιᾶς· τῆς δὲ νέας ἕξ εἰσι
βιβλία, ὧν δύο περιέχει τοὺς τέσσαρας εὐαγγελιστάς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ
ἔχει Ματθαῖον καὶ Μάρκον, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λουκᾶν καὶ Ἰωάννην. τρί-
τον ἐστὶν αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων. τέταρτον αἱ καθολικαὶ ἐπι-
στολαὶ οὖσαι ἑπτὰ· ὧν πρώτη τοῦ Ἰακώβου ἐστὶ· ἡ β'. καὶ ἡ γ'.
Πέτρου· ἡ δ'. καὶ ε'. καὶ στ'. τοῦ Ἰωάννου· ἡ δὲ ζ'. τοῦ Ἰούδα.
καθολικαὶ δὲ ἐκλήθησαν ἐπειδὴ οὐ πρὸς ἓν ἔθνος ἐγράφησαν ὡς αἱ
τοῦ Παύλου, ἀλλὰ καθόλου πρὸς πάντα. πέμπτον βιβλίον αἱ ιδ'.
τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου ἐπιστολαί. ἕκτον ἐστὶν ἡ ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἁγίου
Ἰωάννου.

Ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κανονιζόμενα βιβλία ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ παλαιὰ
καὶ νέα, ὧν τὰ παλαιὰ πάντα δέχονται οἱ Ἑβραῖοι.

XIX.

Cf. Credner, *Zur Gesch. d. K.* ss. 119 ff.¹

§ i. Ὅσαι εἰσὶ θεῖαι γραφαὶ ἐκκλησιαζόμεναι καὶ κεκανονι-
σμένα· καὶ ἡ τούτων στιχομετρία οὕτως².

α'. Γένεσις· στίχοι δτ'.

β'. Ἐξοδος· στίχοι βω'.

γ'. Λευιτικόν· στίχοι βψ'.

δ'. Ἀριθμοί· στίχοι γφλ'.

ε'. Δευτερονόμιον· στίχοι γρ'.

ς'. Ἰησοῦς· στίχοι βρ'.

ζ'. Κριταὶ καὶ Ρούθ· στίχοι βν'.

η'. Βασιλειῶν α' καὶ β'· στίχοι δσμ'.

¹ Lectt. varr. vers. Lat. Anastasii (c. 870 A.D.) apposui e Cod. Burn. (Mus. Brit.) 284, sæc. xii. vel. xiii. f. 283.

² Cod. *Hæ sunt divine scripturæ*

quæ recipiuntur ab ecclesia et canonizantur. Harumque versuum numerus ut subjicitur...Hi autem sunt novi Testamenti.

- θ'. Βασιλειῶν γ' καὶ δ'. στίχοι βσγ'.
 ι'. Παραλειπόμενα α' καὶ β'. στίχοι εφ'.
 ια'. Ἑσδρας α' καὶ β'. στίχοι εφ'.
 ιβ'. Βίβλος Ψαλμῶν στίχοι ερ'.
 ιγ'. Παροιμίαι Σολομῶντος στίχοι ρψ'.
 ιδ'. Ἐκκλησιαστής στίχοι φ'.
 ιε'. Ἄσμα ᾠμάτων στίχοι ςπ'.
 ις'. Ἰώβ. στίχοι ρω'.
 ιζ'. Ἡσαίας προφήτης στίχοι ργω'.
 ιη'. Ἱερεμίας προφήτης στίχοι ςδ'.
 ιθ'. Βαρούχ στίχοι ςψ'.
 κ'. Ἰεζεκιήλ στίχοι ςδ'.
 κα'. Δανιήλ στίχοι β'.
 κβ'. Οἱ δώδεκα προφῆται στίχοι γ'.

Ομοῦ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία εἴκοσι δύο.

§ ii. Τῆς νέας διαθήκης.

- α'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον στίχοι βφ'.
 β'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον στίχοι β'.
 γ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν στίχοι βχ'.
 δ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην στίχοι βτ'.¹
 ε'. Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων στίχοι ςν'.
 ς'. Παύλου ἐπιστολαὶ ιδ' στίχοι ετ'.
 ζ'. Καθολικαὶ² ζ'. Ἰακώβου α'. Πέτρον β'. Ἰωάννον γ'.
 Ἰούδα α'.³

Ὅμοῦ τῆς νέας διαθήκης βιβλία κς'.⁴

§ iii. Καὶ ὅσαι ἀντιλέγονται τῆς παλαιᾶς αὐταὶ εἰσιν.

- α'. Μακκαβαϊκά γ' στίχοι ζτ'.
 β'. Σοφία Σολομῶντος στίχοι ρρ'.
 γ'. Σοφία υἱοῦ τοῦ Σιράχ στίχοι βω'.
 δ'. Ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ Σολομῶντος στίχοι βρ'.
 ε'. Ἑσθήρ στίχοι ςν'.
 ς'. Καὶ Ἰουδῆθ στίχοι ρψ'.
 ζ'. Σώσαννα στίχοι φ'.

¹ Cod. hunc.

iccc.

² Cod. + *Epistola*.

⁴ Cod. *Simul veteris quidem Tes-*

³ Cod. + *Simul septem: versus no tamenti libri xxi et novi vii.*

Appendix D.

- η'. Τωβήτ ὁ καὶ Τοβίας· στίχοι ψ'.
 § iv. Καὶ ὅσα τῆς νέας ἀντιλέγονται.¹
 α'. Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου· στίχοι ,αν'.²
 β'. Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου· στίχοι τ'.³
 γ'. Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή· στίχοι ,ατξ'.⁴
 δ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἑβραίους· στίχοι ,βς'.⁵
 § v. Καὶ ὅσα ἀπόκρυφα τῆς παλαιᾶς.
 α'. Ἐνώχ· στίχοι ,δω'.
 β'. Πατριάρχαι· στίχοι ,ερ'.
 γ'. Προσευχὴ Ἰωσήφ· στίχοι ,αρ'.
 δ'. Διαθήκη Μωυσέως· στίχοι ,αρ'.
 ε'. Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως· στίχοι ,αν'.
 ς'. Ἀβραάμ· στίχοι τ'.
 ζ'. Ἑλαδ καὶ Μωδάδ· στίχοι ν'.
 η'. Ἑλιὰ προφήτου· στίχοι τισ'.
 θ'. Σοφονίου προφήτου· στίχοι χ'.
 ι'. Ζαχαρίου πατρὸς Ἰωάννου· στίχοι φ'.
 κ'. Βαρούχ, Ἀββακούμ, Ἐζεκιήλ καὶ Δανιήλ ψευδεπί-
 γραφα.
 § vi. Καὶ ὅσα τῆς νέας ἀπόκρυφα.
 α'. Ὁ Περίοδος Πέτρου· στίχοι ,βψν'.
 β'. Περίοδος Ἰωάννου· στίχοι ,βχ'.⁷
 γ'. Περίοδος Θωμᾶ· στίχοι ,αψ'.
 δ'. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶν· στίχοι ,ατ'.⁸
 ε'. Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων· στίχοι ς'.
 ς'. Κλήμεντος α'. β'. στίχοι ,βχ'.⁹
 ζ'. Ἰγνατίου, Πολυκάρπου, [Ποιμένος καὶ] Ἑρμᾶ· στίχοι.¹⁰

¹ Cod. *Et quibus novi contradici-* *tur.* *hdc.*

⁷ Cod. *hdc.*

² Cod. *iv.*

⁸ Cod. *Coisl. ap. Montf. p. 204*

³ Cod. *hdc.*

ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου... στίχοι ,αθ'.

⁴ Cod. *iccevi.*

⁹ Cod. *Clementis xxxvii.*

⁵ Cod. *hdc.*

¹⁰ Cod. *Pastoris...?*

⁶ Cod. + *Itinerarium Pauli. ver.*

XX.

*Versus Scribularum Sanctarum*¹

Appendix D.

Cod. Clarom.
Sæc. vii.

ita Genesis verus (sic)	iiiiD
Exodus versus	iiidCC
Leviticum versus	iiidCCC
Numeri versus	iiidCCL
Deuteronomium ver.	iiidCCC
Iesu Navve ver.	ii
Iudicum ver.	ii
Rud ver.	CCL
Regnorum ver.	
primus liber ver.	iiD
secundus lib. ver.	ii
tertius lib. ver.	iiDC
quartus lib. ver.	iiCCCC
Psalmi Davitici ver.	D*
Proverbia ver.	iDC
Aeclesiastes	DC
Cantica Canticorum	CCC
Sapientia vers.	
Sapientia ihu ver.	iiD
xii Profetae ver.	iiicX
Ossee ver.	DXXX
Amos ver.	CCCCX
Micheas ver.	CCCX
Ioel ver.	XC
Abdias ver.	LXX
Ionas ver.	CL
Navm ver.	CXL

col. b.

¹ Ex edit. Tischdf. p. 468 sq. Hic Index inter Epistolas ad Philem. et ad Hebr. interponitur. Nihil vero est in Græco Cod. textu quod stichometriæ respondeat, quam e codice Latino Scriba Græcus (?Alex-andrinus). Equidem e Latina, seu potius ex Africana origine deductam esse crediderim, et certe sæculo quarto antiquiorem. Neque aliter censet Tischdf. Proleg. p. xviii.

Appendix D.

	Ambacvm ver.	CLX
	Sophonias ver.	CLX.
	Aggevs vers.	CX.
	Zacharias ver.	DCLX
	Malachiel ver.	CC
	Eseias ver.	iiidC
	Ieremias ver.	iiilLXX
	Ezechiel ver.	iiidC
	Daniel ver.	iDC
	Maccabeorum sic	
	lib. primvs ver.	iiCCC
	lib. secvndvs ver.	iiCCC
	lib. quartvs ver.	i
	Ivdit ver.	icCC
	Hesdra	iD
p. 496 a	Ester ver.	i
	Iob ver.	iDC
	Tobias ver.	i
	Evangelia	iiii
	Matthevm ver.	iiidC
	Iohannes ver.	ii
	Marcvs ver.	iDC
	Lycam ver.	iiDCCCC
	Epistvlas Pavli	
	ad Romanos ver.	ixL
	ad Chorintios. i. ver.	ilX
	ad Chorintios. ii. ver.	LXX ¹
	'ad Galatas ver.	CCCL
	ad Efesios ver.	CCCLXV
	ad Timothevm .i. ver.	CCviii
	ad Timothevm .ii. ver.	CCLXXXviii
	ad Titvm ver.	CXL
	ad Colosenses ver.	CCLi
	ad Filimonem ver.	L

¹ Non dubium est quin h. l. librarius per incuriam scripserit LXX pro ilXX (Tisch. p. 589).

	ad (<i>sic</i>) Petrv̄m prima	CC
	ad Petrv̄m .II ver.	CXL
col. b.	Jacobi ver.	CCXX
	Pr. Iohanni Epist.	CCXX
	Iohanni Epistvla .II.	XX
	Iohanni Epistvla .III.	XX
	Ivdæ Epistvla ver.	LX
	² Barnabæ Epistvla ver.	DCCCL ¹
	Iohannis Revelatio	icc
	Actvs Apostolorvm	iīDC
	² Pastoris versi	īīī
	² Actvs Pauli ver.	īīDLX
	² Revelatio Petri	CCLXX

XXI.

De Doctr. Christiana, II. 12 (VIII.) (ed. Bened. Par. 1836).
 Erit igitur divinarum scripturarum solertissimus indagator, qui primo totas legerit notasque habuerit, et si nondum intellectu jam tamen lectione, duntaxat eas quæ appellantur Canonicae. Nam cæteras securius leget fide veritatis instructus, ne præoccupent imbecillum animum, et periculosos mendaciis atque phantasmatis eludentes præjudicent aliquid contra sanam intelligentiam. In canonicis autem Scripturis, ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurium auctoritatem sequatur; inter quas sane illæ sint, quæ apostolicas sedes habere et epistolas accipere meruerunt. Tenebit igitur hunc modum in Scripturis Canonicis, ut eas quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur ecclesiis catholicis præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt; in eis vero quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas quas plures gravioresque accipiunt eis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis

AUGUSTINUS, *Ep. Hippo.* 355.
 † 430 A.D.

¹ Hoc nomine, ut videtur, *Ep. ad Hebræos* designatur, cui idem versuum numerus in uno Græco codice tribuitur. Ex Latinis alii DCC alii DCCC versus numerant. Contra Apocryphæ *Barnabæ Epistola* in Nicephori *Stichometria* MCCCLX (MCCCVI) versus tribuuntur.

² His quatuor versibus... manu satis recenti præpositi sunt obeli. (Tisch. p. 589.)

Appendix D.

ecclesiæ tenent. Si autem alias invenerit a pluribus, alias a gravioribus haberi, quanquam hoc facile invenire non possit, æqualis tamen auctoritatis eas habendas puto. 13. Totus autem Canon Scripturarum in quo istam considerationem versandam dicimus, his libris continetur : Quinque Moyseos id est Genesi, Exodo, Levitico, Numeris, Deuteronomio ; et uno libro Jesu Nave, uno Judicum, uno libello qui appellatur Ruth, qui magis ad Regnorum principium videtur pertinere et duobus Paralipomenon non consequentibus sed quasi a latere adjunctis simulque pergentibus. Hæc est historia quæ sibimet annexa tempora continet atque ordinem rerum : sunt aliæ tanquam ex diverso ordine quæ neque huic ordini neque inter se connectuntur, sicut est Job et Tobias et Esther et Judith et Machabæorum libri duo et Esdræ duo, qui magis subsequi videntur ordinatam illam historiam usque ad Regnorum vel Paralipomenon terminatam : deinde Prophetæ in quibus David unus liber Psalmorum, et Salomonis tres Proverbiorum, Cantica Canticorum, et Ecclesiastes. Nam illi duo libri unus qui Sapientia et alius qui Ecclesiasticus inscribitur de quadam similitudine Salomonis esse dicuntur, nam Jesus Sirach eos conscripsisse constantissime perhibetur qui tamen quoniam in auctoritatem recipi meruerunt inter propheticos numerandi sunt. Reliqui sunt eorum libri qui proprie Prophetæ appellantur, duodecim Prophetarum libri singuli, qui connexi sibimet quoniam nunquam sejuncti sunt pro uno habentur ; quorum Prophetarum nomina sunt hæc, Osee.....Malachias : deinde quatuor Prophetæ sunt majorum voluminum Isaias, Jeremias, Daniel, Ezechiel. His quadraginta quatuor libris Testamenti Veteris terminatur auctoritas : Novi autem, quatuor libris Evangelii, secundum Matthæum, secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Joannem ; quatuordecim Epistolis Pauli Apostoli, ad Romanos, ad Corinthios duabus, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Thessalonicenses duabus, ad Colossenses, ad Timotheum duabus, ad Titum, ad Philemonem, ad Hebræos ; Petri duabus ; tribus Joannis ; una Judæ et una Jacobi ; Actibus Apostolorum libro uno, et Apocalypsi Joannis libro

uno. 14 (ix) In his omnibus libris timentes Deum et pietate mansueti quærunt voluntatem Dei.

XXII.

Cf. App. C.

XXIII.

Hær. LXXXVIII. (Gallandi, vii. 480 sqq.)...Statutum est ab apostolis et eorum successoribus non aliud legi in ecclesia debere catholica nisi Legem et Prophetas et Evangelia et Actus Apostolorum, et Paulli tredecim epistolas, et septem alias, Petri duas, Joannis tres, Judæ unam, et unam Jacobi, quæ septem Actibus Apostolorum conjunctæ sunt...

Hær. LXXXIX. Sunt alii quoque [hæretici] qui epistolam Paulli ad Hebræos non asserunt esse ipsius, sed dicunt aut Barnabæ esse Apostoli aut Clementis de urbe Roma episcopi; alii autem Lucæ Evangelistæ aiunt; epistolam etiam ad Laodicenses scriptam. Et quia addiderunt in ea quædam non bene sentientes inde non legitur in ecclesia; et si legitur a quibusdam, non tamen in ecclesia legitur populo, nisi tredecim epistolæ ipsius et ad Hebræos interdum...quia factum Christum dicit in ea inde non legitur; de pœnitentia autem propter Novatianos æque.

Hær. LX....sunt hæretici qui Evangelium secundum Joannem et Apocalypsim ipsius non accipiunt, et...in hæresi permanent pereuntes ut etiam Cerinthis illius hæretici esse audeant dicere, et Apocalypsim itidem non beati Joannis Evangelistæ et Apostoli sed Cerinthis hæretici...

XXIV.

Prologus Galeatus in libros Samuel et Malachim. Viginti et duas litteras esse apud Hebræos Syrorum quoque et Chaldæorum lingua testatur...Porro quinque litteræ duplices apud Hebræos sunt...unde et quinque a plerisque libri duplices æstimantur, Samuel, Malachim, Dabre-Iamim, Ezras, Jeremias cum Cinoth, id est Lamentationibus suis. Quomodo igitur viginti duo elementa sunt per quæ scribimus Hebraice omne

Appendix D.

Can. Murat.

PHILASTRIUS.
† c. 387 A.D.

HIERONYMUS.
† 420 A.D.

Appendix D.

quod loquimur et eorum initiis vox humana comprehenditur, ita viginti duo volumina supputantur, quibus quasi litteris et exordiis in Dei doctrina tenera adhuc et lactens viri justī eruditur infantia.

Primus apud eos liber vocatur *Bresith*, quem nos Genesim dicimus. Secundus.....Hi sunt quinque libri Mosi quos proprie *Thorath* id est legem appellant.

Secundum Prophetarum ordinem faciunt, ut incipiunt ab Jesu filio Nave...Deinde subtexunt...Judicum librum, et in eundem compingunt Ruth...Tertius sequitur Samuel...Quartus....Regum....Quintus Isaias. Sextus Jeremias. Septimus Iezeciel. Octavus liber duodecim Prophetarum...

Tertius ordo Hagiographa possidet; et primus liber incipit ab Job. Secundus a David...Tertius est Solomon, tres libros habens, Proverbia...Ecclesiasten...Canticum Canticorum. Sextus est Daniel. Septimus...qui apud nos Paralipomenon primus et secundus inscribitur. Octavus Ezras...Nonus Esther.

Atque ita fiunt pariter veteris legis libri viginti duo, id est, Mosi quinque, Prophetarum octo, Hagiographorum novem. Quamquam nonnulli Ruth et Cinoth (Lamentationes) inter Hagiographa scriptitent et libros hos in suo putent numero supputandos, ac per hoc esse priscae legis libros viginti quatuor, quos sub numero viginti quatuor seniorum Apocalypsis Joannes inducit adorantes Agnum et coronas suas prostratis vultibus offerentes.....

Hic prologus Scripturarum, quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hebræo vertimus in Latinum convenire potest; ut scire valeamus quidquid extra hos est inter Apocrypha esse ponendum. Igitur Sapientia quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu filii Sirach liber, et Judith, et Tobias, et Pastor, non sunt in Canone. Machabæorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi. Secundus Græcus est; quod ex ipsa quoque *φράσει* probari potest...

Ad Paul. Ep. LIII. § 8 (l. p. 548 ed. Migne).

Cernis me Scripturarum amore raptum excessisse modum epistolæ, et tamen non implesse quod volui.....Tangam et

Novum breviter Testamentum. Matthæus, Marcus, Lucas, et Johannes, quadriga Domini et verum Cherubim, quod interpretatur scientiæ multitudo, per totum corpus oculati sunt, scintillæ emicant, discurrunt fulgura, pedes habent rectos et in sublime tendentes, terga pennata et ubique volitantia. Tenent se mutuo, et quasi rota in rota volvuntur, et pergunt quocunque eos flatus Sancti Spiritus perduxerit. Paulus Apostolus ad septem ecclesias scribit, octava enim ad Hebræos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur, Timotheum instruit ac Titum, Philemonem pro fugitivo famulo (Onesimo) deprecatur. Super quo tacere melius puto quam pauca scribere. Actus Apostolorum nudam quidem sonare videntur historiam et nascentis Ecclesiæ infantiam texere; sed si noverimus scriptorem eorum Lucam esse medicum, *cujus laus est in Evangelio*, animadvertemus pariter omnia verba illius animæ languentis esse medicinam. Jacobus, Petrus, Joannes, Judas, Apostoli, septem epistolas ediderunt tam mysticas quam succinctas, et breves pariter et longas: breves in verbis, longas in sententiis, ut rarus sit qui non in earum lectione cæcutiat. Apocalypsis Joannis tot habet sacramenta quot verba. Parum dixi pro merito voluminis. Laus omnis inferior est: in verbis singulis multiplices latent intelligentiæ.

XXV.

Comm. in Symb. Apost. § 36 (Ed. Migne, Paris, 1849)... Hic igitur Spiritus Sanctus est qui in veteri Testamento Legem et Prophetas, in novo Evangelia et Apostolos inspiravit. Unde et Apostolus dicit: 2 Tim. 3. Et ideo quæ sunt Novi ac Veteris Testamenti volumina, quæ secundum majorum traditionem per ipsum Spiritum Sanctum inspirata creduntur, et ecclesiis Christi tradita, competens videtur hoc in loco evidenti numero, sicut ex patrum monumentis accepimus, designare.

§ 37. Itaque Veteris Testamenti, omnium primo Moysi quinque libri sunt traditi, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium. Post hæc Jesus Nave, Judicum simul cum Ruth. Quatuor post hæc Regnorum libri quos Hebræi duos

RUFINUS
C. 410 A.D.

Appendix D.

numerant; Paralipomenon, qui dierum dicitur liber; et Esdræ duo, qui apud illos singuli computantur, et Hester. Prophetarum vero Esaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel et Daniel: præterea duodecim Prophetarum liber unus. Job quoque et Psalmi David singuli sunt libri. Salomonis vero tres ecclesiis traditi, Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum. In his concluserunt numerum librorum Veteris Testamenti.

Novi vero quatuor Evangelia, Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, et Joannis. Actus Apostolorum quos describit Lucas. Pauli apostoli epistolæ quatuordecim. Petri apostoli duæ. Jacobi fratris domini et apostoli una. Judæ una. Joannis tres. Apocalypsis Joannis.

Hæc sunt quæ patres intra Canonem concluserunt, et ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt.

§ 38. Sciendum tamen est quod et alii libri sunt qui non Canonici sed Ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt, id est Sapientia, quæ dicitur Salomonis, et alia Sapientia, quæ dicitur filii Sirach...Ejusdem vero ordinis libellus est Tobiae et Judith: et Machabæorum libri.

In Novo vero Testamento libellus qui dicitur Pastoris seu Hermas, qui appellatur Duæ viæ vel Judicium Petri. Quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Cæteras vero Scripturas Apocryphas nominarunt, quas in Ecclesiis legi noluerunt.

Hæc nobis a patribus tradita sunt, quæ (ut dixi) opportunum visum est hoc in loco designare, ad instructionem eorum qui prima sibi ecclesiæ ac fidei elementa suscipiunt, ut sciant, ex quibus sibi fontibus verbi Dei haurienda sint pocula.

XXVI.

*Ad Exsuperium ep. Tolosanum*¹ (Gallandi, Bibl. Pp. viii. 561 seqq.). Hæc sunt ergo² quæ de siderata moneri voluisti: Moysi libri quinque...et Jesu Nave, et Judicum, et Regnorum

¹ E cod. Coll. SS. Trin. (A) colla- Claud. E, V (D).
tis 'B' (cf. p. 533, n. 8) et Cotton. ² BD; om. ergo A Gall.

libri quatuor simul et Ruth, prophetarum libri sexdecim, Salomonis libri quinque, Psalterium. Item historiarum, Job liber unus, Tobiae unus, Hester unus, Judith unus, Machabeorum duo, Esdræ duo, Paralipomenon duo. Item Novi Testamenti: Evangeliorum libri iiii; Pauli Apostoli Epistolæ xiiii: Epistolæ Johannis tres: Epistolæ Petri duæ: Epistola Judæ: Epistola Jacobi: Actus Apostolorum: Apocalypsis Johannis. Cætera autem quæ vel sub nomine Matthiæ, sive Jacobi minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Johannis, quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt, vel sub nomine Andræ, quæ a Nexocharide¹ et Leonida philosophis, vel sub nomine Thomæ, et si qua sunt talia², non solum repudianda verum etiam noveris esse damnanda. [Data x kal. Mart. Stilichone ii. et Anthemio virr. clarr. coss.³] (A.D. 405)

XXVII.

Decretum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis (Credner, *Zur Gesch. d. K.* p. 192 sqq.). Incipit confirmatio domini Gelasii Papæ de libris Veteris ac Novi Testamenti.

GELASIUS.

§ 1. *In principio videlicet quinque libri Moysis.*

Genesis liber i.

.....

Jesu Nave liber i.

Judicum liber i.

Ruth liber i.

Regum libri iv.

Paralipomenon libri ii.

Psalmorum cl. liber i.

Salomonis libri iii.

Proverbiorum...

Sapientiæ liber i.

Ecclesiasticus liber i.

¹ anexocharide, B.

² ABD—alia Gall.

³ om. ABD.

Appendix D.

§ 2. *Item Prophetæ numero xvi.*

Esaïæ liber i....

Danielis liber i.

Osee liber i.....

Malachiæ liber i.

§ 3. *Item Storiarum.*

Job liber i.

Tobias liber i.

Ester liber i.

Judith liber i.

Esdra libri ii.

Machabæorum libri ii.

§ 4. *Item ordo Scripturarum Novi Testamenti, quem Sancta Catholica Romana suscipit et veneratur ecclesia*¹. Evangeliorum² libri iv, id est³ sec. Matthæum lib. i. sec. Marcum lib. i. sec. Lucam lib. i. sec. Joannem lib. i. Item Actuum Apostolorum liber unus⁴.

§ 5. Epistolæ Pauli Apostoli num. xiii⁵.

§ 6. Apocalypsis⁶ liber i. Apostolicæ epistolæ⁷ numero

¹ Recensionum quæ Damasi (D) et Hormisdæ (H) nomina præ se ferunt lectt. varr. apposui; singulas quasque Codd. lectiones Credner dabit. Id vero minime prætermittendum esse credo duos Mus. Brit. codices decretum Gelasii de libris apocryphis continere, nullo librorum S. Scripturæ canone præposito; quorum alter (Cotton. Vesp. B, 13, 12) ita incipit: *Post propheticas et evangelicas scripturas atque apostolicas scripturas vel veteris vel novi testamenti, quas regulariter suscipimus, sancta Romana ecclesia has non prohibet suscipi. Sanctam Synodum Nicænam...* Alter vero (Add. 15,222, sæc. xi.) eundem fere quem Cod. L. (Credner, p. 178) textum exhibet, alio tamen titulo: *Incipit decretum Gelasii papæ quem (sic) in urbe Roma*

cum LXX, eruditissimis episcopis conscripsit. Equidem, ut verum fatear, librorum ecclesiasticorum et apocryphorum indicem multo majoris auctoritatis esse quam SS. Scripturarum canonem existimo.

² *Evangelium, D.*

³ om. *id est, H.*

⁴ *D. Actus Apostolorum liber i.* post Apocalypsim ponit.

⁵ Credner, XIII. nulla variatione notata; sed quum quatuordecim in Codd. fere XIII. scribatur, vereor ne Areval., cujus collationem Cod. A. sequitur, eum in errorem induxerit. *Epp. Pauli (+ apostoli H) numero xiv. D. H. indice addito.*

⁶ *Item Apocalypsis Joannis (+ apostoli D) lib. i. DH.*

⁷ *Item epistolæ canonice D, item cann. epp. H.*

vii. Petri apostoli¹ numero ii. Jacobi apostoli numero¹ i. Joannis apostoli iii². Judæ Zelotis³.

XXVIII.

De instit. div. Litt. cap. xiv⁴. Scriptura Sancta secundum antiquam translationem in Testamenta duo ita dividitur, id est in Vetus et in Novum⁵. In Genesim...Deuteronomium, Jesu Naue...Regum libros quatuor, Paralipomenon libros duos, Psalterium librum unum, Salomonis libros quinque, *i. e.* Proverbia, Sapientiam, Ecclesiasticum, Ecclesiasten, Canticum Cantorum, Prophetas id est Isaiam...Danielem, Osee...Malachiam qui et Angelus, Job, Tobiam, Esther, Judith, Esdra duos, Machabæorum duos. Post hæc sequuntur Evangelia quatuor⁶, id est Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, Johannis: Actus Apostolorum: Epistolæ Petri ad gentes⁷: Jacobi⁸: Johannis ad Parthos: Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos una, ad Corinthios⁹ duæ, ad Galatas¹⁰ una, ad Philippenses una, ad Ephesios una¹¹, ad Colossenses una, ad Hebræos una, ad Thessalonicenses¹² duæ, ad Timotheum duæ, ad Titum una¹³, ad Philemonem una: Apocalypsis¹⁴ Johannis.

XXIX.

Prol. in Psalm. 15. Et ea causa est ut in viginti duos libros lex Testamenti Veteris deputetur, ut cum litterarum numero convenirent. Qui ita secundum traditiones veterum deputantur, ut Moysi sint libri quinque, Jesu Naue sextus, Judicum et Ruth septimus, primus et secundus Regnorum in octavum, tertius et quartus in novum, Paralipomenon duo

Appendix D.

CASSIODORUS.
C. 470—565
A. D.

HILARIUS,
Pict. v. Ep.

¹ om. numero DH.

² Joannis Apost. ep. i. Alterius Joannis Presbyteri ep. ii. D.

³ + epistola i D. + apostoli epistola H.

⁴ E cod. Reg. Mus. Brit. 13 A, xxi. 7 (a): collatis codd. Cotton. Claud. B, 13, 8 (β); Reg. 10 B, xv. 2 (γ); 5 B, viii. 6 (δ).

Idem divisiones secundum Hieronymum et Augustinum in capitibus proxime præcedentibus tradidit.

⁵ Edd. = in.

⁶ Evangeliorum quatuor Matthæus, &c. βγδ; Evangelistæ quatuor, edd.

⁷ Edd. + Jude. Sed omm. αβγδ.

⁸ Edd. + ad duodecim tribus.

⁹ Corinthios γ.

¹⁰ Galathas αγδ.

¹¹ Edd. = ad Ephesios una err. typ.?
ad Ephesios duæ δ.

¹² Thessalonicenses γδ.

¹³ ad Tit. una ad Tim. duæ β.

¹⁴ Apocalypsin δ.

Appendix D.

in decimum sint, sermones dierum, Esdræ in undecimum, liber Psalmorum in duodecimum, Salomonis Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum in tertium decimum, quartum decimum et quintum decimum, duodecim autem Prophetæ in sextum decimum, Esaias deinde et Jeremias cum Lamentatione et Epistola; sed et Daniel et Ezechiel et Job et Hester, viginti et duum librorum numerum consumment¹. Quibusdam autem visum est additis Tobia et Judith viginti quatuor libros secundum numerum Græcarum litterarum connumerare, Romana quoque lingua media inter Hebræos Græcosque collecta; quia his maxime tribus linguis sacramentum voluntatis Dei et beati regni expectatio prædicatur...

XXX.

ISIDORUS,
Ep. Hispal.
† 636 A.D.

De ordine Librorum S. Scripturæ init.² Migne, *Isidorus*, Tom. v. 155 ff.

1. Plenitudo Novi et Veteris Testamenti quam in canone catholica recipit Ecclesia juxta vetustam priorum traditionem ista est.

2. In principio videlicet quinque libri Moysi...

3. Huic succedunt libri Jesu Naue, Judicum et... Ruth...

4. Hos sequuntur quatuor libri Regum. Quorum quidem Paralipomena libri duo e latere annectuntur... 5. Alia sunt volumina quæ in consequentibus diversorum inter se temporum texunt historias, ut Job liber, et Tobia, et Esther, et Judith, et Esdræ, et Machabæorum libri duo.

6. Sed hi omnes præter librum Job Regum sequuntur historiam...

7. Ex quibus quidem Tobia, Judith et Machabæorum Hebræi non recipiunt. Ecclesia tamen eosdem inter Canonicas scripturas enumerat.

¹ Hæc ex Origene transtulit Hilarius [cf. supra § 13] cujus verba in uno saltem loco parum intellexit, Hebraicum τῶν παραλειπομένων titulum cæteris omissis Latine interpretando. Idem tamen corruptum Originis textum libro duodecim prophetarum addito supplevit.
² E Cod. Reg. (Mus. Brit.) 5 B. viii. (a); coll. Cod. Cotton. Vesp. B. xiii. (b).—Cf. Isid. Proem. §§ 86—109.

8. Occurrunt dehinc Prophetæ, in quibus est Psalmorum liber unus, et Salomonis libri tres, Proverbiorum scilicet, Ecclesiastes et Cantica Canticorum. Duo quoque illi egregii et sanctæ institutionis libelli, Sapientiam dico et alium qui vocatur Ecclesiasticus; qui dum dicantur a Jesu filio Sirach editi, tamen propter quamdam eloquii similitudinem Salomonis titulo sunt prænotati. Qui tamen in Ecclesia parem cum reliquis Canoniciis libris tenere noscuntur auctoritatem.

9. Supersunt libri sedecim prophetarum...Hinc occurrit Testamentum Novum, cujus primum Evangeliorum libri sunt quatuor, Matthæus¹ et Marcus, Lucas et Johannes. Sequuntur deinde Epistolæ Pauli apostoli xiiii. id est, ad Romanos, ad Corinthios duæ, ad Galatas², ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses³, et ad Thessalonicenses duæ, ad Colossenses, ad Timotheum duæ, ad Titum vero et ad Philemonem et ad Hebræos singulæ epistolæ, Jacobi apostoli una⁴, Petri duæ, Johannes iii.⁵ Judæ una. Actus etiam Apostolorum a Luca Evangelista conscriptus; et Apocalypsis Johannis apostoli. Fiunt ergo in ordine utriusque Testamenti libri septuaginta et duo.

14. Hæc sunt enim nova et vetera quæ de thesauro Domini proferuntur, e quibus cuncta sacramentorum mysteria revelantur. Hi sunt duo Seraphim qui in confessione sanctæ Trinitatis jugiter certantes τῶν ἁγίων hymnum erumpunt.

16. Hæ litteræ sacræ, hi libri integri numero et auctoritate: aliud cum istis nihil est comparandum. Quicquid extra hos fuerit inter hæc sacra et divina nullatenus recipiendum⁶.

XXXI.

Ep. 143, ad Henricum Comitem Campaniæ. Quæsitum vero est quem credam numerum esse librorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti et quos auctores eorum; quid Hieronymus in Epistola ad Paulinum presbyterum de omnibus libris divinæ pagellæ ascripta dicat mensam solis a philosopho Apollonio littera

¹ + quoque b.² Galathas ab.³ Philipenses a.⁴ om. una a.⁵ iii or a.⁶ recipienda b.

Appendix D.

persequente visam in sabulò; quid item Virgilio centonas et Homeri centonas in eadem dicat Epistola... De primis duabus quæstionibus, de numero scilicet librorum et auctoribus eorum Cassiodorus elegantem composuit librum; sed quia in hac parte fides mea discutitur, mea vel aliorum non multa interesse arbitror quid credatur; sic [si] enim hoc credatur an alterum nullum salutis affert dispendium. In eo autem quod nec obest nec prodest aut in alterutro parum momenti affert acrius litigare; nonne idem est ac si de lana caprina inter amicos acerbius contendatur? Proinde magis fidem arbitror impugnare si quis id de quo non constat pervicacius statuatur, quam si a temeraria definitione abstinens id unde patres dissentire videt et quod plane investigare non potest, relinquat incertum. Opinio tamen in alteram partem potest et debet esse proclivior ut quod omnibus aut pluribus aut maxime notis atque præcipuis aut unicuique probato artifice secundum propriam videtur facultatem facilius admittatur, nisi ratio manifesta aut probabilior in his quæ rationi subjecta sunt oppositum doceat esse verum...

Quia ergo de numero librorum diversas et multiplices patrum lego sententias catholicæ ecclesiæ doctorem Hieronymum sequens, quem in construendo literæ fundamento probatissimum habeo, sicut constat esse viginti duas literas Hebræorum sic viginti duos libros Veteris Testamenti in tribus distinctos ordinibus indubitanter credo... Liber vero Sapientiæ et Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias et Pastor, ut idem pater asserit, non reputantur in Canone, sed neque Machabæorum liber, qui in duo volumina scinditur... Ille autem qui Pastor inscribitur an alicubi sit nescio, sed certum est quod Hieronymus et Beda illum vidisse et legisse testantur. His adduntur Novi Testamenti octo Volumina, scilicet, Evangelium Matthæi Marci Lucæ Ioannis, Epistolæ Pauli quindecim uno volumine comprehensæ, licet sit vulgata et fere omnium communis opinio non esse nisi quatuordecim... Ceterum quindecima est illa quæ ecclesiæ Laodicensium scribitur, et licet, ut ait Hieronymus, ab omnibus explodatur, tamen ab apostolo scripta est. Neque sententia hæc de aliorum præsumitur opinione sed ipsius apo-

stoli testimonio roboratur. Meminit enim ipsius in Epistola ad Colossenses his verbis: *cum lecta fuerit apud vos hæc epistola, facite in Laodicensium ecclesia legatur, et ea quæ Laodicensium est legatur a vobis.* Sequuntur epistolæ canonicæ septem in uno volumine, deinde Actus Apostolorum in alio et tandem Apocalypsis. Et hunc quidem numerum esse librorum qui in sacrarum scripturarum canonem admittuntur celebris apud ecclesiam et indubitata traditio est, qui tanta apud omnes vigent auctoritate ut contradictionis aut dubietatis locum sanis mentibus non relinquant quin conscriptæ sint digito Dei. Jure ergo et merito cavetur et condemnatur ut reprobis qui in morum verborumque commercio, præsertim in foro fidelium, hujus divini eloquii passim et publice non admittit argentum quod igne Spiritus Sancti examinatum est, purgatum septuplum. Istis ergo secure fides incumbat et illis quæ hinc probatum et debitum accipimus firmamentum, quoniam infidelis et hæreticus est qui eis ausus fuerit refragari.

De librorum vero auctoribus variantur opiniones, licet ista prævaluerit apud ecclesiam eos ab illis esse præscriptos qui in singulorum titulis prænotantur...Sed quæ cura est, serenissime domine, has atque alias in investigatione auctorum discutere, opiniones cum verum omnium sanctarum scripturarum constet esse auctorem Spiritum Sanctum? Nam beatus Gregorius in *Moralibus* verissime et elegantissime, cum constet libri beati Job, quem exponebat, Spiritum Sanctum esse auctorem, de scriptore libri postmodum quærere habendum esse ac si cum de scriptore certum sit de calamo quo liber scriptus sit quæratur.

XXXII.

De Script. 6. Omnis divina Scriptura in duobus Testamentis continetur. Veteri videlicet et Novo. Utrumque Testamentum tribus ordinibus distinguitur. Vetus Testamentum continet legem, prophetas, hagiographos. Novum autem Evangelium apostolos patres. Primus ordo Veteris Testamenti, id est lex...Pentateuchum habet...Secundus ordo est prophetarum: hic continet octo volumina...Deinde tertius ordo novem

HUGO DE
S. VICTORE.
† 1140 A. D.

Appendix D.

habet libros...Omnes ergo fiunt numero viginti duo...Sunt præterea alii quidam libri ut Sapientia Salomonis, liber Jesu filii Sirach et liber Judith et Tobias et libri Machabæorum, qui leguntur quidem sed non scribuntur in canone. His xxii libris Veteris Testamenti, viii libri Novi Testamenti junguntur. In primo ordine Novi Testamenti sunt iv Evangelia. In secundo ordine similiter sunt quatuor, videlicet Actus Apostolorum, Epistolæ Pauli xiv sub uno volumine contextæ, Canonice Epistolæ, Apocalypsis. In tertio ordine primum locum habent Decretalia quos Canonicos, i. e. regulares appellamus; deinde sanctorum patrum scripta, i. e. Hieronymi, Augustini, Ambrosii, Gregorii, Isidori, Origenis, Bedæ, et aliorum doctorum, quæ infinita sunt. Hæc tamen scripta patrum in textu divinarum scripturarum non computantur, quandoquidem in Vetere Testamento ut diximus quidam libri sunt qui non scribuntur in Canone et tamen leguntur, ut Sapientia Salomonis et ceteri. Textus igitur divinarum scripturarum quasi totum corpus principaliter xxx libris continetur. Horum xxii in Vetere, viii in Novo Testamento, sicut supra monstratum est, comprehenduntur. Cætera vero scripta quasi adjuncta sunt et ex his præcedentibus manantia. In his autem ordinibus maxime utriusque Testamenti apparet convenientia: quia sicut post legem prophetæ, et post prophetas hagiographi, ita post Evangelium apostoli, et post apostolos doctores ordine successerunt. Et mira quadam divinæ dispensationis ratione actum est, ut cum in singulis Scripturis plena et perfecta veritas consistat, nulla tamen superflua sit.

XXXIII.

Decretum de Canonicis Scripturis. Sacrosancta œcumenica et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata,...hoc sibi perpetuo ante oculos proponens, ut sublatis erroribus puritas ipsa evangelii in ecclesia conservetur...perspicuensque hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis et sine scriptis traditionibus, quæ ab ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptæ aut ab ipsis apostolis Spiritu Sancto dic-

CONCIL.
TRIDENT.
Apr. 8, 1546.

tante quasi per manus traditæ ad nos usque pervenerunt; orthodoxorum patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus deus sit auctor; necnon traditiones ipsas tum ad fidem tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus a Christo vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas et continua successione in ecclesia Catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur. Sacrorum vero librorum indicem huic decreto adscribendum censuit, ne cui dubitatio suboriri possit, quinam sint qui ab ipsa synodo suscipiuntur. Sunt vero infra scripti. Testamenti veteris, quinque Moysis, i. e. Josue, Judicum, Ruth, quatuor Regum, duo Paralipomenon, Esdræ primus et secundus, qui dicitur Neemias, Thobias, Judith, Hester, Job, Psalterium Davidicum cl psalmorum, Parabolæ, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, Isaias, Hieremias cum Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel, duodecim prophetæ minores, i. e. Osea...Malachias, duo Machabæorum, primus et secundus. Testamenti novi, quatuor Evangelia...Actus Apostolorum a Luca evangelista conscripti. Quatuordecim epistolæ Pauli apostoli, ad Romanos...ad Hebræos. Petri apostoli duæ, Joannis apostoli tres, Jacobi apostoli una, Judæ apostoli una, et Apocalypsis Joannis apostoli. Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non suscepit; et traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contempserit; anathema sit.

APPENDIX E.

THE EPISTLE TO THE LAODICENES.

Appendix E.

THE text of this Epistle is given according to four Manuscripts in the British Museum.

- A. *Cod. Add.* 11,852. A very valuable Manuscript of St Paul's Epistles, which belonged to the Abbey of St Gall, and was written probably between A.D. 872—884. An inscription at the end of the Capitula of the Epistle to the Romans records the original donation.

Iste liber Pauli retinet documenta sereni :
Hartmotus Gallo quem contulit Abba beato.
Si quis et hunc sancti sumit de culmine Galli,
Hunc Gallus Paulusque simul dent pestibus amplis.

The text of the Epistle in this Manuscript is perhaps the best which remains. The Epistle stands after that to the Hebrews and has no Capitula.

- H. *Harl.* 2833, 31, 1, 2. Sæc. xi. written for the use of the Cathedral of Angers. The Epistle follows the Apocalypse.

- C. *Add.* 10,546. Sæc. ix. (known as *Charlemagne's Bible*). The Epistle comes between that to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse.

The text is printed from *Cod. Reg.* 1 E vii, viii, Sæc. ix, x, in which it appears in its fullest form. I have added readings from the Lambeth manuscripts 3, 4 (*L*₁) and 1152 (*L*₂), Sæc. xii, xiii, but I cannot feel sure that the collation is complete.

The italics mark the extent of variation from the printed text; the † an addition to it; the * and ** the first and second hands.

EXPLICIT EPISTOLA AD HEBREOS SCRIPTA.

AB URBE ROMA HABET VERSUS DCC.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA IN EPISTOLA AD LAUDICENSES.

I Paulus apostolus pro Laudicensibus domino gratias refert et hortatur eos ut a seductoribus* decipiantur.

II [Quod**?] manifesta vinculat apostoli in quibus lætatur et gaudet.

III Monet Laudicenses apostolus ut sicut sui audierunt præsentiam ita retineant et sine retractatu** faciant,

IIII Hortatur apostolus Laudicenses ut fide sint firmi et que** integra et vera et deo sunt placita faciant. Salutatio fratrum in osculo sancto. EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA INCIPIT EPISTOLA AD LAUDICENSES.

INCIPIUNT EPISTOLA AD LAUDICENSES¹.

I. PAULUS APOSTOLUS,
non *ab hominibus* neque
per hominem, sed per Ihesum Christum
et Deum patrem omnipotentem
qui suscitavit eum a mortuis,
Fratribus qui sunt *Laodicie*: gratia vobis
et pax a deo *†patre†* et Domino *nostro* Ihesu Christo.
Gratias ago *Deo meo et Christo Ihesu* per omnem
orationem meam, quod *estis permanentes*

5

¹ Incipit EPISTOLA PAULI AD LAODICENSES. A.H. INCIPIT EPISTOLA AD LAODICENSES C.

² ab homine A.

^{4, 5} *om.* ACHL₂.

⁶ Laodicie CH. Laoditiae*, Laodicie** A.

⁷ Deo et p. L₂.

... patre nostro H.

... Domino *om.* nostro CHL₂.

⁸ ago Christo per omn. AH; Deo meo per omn. C; *om.* et...per L₁.

⁹ perm. estis CHL₁L₂.

Appendix E.

in eo et perseverantes *in operibus* [†]*tejus speran-* 10
tes promissum in die *judicationis*. Neque
enim destituant vos quorundam *vaniloquia*
insinuantium[†]; *sed peto ne* vos avertant** a *
 a ** *veritate evangelii* quod a me praedicatur.
 Et nunc *faciet Deus* ut[†] qui sunt ex me *ad per-* 15
fectum veritatis evangelii dei servientes[†] et fa-
 cientes *benignitatem eorum quae* sunt
salutis vitae aeternae.

II. Et nunc *palam sunt* vincula mea quae pa-
 tior in Christo,[†] *in* quibus laetor et gaudeo; 20
 et hoc mihi est ad salutem perpetuam, quod ipsum
 factum[†] orationibus vestrist[†] administrante *Spiritu*
Sancto, sive per vitam sive *per* mortem. Est enim mihi
vere vita in Christo et mori gaudium;[†] et *ipse*
 in vobis faciet *misericordiam suam*, ut eandem 25
dilectionem habeatis et sitis unanimes.

10 op. bonis H. om. in op. ejus C.

10, 11 promissum expectantes CHL₂. sp. promissionem A.

11 iudicii CHL₂.

12 om. enim ACH. destituunt HL₂. destituit C, quorundam A.
 ... vaniloquentia AC.

13 insinuantium se A. insanientium H. ut vos av. ACHL₂. avar-
 tant* A. a erased.

15 Deus faciet A. ut sint A.

15, 16 in profectum A. ad pfectum H. ad profectum C.

16 deservientes ACH. des. sint H.

17 operum quæ AH. operumq. C.

19 sunt palam A.

20 in Chr. Ihesu CL₁. om. in ACHL₁. ut gau. C.

21 michi H. and v. 23.

22 factum est H. et adm. H. et amminstr. C.

22, 23 sancto spiritu A. spiritum sanctum C.

23 om. per H.

24 vivere vita CH. vivere A; gau. vel lucrum H; ipsum A. id
 ipsum C.

25 misericordia sua A.

Appendix E.

legi Colosensibus *hanc epistolam et Colosensibus
vos legite. Deus autem et pater Domini nostri Ihesu
Christi custodiat vos immaculatos in Christo
Ihesu, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum Amen*

EXPLICIT EPISTOLA AD LAUDICENSES.

INCIPIT PROLOGUS HIERONIMI

IN APOCALYPSIS (*sic*).

41 *om.* hanc epistolam AH.

41, 42 Colosensium vobis AH. Colosensium vos I₁. Explicit epistola ad Laodicenses. A. Explicit. H.

42 *om.* Deus autem...to the end AH.

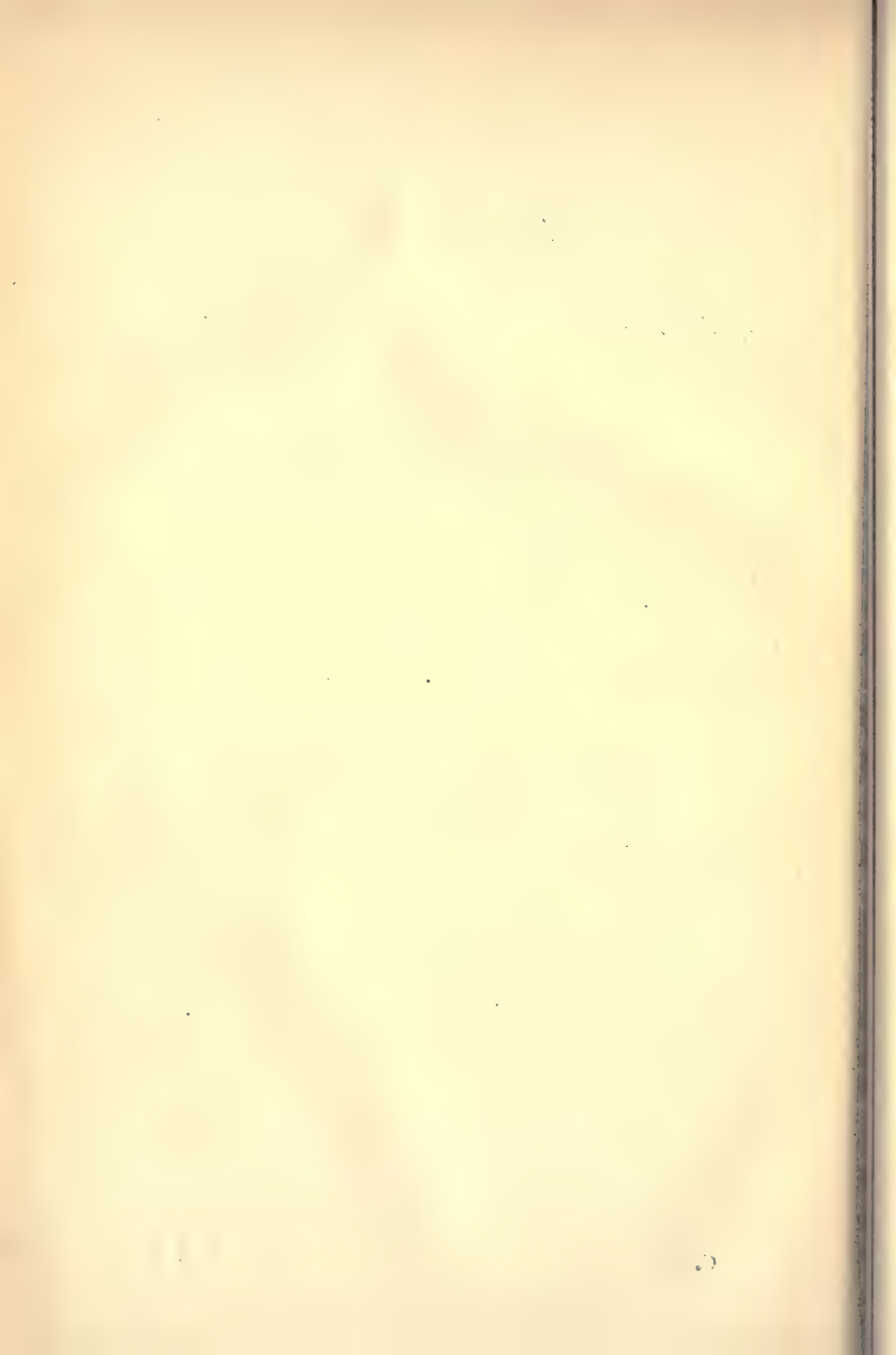
ADDENDA.

P. 50 n. 2. I should have added that the singular combination of phrases which is quoted is taken from *Cod. Sin.* The words, as they stand, are liable to be misunderstood.

P. 70 l. 15. The *καὶ* which is not expressly rendered in the translation, marks (I cannot doubt) that the 'traditions' were an appendix, so, to speak, to the 'interpretations.' If there were any doubt as to the meaning of 'λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις,' it would be removed by the words of Irenæus in the Preface to his Treatise. Certain, he says, παράγουσι τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἀπειροτέρων... ἁπλοῦς διουργούντες τὰ λόγια κυρίου, ἐξηγηταὶ κακοὶ τῶν καλῶς εἰρημέτων γινόμενοι (*adv. Hær. i. Præf. 1*). Papias wished to combat false 'interpretations' of the 'oracles' by true. It may be added that the MSS. are divided as to whether the title of Papias' book was Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις or Λ. κ. ἐξηγήσεις. The plural is perhaps the most likely reading.

P. 150 n. 5. Mr Hort calls my attention to the fact that the readings of the Old Latin Copies indicate conclusively that D also read ἀναγεννηθῆτε. It may be worth while referring to the familiar words in our Service for Baptism... 'Christ saith, None can enter into the kingdom of God except he *be regenerate and born anew* of water and of the Holy Ghost,' where the phrase is rendered doubly.

P. 251 n. 4. "The true meaning of *Itala* is confirmed by August. "*Retr. i. 21. 3*, where he retracts a former charge against Donatus, of "mutilating a verse of Ecclesiasticus, stating that he has since ascertained "that before Donatism arose 'sic habuisse codices plurimos, verumtamen "Afros.' His own familiarity lay with MSS. not African." (F. J. A. H.)



INDEX I.

List of the Authorities quoted in reference to the Canon of the New Testament¹.

- Acta Felicis*, 409
Æthiopic Version, 366 n.
 Africanus, s. Julius
 Agrippa Castor, 94
Alexander, Bp. of Alexandria, 364 n.
 424
 ALFRIC, 452
 Alogi, 276
Ambrose, Bp. of Milan, 450
Ammonius, 321
 AMPHILOCHIUS, 441
Anatolius, 365 n.
Ancient Syriac Documents, 243 n.
Andrew, Bp. of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, 443
Apelles, 313 n.
 Apollinaris, s. Claudius
Apollonius of Ephesus, 378
 APOSTOLIC CANONS, 434
 — • Constitutions, 365
Arabic Version of Erpenius, 241 n.
Archelaus, 392 n.
Arethas, 443
 Aristides, 84
Aristides Soph. 401 n.
 Aristo of Pella, 93
Arius, 425
Arnobius, 118
 Articles, The English, 494
 ATHANASIUS, 444, 546
 Athenagoras, 117, 226
 Auct. adv. Cataphryg. 383
 — de Mundo, 376
 — adv. Hær. [Hippol.] 374
 — Parv. Labyr. 375
 — ad Novat. hær. 370
 — de Resurr. [Justin], 169
 AUGUSTINE, 450, 557
Aurelius, 370

Bardesanes, 237
 Barnabas, 40

Basil, Bp. of Cæsarea in Cappadocia,
 442
 Basilides, 288
Bede, 451
 Beza, 486
Bullinger, 495

Cæsarius, 442 n.
 Caietan, Cardinal, 471
 Caius, 275 n. 374, 403 n.
 Calvin, 484
 Carpocrates, 293
 Carthage, s. Council
Cassian, 445
 CASSIODORUS, 450
Catharinus, 472
Celsus, 400
Cerdo, 310 n.
 Cerinthus, 273
 Chrysostom, s. Johannes
Claudius Apollinaris, 224
 Clement of Rome, 22
 [Clement's] Second Epistle, 177
 — Two Epistles to Virgins,
 183 n.
 Clement of Alexandria, 117, 339,
 342 n. 350
 Clementine Homilies, 282 ff. 285 ff.
 Codex, ALEX. (A), 544
 — BEZÆ, 174, 255
 — Barocc. 550
 — Boerner. (G), 513
 — CLAROM. (D), 555
 — Coislin. (H), 390
 Cohortatio ad Græcos [Justin],
 170
Commodian, 370
 Concil. AQUISGRANENSE, 532 n.
 — *Carthaginienſe* (256 A. D.),
 362 n.
 — *CARTHAGINIENSE* III. 435,
 533

¹ The authorities which are merely noticed in passing are printed in Italics: those which supply Catalogues of the New Testament in Capitals.

- Concil. HIEROSOLYMITANUM (1672), 434 n.
 — HIPPONENSE, 437 n.
 — Laodiceum, 427
 — *Nicanum*, 425
 — Quinisextum, 434
 — *Tolosanum*, 447 n.
 — TRIDENTINUM, 472, 570
 Confessio Belgica, 488
 — Gallica, 489
 Constantine the Great, 422
 Cornelius, 373
 Cosmas, 241, 445 n.
 Cyprian, 118, 369 f. 382
 CYRIL, Bp. of Jerusalem, 443, 541
 Cyril, Bp. of Alexandria, 444
 CYRIL LUCAR, 434 n.
 Damascenus, s. Johannes
 Damasus, 449
Diamper, *Synod of*, 242
Didymus, 444
 Diognetus, Letter to, 85
 Dionysius of Corinth, 185
 Dionysius of Rome, 374
 Dionysius of Alexandria, 361
 DIONYSIUS Areopagita, 445 n.
Dionysius Bar Salibi, 242
 Donatists, 409
 Dorotheus, 388
Dositheus, 434 n.
 EBED JESU, 242, 439, 538
 Ebionites, 159 n. 281
 Elders quoted by Irenæus, 79
 Ephrem Syrus, 238, 241 n. 440
Epiphanes, 294 n.
 EPIPHANIUS, 443, 542
 Erasmus, 467
Eucherius, 451
 EUSEBIUS, Bp. of Cæsarea in Palestine, 118, 410
Euthalius, 445
 Evangelists in Trajan's time, 81
Faustinus, 450 n.
 Firmilian, 382
Fulke, 495
 GELASIUS, 449, 563
Gennadius, 451
 GREGORY of Nazianzus, 441, 442, 547
 Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea, 381
 Gregory of Nyssa, 442
 Grotius, 491
 Hegesippus, 202, 237
 Heracleon, 299
 Hermas, 190
Hermias, 117
Hesychius, 388 n.
Hierocles, 497
Hilary, Bp. of Poitiers, 451, 565
Hilary of Rome, 447
 Hippolytus, 376
 HUGO of St Victor, 458, 569
 Ignatius, 28
 INNOCENT I. Bp. of Rome, 449, 562
 Irenæus, 336, 342 n. 379
Isidorus (son of Basilides), 293
Isidore of Pelusium, 444
 ISIDORE, Bp. of Seville, 447, 451, 566
 JEROME, 447, 559
Jewel, 495
 JOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, 437, 535
 JOHANNES DAMASCENUS, 440, 537
Johannes Scholasticus, 432
 JOHN of Salisbury, 459, 567
Julius Africanus, 364 n.
 JUNILIUS, 439, 536
 Justin Martyr, 95
Justin the Gnostic, 281 n.
 Karlstadt, 480
Lactantius, 118, 368 n.
 Latin Versions:
 Vetus Latina, 244
 Vulgate, 259
Leo Allatius, 446
 LEONTIUS, 445, 551
Lucian of Antioch, 388
Lucian, 401 n.
Lucifer, 450 n.
 Luther, 476
 Malchion, 388
 Mani, 396
 Marcion, 308
 Marcosians, 305
 Martyrdom of Ignatius, 79 n.
 — Polycarp, s. Smyrna
 Melito, 218, 541
Memphitic Version, 365

- Menander*, 273
Methodius, 382
Metrophanes Critopulus, 435 n.
Miltiades, 385 n.
Minicius Felix, 117, 373
Montanus, 395
 MURATORIAN CANON, 208

Naassenes, 279
NICEPHORUS, 446, 552
Nicephorus Callisti, 446 n.
Novatus, 373

Œcolampadius, 483
Œcumenius, 446
Ophites, 279
Optatus, 447
Oratio ad Græcos [Justin], 170
Origen, 118, 354
Orthodox Confession, 434 n.

Pacian, 447 n.
Palladius, 438 n.
Pamphilus, 389
Pantaenus, 82, 338
Papias, 68
Patricians, 394
Paul of Samosata, 387
Pelagius, 447
Peratici, 280
Peter Martyr, Bp. of Alexandria, 364
PHILASTRIUS, 450, 559
Phileas, 364
Phœbadius, 447
Photius, 446
Pierius, 363
Pinytus, 189
Pistis Sophia, 400 n.
Polycarp, 369
Polycrates, 377
Porphyry, 401
Praxeas, 394
Prosper, 451
Prudentius, 451
Ptolemæus, 303

Quadratus, 83

RUFINUS, 450, 561

Salvian, 451
Saturninus, 289 n.
Sedulius, 451

Serapion, Bp. of Antioch, 385
Sethiani, 280
Severian, 439 n.
Sibylline Oracles, 399
Simon Magus, 271
Sixtus Senensis, 475
 'Sixty Books,' s. Cod. Barocc.
Smyrna, Epistle of the Church of,
 227 n.
Sulpicius, 451
Symmachus, 285 n.
SYNOPSIS S. SCRIPTURÆ ap. Ath.
 444 n.
SYNOPSIS S. SCRIPTURÆ ap. Chrys.
 438, 535
Syrian Versions:
 Peshito, 233
 Philoxenian, 239 n.
 Harclean, ib.

Tatian, 116, 315
Tertullian, 117, 341, 342 n. 367, 369,
 370
Testaments of the xii. Patriarchs, 399
Thebaic Version, 365
Theodore, Bp. of Mopsuestia, 438
Theodoret, 439
Theodotus Byzant. 308 n.
Theodotus, 395
Theognostus, 364
Theonas, 363
Theophilus, 117, 225, 385
Theophylact, 446
Tichonius, 410 n.
Tyndale, 492, 495

Ulphilas, 425 n.

Valentinus, 294
Victor of Antioch, 439
Victorinus Petaviensis, 368
Vienne and Lyons, Epistle of the
 Churches of, 335
Vincent of Lerins, 447

Westminster Confession, 489
Whitaker, 495

Ximenes, Cardinal, 466
Xystus, 191 n.

Zeno, 447
Zwingli, 483

INDEX II.

A Synopsis of the Historical Evidence for the Books of the New Testament.

- i. *The characteristic teaching of the Apostles.*
 1. The teaching of St PETER.
Clement of Rome, 24
Polycarp, 37
 2. The teaching of St JAMES.
Clement of Rome, 25
Hermas, 197
 3. The teaching of St JOHN.
Clement of Rome, 25
Ignatius, 35
Letter to Diognetus, 89
Hermas, 199 f.
Cerinthus, 274
Ophites, 280
Carpocrates, 294
 4. The teaching of St PAUL.
Clement of Rome, 25
Ignatius, 33
Polycarp, 38
Letter to Diognetus, 89
Justin Martyr, 167
Hermas, 199
Carpocrates, 294
Marcosians, 306
Testaments of the xii. Patriarchs, 400
 5. The teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews.
Clement of Rome, 26
Barnabas, 42
- ii. *The Catalogues of the Books of the New Testament*¹.
Alfric, 452
Amphilochius, 441, 548
- Athanasius, 444, 546
Augustine, 450, 557
Canon Apostol. 534
Canon Murat. 208
Cassiodorus, 565
Cod. Alexandrinus, 544
Cod. Barocc. 550
Cod. Clarom. 555
Concil. Carthag. (Hippo), 436, 533
— [Laod.], 429, 532
— Trident. 570
Cosmas Indicopl. 445 n.
Cyril of Jerusalem, 443, 541
Ebed Jesu, 439, 538
Epiphanius, 443, 542
Eusebius, 410
Gelasius, 449, 563
Gregory Nazianz. 441, 547
Hilary, 565
Hugo of St Victor, 569
Jerome, 447, 559
Innocent I. 449, 562
Johannes Damasc. 440, 537
Isidore of Seville, 451, 566
John of Salisbury, 567
Junilius, 439, 536
Leontius, 445, 551
Nicephorus, 446, 552
Origen, 354, 545
Philastrius, 450, 559
Rufinus, 450, 561
Syn. S. Script. (ap. Chrys.), 535
- iii. *The Evidences for the different parts of the New Testament generally.*
 1. *The Gospels.*
Apostolic Fathers, 51
Evangelists in Trajan's time, 81

¹ The Catalogues which agree with the received Catalogues of the New Testament are marked by Italics.

Letter to Diognetus, 91
 Justin Martyr, 115
 Hermas, 198
 Muratorian Canon (iv.), 211
 Claudius Apollinaris, 224
 Peshito (iv.), 241
 Carpocrates, 293
 [Valentinus, 295]
 Ptolemæus (iv.), 303
 Marcosians (iv.), 306
 Theodotus (iv.), 308 n.
 Tatian (iv.), 318
 Tertullian (iv.), 342 n.
 Clemens Alex. (iv.), *ib.*
 Irenæus (iv.), *ib.*
 Origen (iv.), 354
 Celsus (iv.), 400

2. *The Catholic Epistles.*

Seven:

Pamphilus (?), 390
 Eusebius (?), 411, 420
 Didymus (2 Peter), 444
 Euthalius, 445
 Cassian (om. 2 and 3 John),
 445
 Ambrose, 450

Three:

Peshito, 241
 Chrysostom, 437

Two (1 Peter, 1 John):

Theodore of Mopsuestia, 438
 Severion of Gabala (?), 439 n.
 = Marcion, 312

3. *The Epistles of St Paul.*

Thirteen (*without Ep. to Hebrews*):

Canon Murat. 214
 Vetus Latina, 254
 Tertullian, 342 n.
 Clemens Alex. (= Philemon), *ib.*
 Irenæus (= Philemon), *ib.*
 Hippolytus (= Philemon), 376
 Cyprian, 368
 Victorinus, *ib.*
 Caius, 374

Ten (*excluding Pastoral Epp. and Ep. to Hebrews*):

Basilides, 292
 Marcion, 312

Fourteen:

Peshito, 241
 Origen (?), 355
 Donatists (? Hebrews), 410
 Eusebius, 412
 Chrysostom, 439
 Euthalius, 445
 Cosmas, 445 n.
 Cassian, 445
 Ambrose, 450

iv. *Special Evidence for separate Books¹.*

The Gospel of St Matthew:

Barnabas, 51 n.
 Papias, 72
 Seniores ap. Iren. 80
 Pantæus, 82
 Justin Martyr, 112, 130, 138,
 152, 155
 Frag. de Resurr. 169
 Dionysius of Corinth, 189
 Hermas, 198 n.
 Hegesippus, 205
 Theophilus, 225
 Athenagoras, 226
 [Simon Magus], 272
 Cerinthus, 274
 Ophites, 280
 Sethiani, 281
 Ebionites, *ib.*
 Clementine Homilies, 283
 Basilides, 292
 [Valentinus, 296]
 Heracleon, 300
 Ptolemæus, 304
 Marcosians, 305
 Tatian, 317
Πλοῦς Σοφία, 400 n.

The Gospel of St Mark.

Papias, 73
 Justin Martyr, 113
 Frag. de Resurr. 169
 Canon Murat. 211
 Clementine Homilies, 283

The Gospel of St Luke:

Justin Martyr, 113, 130, 137

¹ In the case of the 'acknowledged' books I have not generally carried this later than the beginning of the third century, as at that time all controversy ceases.

Frag. de Resurr. 169
 Hegesippus, 205
 Canon Murat. 211
 Theophilus, 230 n.
 Ophites, 280
 Basilides, 292
 [Valentinus, 296]
 Heracleon, 300
 Marcion, 311
 Epistle of Church of Vienne, 335
Πίστις Σοφία, 400 n.

The Gospel of St John :

[Clement of Rome], 179
 Ignatius, 35
 Papias, 76
 Seniores ap. Iren. 79
 Justin Martyr, 150, 166
 Frag. de Resurr. 169
 Cohort. ad Græcos, 170
 Hermas, 199
 Hegesippus, 206
 Canon Murat. 211
 Theophilus, 225
 Athenagoras, 226
 Claudius Apollinaris, 224
 [Simon Magus], 272
 Ophites, 280
 Peratici, 280
 Sethiani, 281
 Clementine Homilies, 283
 Basilides, 292
 [Valentinus, 296]
 Heracleon, 300
 Ptolemæus, 304
 Marcion, 313
 Tatian, 317
 Epistle of Church of Vienne, 335
 Polycrates, 377
 Test. of xii Patriarchs, 399
Πίστις Σοφία, 400 n.

The Acts :

Polycarp, 48 n.
 Letter to Diognetus, 91
 Justin Martyr (?), 168 n.
 Cohort. ad Græcos, 169
 Hermas, 199
 Hegesippus, 205
 Canon Murat. 214
 Peshito, 241
 Theodotus, 308 n.
 Epistle of Church of Vienne, 335

Tertullian, 342 n.
 Clemens Alex. *ib.*
 Irenæus (cf. *c. Hær.* III. 3. 3), *ib.*
 = Marcion 312.

Ep. to the Romans :

Clement of Rome, 48 n.
 Polycarp, *ib.*
 Seniores ap. Iren. 80
 Letter to Diognetus, 91
 Justin Martyr, 167
 Theophilus, 225
 Athenagoras, 227
 Ophites, 280
 Basilides, 292
 [Valentinus, 296]
 Heracleon, 300
 Ptolemæus, 304
 Theodotus, 308 n.
 Tatian (?), 317
 Epistle of Church of Vienne, 335
Πίστις Σοφία, 400 n.

1 *Ep. to the Corinthians :*

Clement of Rome, 48 n.
 Ignatius, *ib.*
 Polycarp, *ib.*
 Seniores ap. Iren. 80
 Letter to Diognetus, 91
 Justin Martyr, 168
 Frag. de Resurr. 169
 Cohort. ad Græcos, 170
 Hermas, 199
 [Hegesippus, 214]
 Theophilus, 225
 Athenagoras, 227
 [Simon Magus], 272
 Ophites, 280
 Peratici, 280
 Basilides, 292
 [Valentinus, 296]
 Heracleon, 300
 Ptolemæus, 304
 Theodotus, 308 n.
 Tatian (?), 317
 Epistle of Church of Vienne (?),
 335

2 *Ep. to the Corinthians :*

Polycarp, 48 n.
 Seniores ap. Iren. 80
 Letter to Diognetus, 91
 Theophilus, 225

[Athenagoras, 227]

Ophites, 280

Sethiani, 281

Basilides, 292

Ep. to the Galatians:

Polycarp, 48 n.

Letter to Diognetus, 91

Orat. ad Græcos, 170

Athenagoras, 227

Ophites, 280

Ptolemæus, 304

Theodotus, 308 n.

Tatian, 318

Ep. to the Colossians:

Justin Martyr, 167

Cohort. ad Græcos, 170

Theophilus, 225

Peratici, 280

Basilides, 292

Ptolemæus, 304

Theodotus, 308 n.

Ep. to the Ephesians:

Clement of Rome, 48 n.

Ignatius, *ib.*

Polycarp (?), *ib.*

Letter to Diognetus, 91

Hermas, 199

Theophilus, 225

Ophites, 280

Basilides, 292

[Valentinus, 296]

Ptolemæus, 304

Marcosians (?), 305

Theodotus, 308 n.

Epistle of Church of Vienne, 335

Ep. to the Philippians:

Polycarp, 48 n.

Ignatius, *ib.*

Letter to Diognetus, 91

Frag. de Resurr. 169

Theophilus, 225

Sethiani, 281

Theodotus, 308 n.

Epistle of Church of Vienne, 335

1 *Ep. to the Thessalonians:*

Ignatius (?), 48 n.

Polycarp (?), *ib.*

Dionysius of Corinth, 189

2 *Ep. to the Thessalonians:*

Polycarp (?), 48 n.

Justin Martyr, 168

1 *Ep. to Timothy:*

Clement of Rome, 48 n.

Polycarp, *ib.*

Barnabas (?), *ib.*

Letter to Diognetus, 91

Frag. de Resurr. 169

Hegesippus (?), 206 n.

Theophilus, 225

Athenagoras (?), 227

Theodotus, 308 n.

Epistle of Church of Vienne, 335

2 *Ep. to Timothy:*

Barnabas (?), 48 n.

Polycarp, *ib.*

Heracleon, 300

Ep. to Titus:

Clement of Rome (?), 48 n.

Letter to Diognetus, 91

Theophilus, 225

Tatian, 317

Ep. to Philemon:

Ignatius (?), 48 n.

Ep. to the Hebrews:

Clement of Rome, 49. Cf. p. 179 n.

Justin Martyr, 168

Pinytus, 189

Peshito, 235 n. 241

Theophilus, 225, 385

Ophites (?), 280

[Valentinus (?), 296]

Pantænus, 351

Clement of Alexandria, *ib.*

Origen, 355, 360

Dionysius of Alexandria, 361

Theognostus, 364

Peter of Alexandria, *ib.*

Alexander of Alex. 364 n. 425

[Tertullian, 367]

Lactantius (?), 368 n.

[Novatus, 373]

Irenæus (?), 380

Gregory Thaum. 381

Methodius, 383

Synod. Antioch. 387
 Pamphilus, 390
 Archelaus, 392 n.
 Testaments of the xii. Patri-
 archs, 399 n.
 Eusebius, 412, 419
 Theodore of Mopsuestia, 438
 Pacian, 447
 Pelagius, *ib.*
 Hilarius Diac. *ib.*
 Lucifer, 450 n.
 Faustinus, 450 n.
 = Vetus Latina (?), 256, 262
 = Canon Murat. 215
 = Tertullian, 367
 = Caius, 374
 = Hippolytus, 376
 = Marcion, 312
 = Cyprian, 368
 = Victorinus, *ib.*
 = Novatus, 373
 = Optatus Mil. 447
 = Phoebeadius, *ib.*
 = Zeno, *ib.*

Ep. of St James :

Clement of Rome, 48 n. Cf.
 184
 Hermas, 198
 Melito (?), 219
 Peshito, 241
 [Clemens Alex.], 351. Cf. 353
 Origen, 357
 Dionysius of Alex. 361
 [Novatus, 373]
 Gregory Thaum. 381
 Eusebius (?), 415, 420
 Chrysostom, 438
 Basil, 442
 = Canon Murat, 216
 = Vetus Latina, 261
 = Irenæus (?), 380
 = Tertullian, 369
 = Cyprian, 369
 = Theodore of Mopsuestia, 438

First Ep. of St Peter :

[Clement of Rome], 184
 Polycarp, 48 n.
 Papias, 76
 Letter to Diognetus, 91
 Hermas, 199
 Melito (?), 219

Peshito, 241
 Theophilus, 225
 Basilides, 292
 Marcosians (?), 307
 Theodotus, 308 n.
 Epistle of Church of Vienne, 335
 Tertullian, 260 n. 343 n.
 Clemens Alex. *ib.*
 Irenæus, *ib.*
 Origen, 355

Second Ep. of St Peter :

Clement of Rome. Cf. c. xi.;
 2 Pet. ii. 6—9.
 Polycarp (?), 48 n. 325 n.
 [Clemens Alex. 351, cf. 353]
 Vetus Latina, 260
 Origen (?), 358
 [Novatus, 373]
 Firmilian (?), 382
 Theophilus (?), 226 n. 385
 Eusebius (?), 411
 Ephrem-Syrus (?), 440
 Palladius, 438 n.
 [Melito, 220 n.]
 = Peshito, 241
 = Irenæus, 380
 = Tertullian, 369
 = Cyprian, *ib.*
 = Hippolytus (?), 376 n.
 = Cosmas (?), 445
 = Theodore of Mopsuestia (?),
 438

First Ep. of St. John :

[Clement of Rome], 184
 Polycarp, 48 n.
 Papias, 76
 Letter to Diognetus, 90
 Canon Murat. 215
 Peshito, 241
 [Valentinus (?), 296]
 Epistle of Church of Vienne, 335
 Tertullian, 343 n.
 Irenæus, *ib.*
 Clemens Alex. *ib.*
 Origen, 355

Second and Third Epp. of St John :

Canon Murat. (?), 215 f.
 Codex Bezae (Ep. 3), 255
 [Clemens Alex.], 351
 — — Ep. 2, 353

Origen (?), 359
 Dionysius of Alex. 362
 [Tertullian, 369]
 [Cyprian, *ib.*]
 Alexander of Alex. (Ep. 2), 425
 Aurelius (Ep. 2), 370
 Irenæus (Ep. 2), 379
 Eusebius (?), 415
 Tichonius (Ep. 2), 410 n.
 Palladius (Ep. 3), 438 n.
 = Peshito, 241
 = Theodore of Mopsuestia, 438
 = Chrysostom (?), 438

Ep. of St Jude :

Canon Murat. 215 f.
 Clemens Alex. 351, 353
 Origen, 357
 Tertullian, 256, 369
 Auct. ad Novat. hæc. 370
 Caius (?), 376
 Malchion, 388
 Eusebius (?), 415, 420
 Palladius, 438 n.
 = Irenæus, 380
 = Peshito, 241
 = Theodore of Mopsuestia, 438

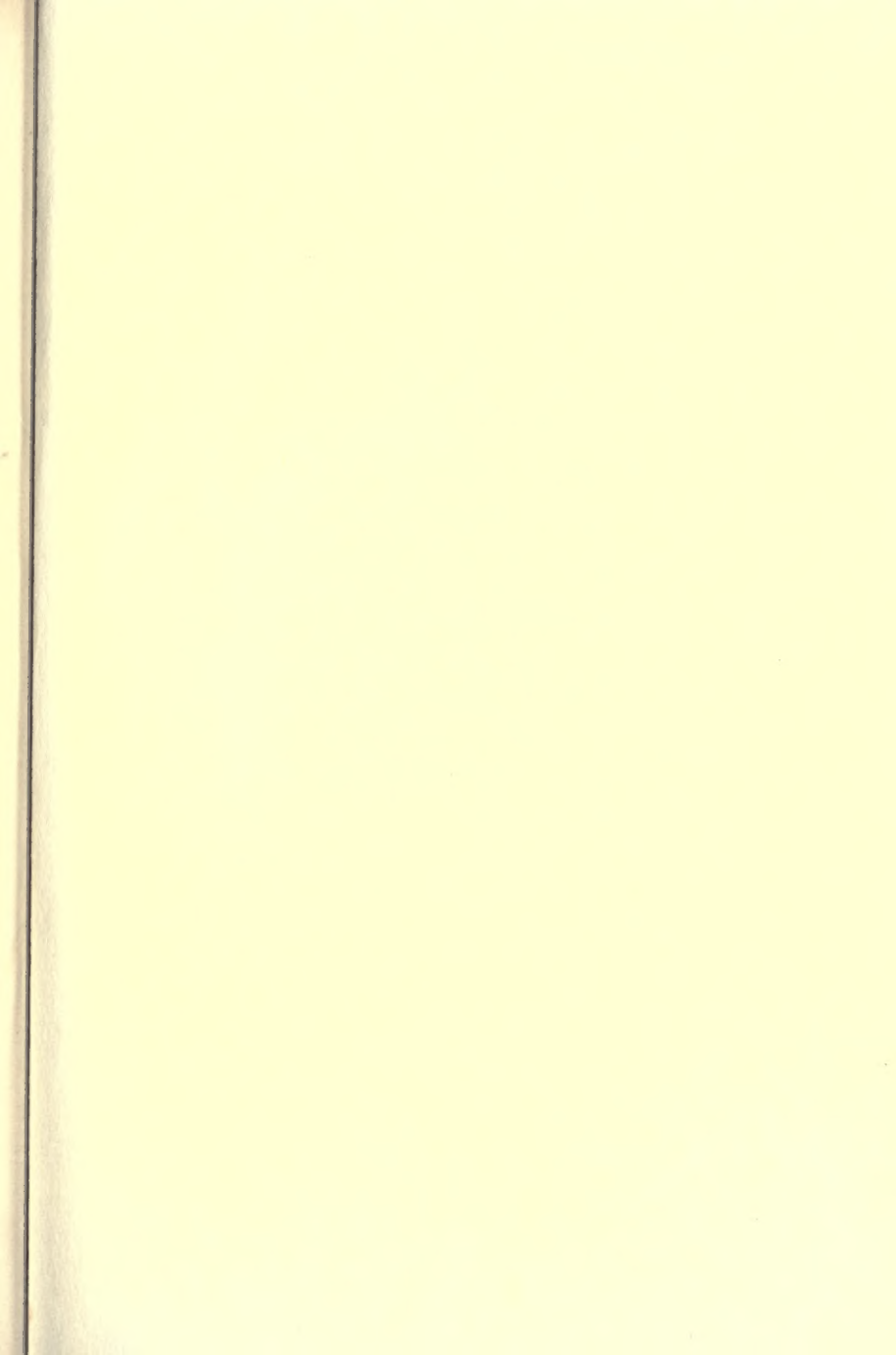
Apocalypse :

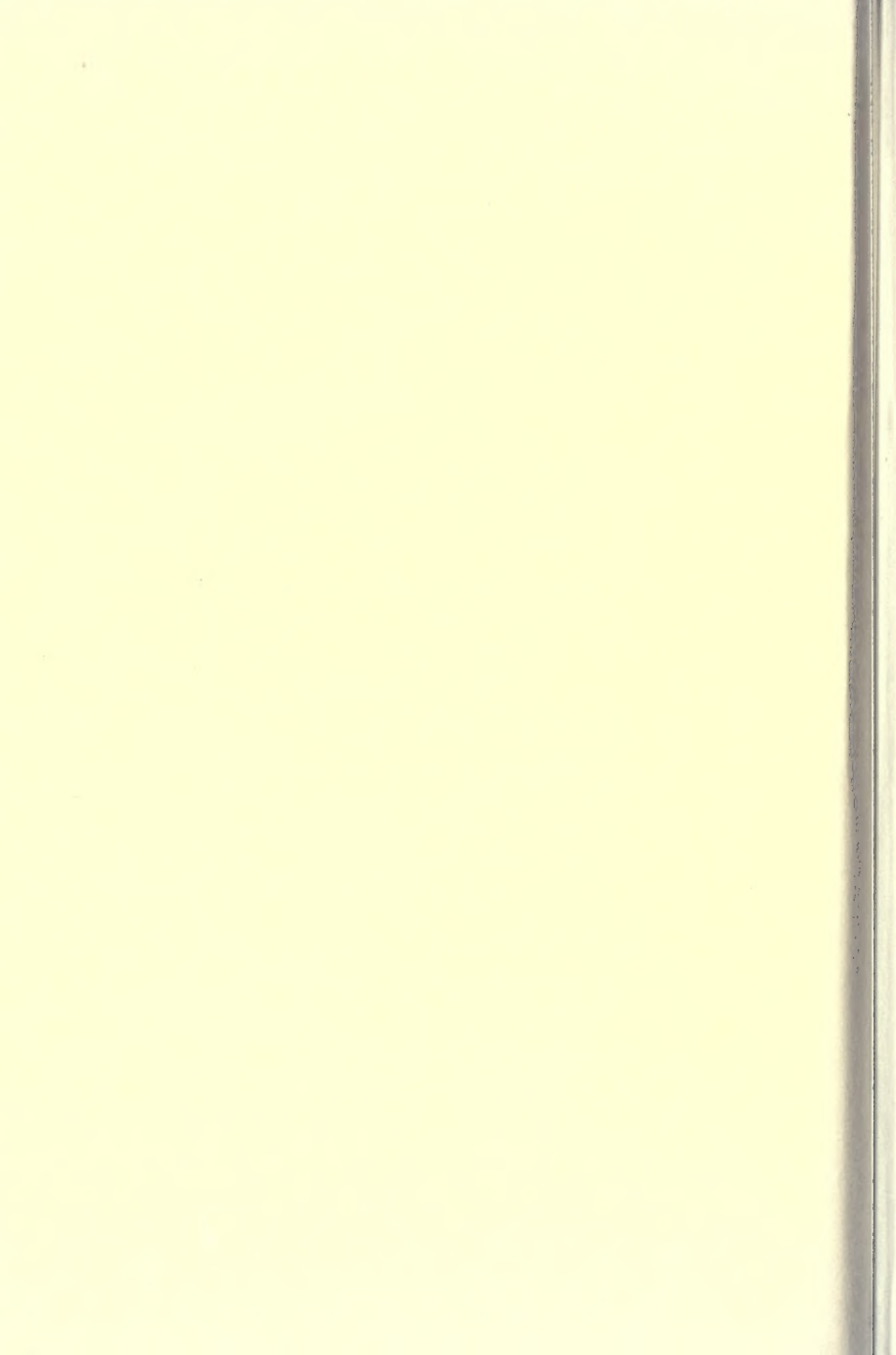
Papias, 76
 Justin Martyr, 120, 166
 Dionysius of Corinth, 188
 Hermas, 198
 Canon Murat. 216
 Melito, 219
 Vetus Latina, 254
 Cerinthus, 274
 Ophites (?), 280
 Marcosians, 307
 Tatian, 317

Epistle of Church of Vienne, 335
 Tertullian, 343 n. 357, 370
 Clemens Alex. 343 n. 353
 Irenæus, 343 n. 379
 Theophilus, 225, 385
 Origen, 355, 359
 [Dionysius of Alex. 362]
 Victorinus, 368
 Cyprian, 370
 Commodian, *ib.*
 Lactantius, *ib.*
 Hippolytus, 376
 Apollonius, 378
 Methodius, 383
 Frag. adv. Cataphr. *ib.*
 Theophilus, 385
 Pamphilus, 390
 Sibylline Oracles, 400
 Testt. of the xii. Patriarchs, 399
 Lucian, 401 n.
 Tichonius, 410 n.
 Eusebius (?), 415, 420
 Chrysostom (?), 438 n.
 Ephrem Syrus, 440
 Basil, 442
 Gregory of Nyssa, *ib.*
 Andrew, 443
 Arethas, *ib.*
 Epiphanius (?), 443
 Athanasius, 444
 [Didymus, *ib.*]
 Dionysius Areop. 445 n.
 = Caius (so said), 275 n. 374,
 cf. 376
 = Dionysius of Alex. 362
 = Peshito, 241
 = Œcumenius (?), 446
 = Theophylact (?), *ib.*
 = Concil. Laod. 429
 = Amphilochius, 441
 = Gregory Nazianz. *ib.*
 = Cyril of Jerusalem, 443

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